

To Agnes Bassie
from



Ely Culbertson

A LECTURE BY
ELY CULBERTSON
ON THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE OF TODAY
THE FOUR INDISPENSABLE
Amendments to the
Dumbarton Oaks Proposals
BASED ON HIS FAMOUS
TOTAL PEACE PLAN

"In our own age and in our own time, it has been an American, Ely Culbertson, who has brought forward the strongest and most realistic Plan for creating a world system that will protect all in collective security and protect each even against all."

— DOROTHY THOMPSON

"Mr. Culbertson has thought out the most perfect political machinery yet devised by the mind of man to prevent international wars."

—Professor CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

THE TOTAL PEACE PLAN

Structure

A Council of 13 World Trustees, elected for six-year terms: 2 each from Britain, Russia and United States; 1 each from France, China and the Moslem World; and 2 Trustees *collectively* elected by the remaining member-states. Eventually 1 Trustee each will be added for Germany and Japan.

All trustees are equal and vote by a simple majority.

A World Supreme Court, elected for life, constituted in the same manner as the Council.

A World President selected for six years from each leading state in rotation, starting with the United States.

A Vocational Senate to co-ordinate economic, educational and cultural agencies for international cooperation.

Powers

There are two specific powers delegated to the Council and the Court:

1. *Prevention* of aggression through the worldwide limitation of heavy armament. No state will be permitted to produce heavy armament in excess of a stipulated *Quota of Production* based on its present relative strength.

2. *Protection* of the territories of member-states against armed aggression.

Enforcement

Each leading state retains its own armed forces as heretofore, but its strength in heavy armament is limited by its agreed Quota of Production. Assuming the total world production of heavy armament to be 100%, the proposed quotas for Britain, Russia and the United States are 17% each; for France and China, 6% each; for Poland, India and Indo-Malaysia, 3% each; for Turkey, 2%; for Germany and Japan, 2% each which for 24 years will be under direct control of the Council. The remaining 22% of heavy armament is produced by the smaller member-states to equip a *Mobile Corps* on which the Council will call first when it becomes necessary to repel an aggressor. The armed forces of the leading states will act as reserves of the Mobile Corps if needed.

The Mobile Corps, comprising 22% of the world's strength in heavy armament, will be made up of highly paid, carefully selected volunteers from all smaller member-states. The Mobile Corps is to be under *direct control* of the World Council, stationed in leased strategic bases—(and in Germany and Japan for 24 years)—and will be moved *automatically* to repel an aggressor or to prevent a state from rearming beyond its Quota.

The principles reflected in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals are good, but the machinery to carry them out is inadequate. These principles can be realized and the machinery made effective only through the following

FOUR INDISPENSABLE AMENDMENTS

1. *Specific Powers.* A Council of Trustees and a Court with two *specific, delegated* powers: to prevent aggression by limiting heavy armament; to protect the territory of any member-state by collective defense against any aggressor.

2. *Equal Rights to All Nations.* A Council of Trustees and a Court based on fair representation for all sovereign states, and acting by a *simple majority vote* within the scope of their delegated powers.

3. *Arms Limitation.* Permanent, worldwide limitation of heavy armament on the basis of a production quota for each state.

4. *A Separate International Force.* An adequate armed force (The Mobile Corps), *separate* from the armed forces of the member-states, recruited exclusively from the citizens of smaller states, and at the *immediate* disposal of the Council and the Court.

indispensable for any system of collective security.

Enforcement

There is no armed force separate from the armed forces of the member-states and controlled directly by the Council.

Totally ignored is the tremendous potential power against aggressors of the smaller states, which *collectively* equal a great world power of 400 million population.

Instead, it is hoped that the leading states, upon request of the Council, will "place a part of their own armed forces at its disposal." But each leading state remains the final judge of who is the aggressor and what to do about it. This means that in the future, as in the past, the war lords can rearm with impunity, and, having rearmed, attack with success a divided world!

"OUR FIGHT FOR TOTAL PEACE" —

Mr. Culbertson's new 64 page book on the Total Peace Plan and analysis of the latest international developments will be sent you **FREE OF CHARGE** as soon as it is off the press. Write your name and address on the reverse side, tear off, and mail directly to FIGHT FOR TOTAL PEACE, INC., a non-profit corporation. You will be valuably informed and will help the cause of peace by doing it *now*. The regular price of the book is 25¢; *this offer is therefore limited in time and restricted to Mr. Culbertson's lecture audiences.*

THE DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS

Structure

A Security Council of 11 members, in which Britain, Russia, the United States, China and France are permanent members and 6 smaller states serve two-year terms, in rotation.

Decisions require the unanimous vote of all five permanent members plus one non-permanent member. An adverse vote or veto by any permanent member stops the action of the Council.

An international court of justice that may not judge except when a state is willing to submit its case.

An "advisory" General Assembly representing all member-states.

An Economic and Social Council of 18 members.

Powers

There are no specific, clearly defined powers delegated to the Council—hence the paralyzing veto power retained by each leading state.

Aggression is not even defined.

There is no provision whatever for controlled segregation of the means of making war—armored ships of land, sea, and air. Such limitation of heavy armament is indis-

ABOUT ELY CULBERTSON

Ely Culbertson's Total Peace Plan has firmly established him as one of the outstanding thinkers on problems of war and peace. Generally regarded as the only modern, concrete and realistic system for World Security so far developed, his plan, in the opinion of many authorities, is the only workable solution of the problem of lasting peace. Among them Lancelot Hogben, the British sociologist and mathematician, says: "My personal view is that Ely Culbertson's Plan is the most important contribution to world peace that any writer of our generation has made."

The son of a seventh generation American and the grandson of a Cossack general, Mr. Culbertson was brought up in the Caucasus, Russia and in Europe. He has studied systems of philosophy and economics in the leading universities of the world and he speaks eight languages. Since youth he has specialized in social systems and his active concern with social movements has landed him in the jails of Russia, Spain and Mexico. His fantastic success in the game of Bridge, which is a hobby and a by-product of his creative genius in the field of social systems and mass psychology, did not cause him to deviate from the realization of his true lifework—a scientific plan to build peace among nations.

"What we need today is close, analytical thinking about first principles of political and economic organization. One proposal such as Ely Culbertson's 'Quota-Force' Plan for a world police, is worth ten exhortations to 'think internationally.'"—JOHN CHAMBERLAIN, *New York Times*

"You have the best plan extant. All future plans for world order must be built on these general lines and they must try, if possible, to improve on your profound plan in matters of detail."—PROFESSOR WALTER MARSHALL HORTON, *Oberlin College*

"TOTAL PEACE has the decided advantage of not speaking in generalities but in realities, of dealing with facts and not with wishful thinking or day dreams . . ."—DALLAS TIMES HERALD

"Culbertson knows more about world affairs than anyone else."—BOSTON POST

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Gentlemen: Please send me free of charge a copy of "OUR FIGHT FOR TOTAL PEACE," by Ely Culbertson.

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