W 111. 7: 1/9 Vol. 1. No. 9

24 Nov. 1943

ARMY TALKS

What are We Fighting for?



Restricted

ARMY TALKS is a classified official publication of the United States Army in the European Theater of Operations. The material contained herein may not be quoted or republished, in whole or in part, nor may it be communicated, directly or indirectly, to persons not authorized to receive it, except by authority of the Commanding General, ETOUSA.

EUROPEAN THEATER OF OPERATIONS, UNITED STATES ARMY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

What are We Fighting fo	r ?	· • • • •	••	· · ·	•••	3
Map of Axis Europe	•••	•••	÷	••	••	5
The Atlantic Charter	••	••	••	••		8-9
Preparation	••	••	••	••	•••	15
Ouestions for the Discuss	ion					16

ARMY TALKS:--The PURPOSE of ARMY TALKS is to help American officers and enlisted personnel become better-informed men and women and therefore better soldiers.

ARMY TALKS are designed to stimulate discussion and thought, and, by their very nature, thus may often be controversial in content. They are not to promote or to propagandize any particular causes, beliefs or theories. Rather, they draw upon all suitable sources for fact and comment, in the American tradition, with each individual retaining his American right and heritage so far as his own opinion is concerned.

THEREFORE, the statements and opinions expressed herein are not necessarily verified by, nor do they necessarily reflect the opinions of, the United States Army.

THE SOURCE OF MATERIAL must therefore be made clear at each discussion. All written material appearing in this publication has been written and edited by uniformed members of the Army and/or Navy, except where it is stated that a civilian or other outside source is being quoted.



WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING FOR?

THERE is a simple and conclusive answer to this question. We are fighting because Japan attacked us without warning at Pearl Harbor on Sunday, December 7th, 1941. and because Germany and Italy declared war on us on December 11th, 1941. We had no choice in the matter: it was the dictators who attacked us, and it was they who deliberately brought the United States into the war at a time when we were still uncertain as to what course we ought to follow.

But this simple answer does not help us very much because it only leaves us with the much more difficult problem : Why did the dictators bring the United States into the war at a time when the country was still divided in its views concerning the amount of help it was prepared to give to the Allied Nations ?

Admittedly the lease-lend material which we were supplying to Great Britain and to Russia was of great importance to the prosecution of the war, but it was obvious this would increase overwhelmingly if the United States

itself entered the war. The experience of the last war had shown how tremendously production increased the moment the country began to fight. It seems almost incredible therefore that the Axis Powers should have deliberately chosen to attack a country which was potentially the most powerful in the world, when, by doing nothing, they could at the very least have avoided the American participation for some months, and perhaps have escaped it altogether.

It is no wonder that many people did not at first believe the news of Pearl Harbor, and that there were some who thought that it was another Orson Welles hoax. Of all the startling announcements on the radio during the past five years this was certainly the most staggering. It is true that the possibility of war with Germany and Japan had been frequently discussed, but it was always from the standpoint: Under what circumstances ought we to declare war against them? The idea that they would deliberately attack us seemed to all except a few a highly improbable contingency.

Why Did the Axis Attack?

The first place to which to turn in an attempt to seek the answer is to the

Arthur L. Goodhart, author of this issue of ARMY TALKS, was born in New York, graduated from Yale, and served as a captain in the United States Army in 1917 and 1918. At present living in England, he is editor of the Law Quarterly Review, a member of the law faculty at Oxford University and a Fellow of University College, Oxford. explanations given by the dictators themselves. These are not likely to contain much truth - Mr. Cordell Hull has described the Japanese document as "crowded with infamous they involve. On December 8th, the day after the attack at Pearl Harbor, the Mikado issued a Rescript to his people explaining why Japan had been forced to take this defensive step against the United States. He begins with the remarkable statement that : "To cultivate friendship among the nations and to enjoy prosperity in common with all nations has always been the guiding principle of our Empire's foreign policy."

He follows with a description of the war against China which is worthy of Hitler at his best: "More than four years have passed since China, failing to comprehend the true intentions of our Empire and recklessly courting trouble, disturbed the peace of Eastern Asia."

Why Japan Attacked

After this historical introduction the Rescript finally explains why Japan has been forced to attack the United States and the British Empire. The three reasons are: (1) that they have protected China against Japan, (2) that the United States has increased military preparations, and (3) that "they have obstructed by every means our peaceful commerce, and finally have resorted to the direct severance of economic relations, menacing gravely the existence of our Empire."

This is a reference to the freezing of Japanese assets on July 25th by the United States and Great Britain in reply to the Japanese move against French Indo-China which was made with the connivance of the Vichy government. The "peaceful commerce" consisted in the shipments of scrap iron and of high octane gasoline which, it has been calculated, furnished nearly nine-tenths of the material which Japan used in her war against China.

Finally, the Rescript says that "Our

Empire for its existence and self-defense has no other recourse but to appeal to arms and to crush every obstacle in its path." This may have convinced some Japanese that the United States really was the aggressor, but those in power must have known the falsity of this claim. Obviously, there was some other reason which induced the Japanese war-lords to take this reckless step. What this reason was will be discussed later.

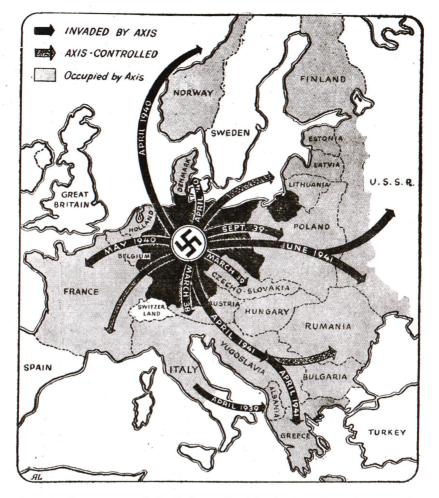
Hitler's Declaration of War

On December 11, 1941, Hitler made his declaration of war against the United States in a speech to the Reichstag. He stated that Germany was declaring war on the United States in accordance with the terms of the TripartiteAgreement betweenGermany, Italy and Japan. (This is a notable fact as this is the only treaty which Hitler has ever kept.) The rest of the speech sounds almost as if he were declaring a personal war against President and Mrs. Roosevelt.

All Germany's troubles during the past 20 years are blamed on the United States. Thus "Germany must attribute the breakdown of her economic and political systems to the fact that she believed Wilson." This is the stock criticism of the Treaty of Versailles which Hitler has repeated in almost every speech he has ever made, so that by constant reiteration he has persuaded many people to believe that he must be right.

He has, however, conveniently forgotten that post-war Germany was lent more money by the United States and Great Britain than she ever paid in reparations. Unfortunately for the rest of the world much of this money was used to build up Germany's armaments.

It was, however, in his explanation of the origins of the present war that Hitler surpassed himself: "How did



such a small country as Poland dare to refuse the generous German offer? The answer was found in documents discovered in Warsaw; they have shown that one man alone had invited Poland to resist—Roosevelt." This mysterious document has never been published, so we shall have to wait until the end of the war before we find out by what means the President persuaded Poland to begin the war against the peaceful Germans.

Even more sinister were the

President's intentions in regard to England because, in Hitler's words, "All the efforts by Roosevelt to help Britain had one final object in view eventually to take over the British Empire." These quotations are given here not because they ought to be taken seriously, but to show how anxious Hitler was to twist the facts and to conceal his true reasons for declaring war.

Towards the end of his speech Hitler glorified Germany's part in bringing about the war in these words : "A historical revision of unique scope has been entrusted to us by the Creator." Translated into plain English these pious words mean that the Axis Powers thought that they now had an opportunity of seizing the territory of their peaceful neighbors.

Never before in the history of the world has the doctrine of "might is right" been preached so blatantly. Hitler says that "the rights of Germany, Italy and Japan to a share in the goods of this world were contested and indeed denied. The union of these nations was therefore nothing but an act of self-protection."

The "Acts of Self-protection"

Unfortunately the goods of this world which the Axis wished to share already belonged to other nations. Here is a list of the "acts of selfprotection" by the Axis. In 1931 Japan seized Manchukuo, in 1935 Italy overran Ethiopia, in 1937 Japan attacked China, in 1938 Germany invaded Austria, in 1939 Italy annexed Albania, and in 1939 Germany, in spite of the most solemn promises, destroyed Czechoslovakia.

Every one of these attacks was pure unadulterated aggression. Then in 1939 came the attack on Poland followed by the destruction of Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, France, Yugoslavia, and Greece. By June, 1941, only one great country remained unconquered on the Continent, and that was Russia, so Hitler attacked her. It was true that he had signed a treaty with Stalin in 1939, but at the right moment he discovered that "Moscow not only broke but miserably betrayed the stipulations of our friendly agreement."

This seemed to be the richest and easiest prize of all, but it was here that Hitler made his fatal mistake. As Russia had everything that Germany wanted it was logical to attack her when she seemed so weak, but unfortunately for Germany the Russians did not see the logic of the position. They decided to fight for their homeland. Just as Great Britain had stopped Hitler on the sea and in the air, so now Russia stopped him on the land.

But, it may be said, this does not explain why the Axis Powers decided to attack the United States, because, except for the Philippines, there was no American territory which they could want to annex. It would be fantastic to suggest that the Japanese had any ambition to seize California or that Germany would want to take the Atlantic coast. Nor could the Japanese be affected by the tiny trickle of arms which the United States was supplying to China or by the few American airmen who were helping that country.

On paper, therefore, the argument against the probability of an attack by Japan or Germany seemed overwhelming. It was this idea which made so many intelligent people believe that the United States could remain out of the war whatever might happen in the rest of the world.

The House Divided

Hitler and Hirohito, however, knew better. They realized that they could not achieve their ambition of dominating the world so long as the United States remained unconquered. It is platitudinous to paraphrase Lincoln's words in this connection, but they are true: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this world cannot endure permanently half slave and half free."

Three weeks before Pearl Harbor Hitler said: "There are two worlds that stand opposed to each other." And then he added, "Others are correct when they say: 'With this

24 November 1943

world we cannot ever reconcile ourselves...' I can beat any other power in the world."

The United States stood in the way of the Axis, even if the British Empire should collapse. Japan wanted the Pacific Ocean to be a Japanese sea, and this would be impossible if a strong United States disputed the control with her. Here was Japan's great opportunity to destroy the one Power which stood between her and the absolute domination of which she had dreamed for years.

Hitler is said to have warned the Japanese that if they did not strike now they would never get a second chance.

Then, Why Are We Fighting?

It is more difficult to understand what Hitler's reasons were for encouraging the Japanese to strike at this particular time, when he was beginning his disastrous winter retreat in Russia. But the essential thing to remember is that the attack must have been planned at the beginning of November, at least a month before Parl Harbor.

At that time, instead of retreating, his victorious armies were rolling on towards Moscow, and it looked as if his victory would be complete. He probably was told by his intuition that here was the chance to bring about a final reckoning between the Axis and the democratic nations—with Russia out of the way, only a battered British Empire and a half prepared United States stood between him and world rule. Strike while the iron is hot! Unfortunately for Hitler, the iron struck back.

The answer to the question: Why are we fighting? is, therefore, Because we were attacked, and the answer to the question: Why were we attacked? is Because the Axis Powers realized that unless the United States was destroyed they could not aspire to world domination. They chose the moment when they thought the United States was unprepared and uncertain in which to strike. Hitler realized that he must win in 1942. 1943 would be too late. In this, Hitler was right.

We are not fighting merely because we were attacked. It would be discouraging to think that our role was only a negative one, and that we did not have any positive war aims. Our primary and immediate aim is, of course, to bring about as soon as possible the unconditional surrender of the Axis Powers, but there is more to it than this, because we must plan for the future.

Whether that future will bring an unprecedented advance in civilization, or throw us back into a period of misery and destruction, will depend on whether we can establish peace and order in the world. The two great wars which this generation has known have proved two things: (a) that wars are becoming more and more destructive, and (b) that no country can hope to be immune. War is a contagion that spreads, however much we may try to escape from it.

The Red Death

In his story "The Masque of the Red Death," Edgar Allan Poe tells of a Prince and his courtiers who fled from their city to escape the plague. They shut themselves off in a castle and thought that they were safe. But one night when they were holding a carnival ball, a stranger, wearing a crimson mask, entered the hall. He was The Red Death. And today War is The Red Death which we cannot shut out, however anxious we may be to withdraw from the rest of the world.

After this war is over there will be some optimists who will say, "We needn't worry about the future now that Germany and Japan have been





On August 14, 1941, the President Prime Minister of Great Britain is come to be known as The Atlantic

The President of the United States an representing His Majesty's Government in deem it right to make known certain con their respective countries on which they base

FIRST, their countries seek no aggrandisement, territorial or other.

SECOND, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

THIRD, they respect the right of all the peoples to choose the form of Government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

FOURTH, they will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

FIFTH, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the object of securing for all improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security.



of the United States and the sued a joint statement which has Charter. The relevant part reads:

d the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, he United Kingdom, being met together, mon principles in the national policies of heir hopes for a better future for the world.

SIXTH, after the final destruction of Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

SEVENTH, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high scas and oceans without hindrance.

EIGHTH, they believe all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armament.

A STATE OF THE PROPERTY OF THE



The second se

defeated. It won't be possible for them to be dangerous for generations to come, and all the rest of us are friends. In any case Europe is so far away that nothing that happens there can affect us if we mind our own business. Let's get down to business and not worry about international affairs."

That is a comforting and attractive idea, but unfortunately it may not work in practice. It certainly did not work after 1919. For one thing, we are living in a time of unprecedented mechanical inventions, and at any moment a single discovery may change the balance of world power.

We do not know which countries will play a dominant role in the future, but we do know that we must never again let one nation reach a preponderant position, such as Germany did in 1939, where it can, with comparative impunity, tyrannize over its weaker and unorganized neighbors. Only by acting together can we be certain to prevent this.

Secondly, we are now living in "One World," with France closer to the United States than Massachusetts was to New York a century ago. It is going to be hard on our children to have to learn all these new geography lessons and to remember where Dakar, Kiev, and New Guinea are, but it is going to be a lot harder on them if we ourselves forget the geography lessons we have been taught by the sternest of all teachers—War.

Can We Take on All Comers ?

After the war there will be others who will be less optimistic about the future. They will point out that there can be no guaranty of peace as long as strong, independent nations exist, and therefore they will urge that the United States must be sufficiently armed to take on all comers. The motto of the U.S. Navy might then become, "Join the Navy and lick the world."

This is a fine patriotic sentiment, but the difficulty is that (I) it will be extremely expensive, and (2) it is impossible. War today is more than triphibian-it requires not only an army, a navy and an air force, but also vast factories and an elaborate system of civilian defense. No one country, however wealthy and efficient, can arm itself so that it will be free from danger. Even if the United States were to devote the major part of its income to building armaments, as Germany did before 1939, we would not be able to outbuild the other countries of the world.

How Can We Be Safe Against Attack?

In 1941 the President said :

"It must be explained again and again to people who like to think of the United States Navy as an invincible protection that this can be true only if the British Navy survives. That is simple arithmetic. For if the world outside the Americas falls under Axis domination, the shipbuilding facilities which the Axis powers would then possess in all of Europe, in the British Isles. and in the Far East, would be much greater than all the shipbuilding facilities and potentialities of all the Americas-not only greater but two or three times greater."

Not even Henry Kaiser would be able to take on such odds. Unfortunately under modern world conditions no country, however warlike or peaceful it may be, can make itself safe against attack.

The hope of peace in the world in the future will depend, not on empty words, but on a determination that every treaty undertaking must be kept. Just as the business world would collapse if there were no reasonable certainty that commitments would be honored.

24 November 1943

so the international world will collapse again if international treaties can be violated at will.

It is on good faith that the international order must be based. But, although most countries are prepared to keep their promises, there is always the danger that some of them will be willing to break their word when it is to their interest to do so. The Axis is a glaring illustration of this at its worst.

The Need for an International Organization

Hitler has boasted that he does not consider himself bound by any promise if it is against the immediate interest of Germany to keep it. This doctrine leads to complete international anarchy, because when one country begins to break its treaties, then the others will inevitably follow the same course.

In the future we must provide that any country deliberately violating a treaty, or any rule of international law, shall be recognized as destroying the basis on which the international order is founded. The injury done by such an act is not only against the particular country whose rights have been violated, but against all the nations of the world.

When Japan invaded Manchukuo in 1931, in violation of the Washington Treaty of 1921, she committed a wrong not only against China, but against every other country in the world, because this was the first step taken in the destruction of international good faith. If Japan had been stopped in 1931, the present war would almost certainly not have taken place.

A man whom I know wrote at that time, "It is no real concern of the United States what happens in Manchuria." Last month his two sons were killed, one in Italy and one in New Guinea, because of the war which began in Manchukuo.

But even if we all recognize in the future how essential it is to world peace that treaties should be kept, this will only take us part way along the road. It will be necessary to work out some machinery by which they can be enforced. Otherwise we shall be at the mercy again of those States having the lowest standards of morality. Joint hopes won't stop them, but joint action will. That is why the Senate on November 5 adopted by an overwhelming majority the Connally resolution which provides :

"That the Senate recognizes the necessity of there being established at the earliest practicable date a general international organization based on the principle of sovereign equality of all peace-loving States, and open to membership by all such States, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."

The Senate very wisely did not discuss the precise form which such an international organization should take, but contented itself with adopting the general principle. It is, however, important for us as citizens to consider as soon as possible what practical steps we would like our country to take when the war is over, because at that time we shall have the best opportunity to reconstruct the broken international machinery. No one in authority has offered a blue print which can be discussed here, but there are certain ideas which have been mentioned so frequently that it is worth our while considering them in detail.

An International Court of Justice

Provided that the judges of such an international court are of the highest character, as were those of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, there does not seem to be any reason why a State which believes in the justice of its cause should refuse to submit to their judgment. As a general rule it is the unjust man who fears justice. Many people believe that the creation of an international court with compulsory jurisdiction is the touchstone which will determine whether a true international society can be created.

The Necessity for a League of Nations-by Whatever Name

The consistency of those who declare their fervent belief in an international law which shall govern the acts of the nations, but who reject the idea of a court in which such a system of law can be enforced, is open to some doubt. In the past the idea of an international court has in large part been sponsored by Americans, such as President Taft and Secretary of State Elihu Root, but the United States itself has hesitated to join such an organization.

It was said when the League of Nations was founded that it was essential to have an international legislature, because it was necessary to have some body by which international law could be adapted to changing conditions, and which would be able to deal with the current world problems.

There is much to be said for such an organization, but we cannot ignore the difficulties which it entails. For one thing, it is difficult to arrange for the fair representation of the various states, as the small states are afraid that they will be overshadowed by the larger ones, and the large ones say that it is not justice to give equal representation to the small ones.

In actual practice the amount of legislation required to be made by such a body would be strictly limited. Its real value would be to furnish a convenient debating Chamber for the world. This was the primary function of the League of Nations. Whether the League will be revived after the war, or whether some similar organization, but with another name, will be created is uncertain. That sooner or later, however, as the world becomes more civilized some such body will be necessary is hardly open to doubt.

After the war is over we shall not have time to wait for the creation of a fully developed international organization before dealing with certain immediate problems. It may be necessary to create a number of separate committees to handle these.

Such international committees have already proved invaluable during the conduct of the present war: without them the Allies could hardly have taken any successful joint action. They would prove equally useful after the war, and may furnish that cement which is so necessary for binding the nations together. Here are some of the matters which they should cover.

Everyone recognizes that after the war food and clothing will have to be supplied to the liberated countries of Europe and to China. To this end the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has been created so that there should be a single organization responsible for relief.

The Role of the United States

It is certain that in this work the United States will play a leading part as it did after the last war. There may be difficulties, however, after the immediate needs have been met, because then the question will arise, how far will the United States help in the work of permanent rehabilitation?

It is true, as we have recently been warned, that the United States must not be regarded as Father Christmas for the rest of the world, but to a certain extent we can hardly avoid playing the role of the Good Samaritan. After all, there have been less noble roles than his, and it will not be the first time that the United States has recognized this. It is generally recognized that after the war it will be necessary to deal with financial and economic questions in an international manner. Unless the currencies of the world are put on a sound footing there can be' no international trade in the true sense, and unless tariff barriers are limited there will be no international trade to control.

Here again generosity will be necessary on the part of those nations which have suffered least in the war if the others are to be helped in their recovery. And here again the old saying "the truly generous is the truly wise" will prove to be the best policy, because a country such as the United States, which is an exporting country, has everything to gain by the prosperity of its neighbors.

It will be necessary to recognize the self-evident truth that in the long run it is impossible for us to sell things to another country unless we are willing to buy an equal amount in return.

Labor Conditions

Before the war one of the most successful parts of the League of Nations was the International Labor Office, of which Mr. John Winant, now the American Ambassador in London, was director from 1938 to 1940. At the present time it is carrying on its work in Canada with a skeleton staff, but after the war it will probably return to Geneva.

It will play an important role in the post-war world, as the problems concerning hours of work, factory conditions, rates of wages, etc., are international in scope. Here again we are beginning to realize that the conditions which exist in one country must necessarily affect those in all other countries engaged on similar work. Thus the starvation wages which were paid in Japan before the war influenced the trade economy of the United States and of Great Britain.

The problems of transport, especially in relation to shipping and aviation, are certain to give rise to some difficulty after the war if they are not handled in a reasonable manner. There is already more than enough evidence that feeling may be engendered between the United States and the British Empire if each country attempts to outstrip the other.

The Basis of International Peace

Here again it ought to be possible for a committee to reach an equitable arrangement if the problem is dealt with as a whole, and if each nation realizes that it cannot expect to receive all that it hopes for. Unfortunately these are questions which can easily stir up national rivalries, because they can be put into dramatic form. Each country will want to have the largest ship, the fastest aeroplane, and the greatest number of aerodromes.

At the end of the last war the major desire of those who wished to establish permanent world peace was to limit armaments. This was based on the mistaken idea that the principal cause of war was the accumulation of weapons of war; the theory was that when nations indulged in what was called an armaments race they would sooner or later fight each other.

As a result it was felt that any country genuinely desirous of peace ought to disarm itself as an example to others. Unfortunately the faster Great Britain and the United States reduced their armed forces the more eagerly did the Axis Powers increase theirs. Perhaps the most serious mistake was made at the Washington Conference in 1921, when Great Britain and the United States were so busy limiting each other's navies that they did not realize that the one country which they were helping was Japan.

If there is to be genuine disarmament

after this war—and everyone must hope that this costly expenditure on weapons of destruction can be limited—it must be universal in character.

Even if an international organization is created, it will still be necessary for the individual states to guard against the danger of attack, because no one can expect such an organization to be able to guarantee peace in all circumstances until it has become fully established. It will therefore be desirable for those countries whose interests are sufficiently similar to make agreements for their common defense so that in times of danger they shall be able to act together.

Thus a common agreement between the Danubian countries would undoubtedly be a stabilizing force in Europe, and would not be in conflict with the spirit of a wider world organization, if it were made for the purpose of defense. The trouble with the Axis was that it was openly made for the purpose of aggression. We Americans will have to consider after this war whether any such agreements or treaties would be of benefit to us.

The Basis of Defense Agreements

To take an obvious example, the strategic interests of Canada and the United States are so clearly allied that it is only natural that we should have an understanding concerning mutual action. A similar situation may arise in regard to Singapore after the war, because the interests of Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain, and the United States in this part of the world are almost identical.

In making any defense agreements it will be necessary to remember that they are of dual effect : they will help to protect the United States, but they will also commit the United States to protecting others. Like marriage this is therefore a step not to be undertaken lightly, but like most marriages it should turn out to be a success.

Conclusion

This list of subjects with which we shall have to deal in the post-war world has been set out not in the hope that they can be answered here and now, but to show how complex are the many problems which we shall have to face. The war has brought home to us the fact that we can make this a better world for our children but we can only do this if we know what we want and what we are fighting for. Above all we are fighting for three essential things:

We are fighting for good faith among the nations of the world, because unless we establish the inviolability of the pledged word all international agreements are so much waste paper. The ancient Latin tag *pacta servanda sunt* —promises must be kept—is as true today as it was two thousand years ago.

We are fighting for "the final elimination of war as an accepted means of achieving state policy." Until war itself is finally destroyed we cannot talk of a civilized world.

We are fighting for justice between man and man, not only within our own country, but throughout the world. This does not mean that we shall attempt to force our own conception of government on the peoples of other states, but that we hope that, relieved from want and fear, they will want to choose the democratic way of life.

By justice we do not mean only the strict rules of legal justice, although without these there can be no adequate protection for human rights, but a wider and more generous justice which comprehends an equal opportunity for all to achieve a good and decent life.

Printed by Newnes & Pearson Printing Co., Ltd., Exmoor Street, N. Kensington, London, W.10.

Preparation

Reasons for the Topic: What are we fighting for? Perhaps Harold Nicolson has struck it when he said "a world without conceit or cruelty, without greed and lies."

In other words we are fighting primarily to rid the world of the German menace, and then to set up a decent reasonable world order, with sufficient statesmanship and vision to prevent the repetition of another world disaster. The obvious answer to this question is that we are fighting now in Europe and the Pacific because if we don't the Germans and Japanese will eventually invade the U.S. and we would rather fight them where they are than in our own streets. That is an obvious and rather selfish answer. It disregards one bulwark of the truth the character of the American people. In a recent editorial a prominent American newspaper made these observations :

"All races, all colors, make us up, and when wars like the present one engulf us, all races and all colors take up arms for America. When we strike back at our enemies, the American kin of those enemies do the striking, Americans of Italian extraction, of German extraction, even of Japanese extraction. We are of almost every extraction conceivable, black, white and yellow and red, and so we are tied together not by any mystical philosophy of blood or common ethnic traits, but solely and simply by an idea—the idea of democracy, of individual freedom, of liberty under law, of a justice before which all of us stand equal.

"Name off the other nations of the world, and not one of them will be able to say, as the United States can say, 'We are the synthesis of the world's peoples.' And it is only the idea of freedom that holds us together—the idea plus the opportunity to live and prosper within its political and economic framework. Of the Japanese Americans fighting in Italy, the Fifth Army says that ' they obviously believe in what they're doing, and look calmly secure because of it, and the same can be said of every other national extraction represented in our Army and Navy."

Those are some of the things we are fighting for and some of the reasons why we fight. The author of the article in this issue of ARMY TALKS has carried the matter farther and has looked not only at the historical action conditioning the entry of the U.S. into the war, but has given careful consideration to the issues confronting a world organized for peace. He does not ask for complete agreement; he seeks to suggest deep reflection on the problems which will tax the minds of all men in all nations when the war is done.

Preparation for Discussion : This is a subject which, however clear in its earlier stages, carries through to the baffling areas of the time to come. The subject can be divided into four sections : the period leading up to the war; period 1939-1941; 1941 to the present; the years ahead. It can be divided also under such headings as : What we are fighting for—geographically, racially, morally, democratically, nationally. However it is to be organized, choose the topics to be emphasized and subordinate the rest. The whole field cannot be covered in one hour. Prepare your outline, after a careful study of the par.phlet, with the topical approach in mind.

QUESTIONS FOR THE DISCUSSION

Q. : What would have happened to the United States if Germany had won the war in 1940?

Q.: Is the prosperity of the United States affected by the prosperity of the other nations?

Q.: Do you think that the United States ought to join some form of world organization? What ought to be the form of such an organization?

Q.: Did the original policy of the United States to remain neutral under all circumstances encourage Hitler?

Q. : Would it be against the interest of the United States to agree to the compulsory jurisdiction of a world court?

Q. Would an agreement with one or more countries for the purpose of defense be in conflict with the ultimate aim of creating a world organization?

Q.: Ought an attempt be made to control international competition in post-war aviation?

Q. : What are the main provisions of the Atlantic Charter ?

The Atlantic Charter will probably stand as a cornerstone of history with Magna Carta and the Declaration of Independence. It is the enduring witness that we are engaged in a battle not only for life and property but far more significantly for a way of life enabling men to have reasonable freedom of conviction and motivation of career.

Make your opening talk informative and concise, also make it brief and provocative. Govern the discussion which follows so that it permits participation for all men present.

The topics presented in ARMY TALKS offer a good opportunity for follow-up with lectures by well-informed people in the off-duty time of military personnel. It is suggested that Special Service and Education Officers communicate with the Regional Secretaries of the Central Advisory Council for Adult Education in H.M. Forces. An agreement has been made with the British War Office that all procurement of civilian lecturers will be made through these Regional Secretaries. Contact can be made thru Base Section, Headquarters, SOS.

It is strongly suggested that discussion leaders make constant use of Vol. I, No. 1 of ARMY TALKS, the "Handbook For Discussion Leaders."

Requests for additional copies of future issues of ARMY TALKS should be made to the Station Special Service Officer.
