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TO 'BILLY BOY' AND ALL THE
OTHER BOYS KILLED IN THE WAR

May the Lord do so to us,
and more also, if we fail
to build the new world
you fought and died for

BY

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FOREWORD

THIS book originated in a request for an outline of a food policy which could form the basis for post-war reconstruction.

Such a policy must obviously be in accordance with the principles on which the post-war world is to be built. In pre-war days, Government was concerned very largely with trade and the protection of trade interests. Food was treated like any other commodity, the supply and price being regulated by economic demand. The War has shaken up people's ideas. We shall not go back to the pre-war world with its slums, unemployment and poverty. The main function of Government will be the promotion of the welfare of the people governed, and the food policy will be one based not on trade interests but on the nutritional needs of the people.

This policy will bring inestimable benefits to the poorer part of the population which has never been adequately fed. It will involve increased production and distribution of food and form the spear-head of a movement for agricultural, economic and business prosperity.

Such a policy can be carried out efficiently only on a world-wide scale. The remarkable pronouncements made by the President, the Vice-President and some of the Secretaries of the United States afford grounds for belief that Washington has the vision to adopt this revolutionary policy. It is in accordance with the principles talked of and practised in the U.S.S.R. and with the aspirations of the Chinese Government.

Food is the primary necessity of life. It is also the one most difficult to provide on a health standard. But the full benefits of food cannot be got until *housing* is also brought up to a health standard. A '*job*' is a psychological necessity. Although this book is primarily about

food, these two other needs are referred to. The three of them — food, housing and a job — are needed as the basis for a full life.

In Great Britain, which, since the beginning of the War, has been in the front line, the people in Whitehall have been so preoccupied with the immediate problems of the War that they do not realize the extent to which the burning desire for a better post-war world has grown and spread among all classes of our people.

An announcement that the Government has decided that the post-war reconstruction would be directed first and foremost to the provision of food and shelter on a health standard with security for a job would give our fighters and workers a vision of a post-war world worth fighting for and would stimulate even greater zeal on the part of workers and fighters for a great offensive which would sweep Nazism out of both Europe and Asia and leave the world free for the establishment of the kind of world which all decent-minded people want.

It would be in accordance with our traditions if the British Commonwealth of Nations took a leading part in this world-wide movement which is inevitable. But the urge must come from the people, many of whom are uneasy about what is going to happen after the War. Hence, instead of writing a memorandum for private circulation as was originally intended, this booklet has been written in the hope that it will make a contribution to the discussions which are taking place in all classes of society.

My thanks are due to Mr. W. L. Simpson, M.A., who checked references and corrected the manuscript, and to Mr. L. J. F. Brimble, B.Sc., F.L.S., who helped considerably in preparing the book for publication and has seen it through the press.

J. B. ORR

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UNDER the old international political system we have suffered two world wars in one generation. It is obvious that that system must pass away or civilization will be destroyed.

The economic system has broken down. It broke down because it could not carry the great wealth which science has enabled us to produce. A system which is forced, for its own preservation, to prevent the production and distribution of commodities which the majority of mankind urgently need is incompatible with human progress. The break-down was due not to capitalism as such but to the growth of a monopolistic capitalism which restricted the production of wealth in the interest of the few who controlled the means of production. These restrictions led to the piling-up of money which could not find investment and the growth of armies of millions of men who could not find work. The break-down of the economic system was the main cause of the War.

While the old world is crashing about our ears, we must plan for a better world with a political system which will free man from the fear of war, and an economic system which will free him from the fear of want.

FREEDOM FROM FEAR

The domination of the German group of States by Prussia does not inspire confidence in regional federation as a means of preserving world peace. Science has eliminated distance and brought all the nations of the world into such close contact that a permanent World

Government which can deal with international relationships is inevitable.

The new World Government is evolving now. The free nations are uniting for war. When the Nazis and the Japs are defeated, the United Nations will be in control of the whole world. The union will need to be maintained to deal with the post-war chaos and build up a new and better world. If they separate and revert to pre-war relations, this War will have to be fought all over again.

FREEDOM FROM WANT

Post-war economic reconstruction in the sense of merely getting industries on to a peace-time footing again will not free man from want. We reconstructed the economic system after the War of 1914–18. It wobbled in the 1929 World Economic Crisis and has now crashed beyond repair. The rise of so many groups of planners having no connexion with the Government or any of the great political parties is an indication of the widespread desire for drastic changes in the economic system. The people of Great Britain will no longer tolerate unemployment, poverty and slums. We must plan to eliminate these running sores in the body politic. We must build on a new principle and with a new objective.

Different groups of planners have different objectives in view and different methods of reaching their objectives. The crisis with which we are faced is so imminent and so grave that we cannot afford to dissipate our energies. We must reach agreement on our objective now and canalize the efforts of the men of goodwill of all political parties, creeds and classes to reach the objective.

The only way to get agreement is to go back to fundamentals. All would agree with Abraham Lincoln's declaration : " Government of the people, by the people,

for the people ". If Government is to be " for the people ", then the first duty of a Government is to provide the necessities of life for the people governed.

The primary material necessities of life are (1) food and (2) shelter which includes a house, furniture, clothing and warmth. To these must be added (3) a job, which is a psychological necessity.

If every family had a home in which they could live in decency, food on the health standard, and a feeling of absolute security that they would never fall below that level, we would have an economic and social foundation upon which we could begin to build for a still fuller life.

A third of the population in the United Kingdom and about an equal proportion in the United States do not enjoy food and shelter on the standard needed for health. In most other countries, the proportion of the population which has never been adequately fed or adequately housed is even higher. Among the native races, for whose welfare Britain is responsible, only a relatively small proportion of the population have houses in which they can live in decency and food on the health standard.

If we are planning for human welfare we must put first things first and concentrate on food, houses and a job. Whatever obstacles prevent us from providing these necessities must be ruthlessly removed. Everything else in the social and economic structure should be left standing in the meantime. When everyone has the necessities of life on a health standard, we shall have struggled out of the mess of poverty and degradation and reached firm ground on which we can, in safety, consider more grandiose schemes.

Food.—The outline of the kind of organization needed for a national and an international food policy based on the needs of the people is given in Chapters V—VIII. The organization suggested would bring a diet adequate

for health within the reach of every family. The farmer and the retailer would be free from any form of bureaucratic interference.

Housing.—In Scotland, after seventeen years of Government Housing Schemes, during which 280,000 houses were built, there were still 250,000 houses needed. Unless we have a terrific drive, we shall never be able to provide a decent house for every family in our day. The only way to get all the people housed is to have a temporary housing scheme under which houses on a minimum standard will be built with the utmost speed of whatever material is available. It might be possible to get every family housed within two or three years after the fighting finishes. An advantage of a temporary housing scheme is that it would give time to see what industries are likely to be in Britain after the War and where they are likely to be located.

These temporary houses could be cleared away as soon as new and better houses were available. We need not worry about the waste involved in building temporary houses. Our capacity for industrial production after the War will be increased to such an extent that one of our main problems will be to find an outlet for the commodities we produce. In any event, the waste of human life is more important than a waste of material.

A Job.—As Mr. Roosevelt has pointed out, the standard of living of the masses is so low that if we undertook to provide decent houses and adequate food for everybody, there would be work for every man and woman seeking a job.

But provision should be made for men temporarily out of employment and every man, rich or poor, should be made to do a job of work. A National Service Corps should be established. Every man should be forced to serve for a year before he reaches twenty-one years of age. After a year's service, a man would be free to leave.

He would also be free to return if he could not find another job and had no other means of support. After he had served a number of years calculated to be sufficient to pay for the bare necessities of life on a health standard for himself and his family, he could retire and enjoy these with the same dignity and self-respect as a man drawing an endowment assurance for which he had paid. The scheme would be simplified and made more equable by providing children's allowances.

The men of the Corps could be employed on national or local government work, for example, the temporary housing scheme, road-making, scavenging and other municipal jobs, or on the unskilled or semi-skilled work in any undertaking, such as mining or transport, which may be nationalized. When the number of men in the Corps was greater than what was needed for routine work, the surplus could be used for land reclamation, laying out national parks, public recreation grounds and in other ways adding to the wealth of the community.

FRUITS OF A POLICY FOR FOOD, A HOUSE AND A JOB

Bringing food and housing among the poorest third of the population up to the standard for health would reduce disease and improve national health and physique. Poverty in the old sense of the term would be gone for ever. No family would need to be dependent for the necessities of life upon either public relief or private charity. A great part of our social and public health services and most of our charities would become unnecessary. The unemployment problem would be solved. All men would have security for a home in which they could live in decency, food on the health standard and a job. For the first time in history, man would have attained economic freedom.

This social revolution can be brought about and still leave freedom for individual initiative and enterprise in agriculture, industry and trade. There would be less bureaucratic interference with business and the private lives of people than there was in pre-war days.

The provision of the necessities of life on a health standard would bring prosperity to agriculture, industry and trade. There would be no need to fight for markets. Every country would find the greatest market of all within its own boundaries.

The adoption of a post-war policy designed for the direct and immediate promotion of the welfare of our fellow men, beginning first with those who are worst off, would provide the means of expressing the growing spiritual idealism among all classes. It would give a vision of a new world worth fighting for and worth working for, a world in which the powerful wealthy nations would act towards poorer nations in the spirit of the ' good neighbour ', and in which those who have abundance would not allow their fellow men to live in degrading poverty which prevents them from attaining their full physical and spiritual manhood.

Some hard-headed practical men may think this new world is merely a Utopian idea which will never come to pass. The lessons of the past have taught us that it is the only kind of world which has any chance of surviving. Until we have the vision of such a world and the courage to build it, the people will continue to perish in poverty and in wars. For their own salvation, the common people must destroy Nazism. This is the only thing that matters at the moment. When the enemy is defeated, they must fight and work with the same tenacity to build the new world. They will have fighting and working by their side men of vision and goodwill in all classes. This is the people's war.

CHAPTER I

THE OLD WORLD ORDER IS PASSING AWAY

"*We plan now for the better world we aim to build.*"—ROOSEVELT.

IT should now be clear to everybody that the old world order is passing away. The economic and political structure built on the Industrial Revolution is like a house being gutted by fire. To talk of economic reconstruction in the sense of merely repairing the damage caused by the War is to talk nonsense. A great deal of the old structure well worth retaining must be salvaged, but the foundations have been so shattered that we must build on new and broader foundations and according to a new plan.

There are still people reluctant to believe that the old system, which served *them* so well, is doomed. These are people who are still drawing a salary or enjoying some other income and living in comfort in a part of the structure which has not yet been shaken. They think this is just another war which will pass. These people hope that, after some minor changes made necessary by the War, they will be able to get back to where they were before. Their minds and hearts are set on a past which will never return. The only hope, not only for them, but also for everybody else, is to realize that drastic changes are inevitable and to prepare for them. Anyone who has ever gone ski-ing knows that, once a movement is well under way, any attempt to hang back invites a catastrophic somersault. The only way to land in safety and to get a thrill out of the jump is to lean forward.

To cling to the skirts of the past is a melancholy symptom of senile decay. The world is in the throes of

a new birth. Civilization is undergoing a metamorphosis. The human race is being reborn. The horrors of the War will endure but for a few years. The new era which is being ushered in will last for a thousand years. If we plan and work for the future better world with all the enthusiasm of youth, we shall feel, in spite of our present sorrows, that it is a very joy to be alive.

The causes of the collapse in the old system need not concern us here. The historian of the future can examine these at leisure. The following illustrations of the extent of the collapse are given merely to convince those who have been so engrossed with their own affairs that they do not realize what is happening to the world in which they live.

COLLAPSE OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

There is no need to emphasize the fact that the international political system has broken down. It brought about the War of 1914–18 with the loss of ten million lives and untold misery. It was clear in 1918 that a new system was needed, and the League of Nations was set up. A world system of government is so sound in principle that the League nearly succeeded. It failed not so much because it did not have an international police force to enforce its judgments as because the Supreme Economic Council, the economic counterpart of the political structure, was abolished and the old economic system was merely patched up on the old model. Economics is the basis of politics, and, when the old economic system wobbled again in the world economic crisis of 1929, the League of Nations, which was merely a political structure, collapsed almost immediately and the world reverted to the old political structure which precipitated mankind into the present War. To retain

the old structure after the War means another world war in twenty years when another crop of cannon fodder has grown up, if, indeed, it manages to hold together for that length of time. It is more probable that we would have revolutions with a break-down of law and order throughout the world.

COLLAPSE OF THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Though many of our politicians do not realize it, the economic system is more important than the political system. If we had an economic system which could bring prosperity and economic security to men and to nations, there would be little difficulty in devising the political superstructure. Let us, therefore, consider the collapse of the economic system at greater length.

The system which came to full fruition at the end of the nineteenth century served for a time to carry the wealth which the Industrial Revolution created. But the advance of science enabled more and more wealth to be produced with less and less labour. The machines turned out wealth at an increasing rate, and it became difficult to find markets for the output. Markets became the big political problem of Governments. Every nation tried to develop or maintain its export market and prevent the imports from other nations which would lower prices in its own internal market. We had the extraordinary spectacle of nations fighting to push real wealth on to each other in exchange for paper credits.

In spite of these artificial barriers to the distribution of wealth, the machines continued to pour forth goods at a greater rate than the limited markets could absorb. So we resorted to the device of throttling-down the machines. Arrangements approved by Governments were made whereby less wealth was produced and the markets

for the limited output were parcelled out among the existing producers. The world output of rubber was reduced by 40 per cent and the output of other commodities by varying amounts. The results of this throttling-down of the industrial machine might have been foreseen. Money which could not be utilized in the industry and trade began to pile up, and the number of men who could not find employment increased. In Great Britain we had more than £2000 million lying in deposit receipts and three million men idle. Gold accumulated in the United States until they had about three-fifths of the total world supply and, at the same time, unemployment rose to nearly twelve million. The economic machine became balled up with money and labour which it could not use.

This is not to be taken as the break-down of the capitalist system. What broke down was a new monopolistic capitalism which had arisen. Those who controlled the means of production and distribution exercised the control of them, not in the interests of the trades or industries they represented, but in their own interests. The monopolies were designed to prevent others coming in and developing the industries and sharing the profits. These big business concerns had so much influence with Governments that they were able to induce them to approve of these limitations to the production and distribution of wealth with little regard to the needs of the common people for the increased wealth which could have been easily produced.

The nineteenth-century economic system had become adjusted to continuous expansion. It continually created new credits against wealth not yet produced. So long as new wealth was produced, the system worked, but when the system was forced to contract, it collapsed, and the collapse brought about the frustration of un-

employment and the frustration of nations which found themselves in a closed ring which prevented the outward flow of the product of their industries. The only expansion of industry left was the production of armaments in preparation for a war.

What has all this to do with food? It has everything to do with it because, under this system, food was dealt with in the same way as other commodities. The measures which prevented people from getting the goods which could be produced also prevented people from getting the food which could be produced and which they needed. The defects of the system were most glaring in the case of food. While many millions of people in the world did not have sufficient food for their needs an International Wheat Committee devised measures to reduce the production of wheat. These measures were approved by Governments. They were approved by the British Government at a time when, in India and in other parts of the Empire, people for whose welfare the Government was responsible were suffering from lack of food. In Great Britain, the object of the Agricultural Marketing Boards was to limit production plus imports to what could be sold at a profit. The intention was to adjust supply to the economic demand, even though it was well known that millions of the population were suffering in health from the lack of the foods which these measures prevented being produced or imported in greater amounts.

But we were forced to adopt even more drastic measures in the case of food than we were in the case of some other commodities. Raw rubber and copper and many other commodities cannot be used by the people until they have been manufactured. Food, however, can be used direct. Hungry people, to whom theories of adjusting supply to economic demand brought little

satisfaction, would have eaten the food had they got their hands on it. So we had to resort to the further measure of destroying ' surplus ' food. We treated wheat with chemicals to make it unfit for human consumption. If people had used it, they would have spoiled the market either for wheat or for some other food which could be used in place of wheat. Separated milk was poured down the drains because, if people had bought this cheap milk, they might have purchased less whole milk and so narrowed the market for the whole-milk trade.

People were for a time bamboozled and bewildered by the economic and political arguments put forward in support of these schemes of restriction. But the common sense of the people began to assert itself. Men saw within their reach potential wealth sufficient to provide the necessities of life for everybody, but they found themselves under a spell which prevented them from putting their hands forward to take it. Everywhere men were asking why poverty should exist in the midst of potential plenty. None of the political parties had an intelligible answer. There was a growing feeling of frustration and resentment on the part of those lacking the necessities of life and denied a job which would have enabled them to earn and buy what they wanted. Among the wealthier sections of the community there was an uneasy feeling of impending collapse of the whole economic and social system. And, indeed, there was reason for fear. The U.S.S.R. had broken away from the old system and established Communism, which, whatever its faults, did remove the frustration of unemployment and held out hopes of running the machines at full capacity to provide the things people need. When unemployment was at its worst after the world economic crisis, Germany broke away and set up the Nazi system which used the most insidious propaganda to point out

the evils of the old system and undermine it. The United States adopted the ' New Deal ' which big business condemned and resisted as incompatible with the existence of the old system. Great Britain, with the toughest political constitution of any country in the world and with a long history of gradual evolution by consent, resisted changes more successfully than any of the other great nations. The Government followed the democratic policy of gradually giving way in the face of public demands. Unemployment insurance and other social services and charities took the edge off poverty. When discontent began to assume dangerous proportions, it was appeased by another shilling or two on the dole, a few more free meals for hungry children, cheap milk for school children and an extension of charities.

The stability of Great Britain in a rapidly changing world may be an actual danger. Britain cannot remain unchanged, retaining an outworn system which other nations are changing, unless we are content to suffer the fate of Rome, of Spain and all the other great empires which settled down to live on their fat. A ruling class living on dividends, masses of the people on the dole and a Government trying merely to maintain an uneasy *status quo* is a picture which fills thinking men with despair. The dole and the cinemas in Britain were too reminiscent of the bread and circuses in Rome when that great empire began to decline.

NATURE OF THE IMPENDING CHANGES

Our people will not allow us to suffer this fate. Our fighting men are not coming back to the dole. They are not going to tolerate seeing their wounded comrades and the families of those who are killed living in poverty on meagre pensions eked out by the proceeds of Poppy

Days when they know that the great industrial machine can turn out in sufficient amounts all that is needed to provide a comfortable living for everybody.

Much water has flowed under the bridges in the twenty-five years that separate us from the War of 1914–18. New ideas are abroad. Men have a vision of a better world, though, as yet, it is a confused and murky vision. But the vision is being clarified. Representative men of science, at a meeting of the Division for the Social and International Relations of Science of the British Association held during September 1941 and presided over by the Ambassadors of the United States, the U.S.S.R. and China, among others, outlined a new world of plenty which science has made possible.(1) The Malvern Conference condemned in the bluntest terms the faults of the old system and recommended changes more drastic than those suggested by any of our great political parties.(2) The 1941 Committee, consisting largely of literary men, are planning now for a new and better Britain.(3) Most significant of all, a number of our leading business men — those who control the levers of the economic machine — have realized that the old system is both unsound and unjust and have outlined new principles for economic adjustment which would give our economic system a new spirit and a lead in the same general direction as that along which science, literature and the Church are heading.(4) Our political leaders have also given us a lead. Mr. Churchill has spoken of " the fuller life for the common man " ; Mr. Bevin of " relegating the miseries of poverty to the limbo of the past " ; and Mr. Roosevelt has held out the vision of a world free from want and has indicated the line that the new economic system should take. He says, " Economic policy can no longer be an end in itself. It is merely a means of achieving social objectives."

Great Britain should take the lead in bringing about these changes. We gave the world democracy, which, in spite of all its faults, is the best system of government which has ever been devised. We led the world in the changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution which created the great wealth of the twentieth century. We should now be in the vanguard of a forward movement to the better world in which the common man will get his due share of the wealth and be able to enjoy a full life in freedom from fear and want.

WE MUST PLAN NOW

I have tried to show here that changes are inevitable and to indicate the general line along which changes should take place, but pious opinions and hopes are of little use unless they inspire us to action. We must draw up a definite plan indicating the steps by which we are going to reach the better world we aim to build. We cannot see far into the future. We do not know what additional powers the physical sciences will give or what additional guidance is forthcoming from the biological sciences and ethics. Nor do we know very exactly what men's wants are, still less what their wants will be in the new material and spiritual environment of the new world. All that we can plan for, in the economic sense, is for man's needs which are known and can be defined. We know that man needs, for his physical well-being, food and shelter — a house, furniture, clothing and a job. And the standard of food and the standard of housing necessary for health have been defined. We can, therefore, plan for these. It is scarcely worth while, in the meantime, planning for more than these because, even in the wealthiest countries, it will take years to provide food and shelter for all on a health standard.

We know also that for his self-respect and spiritual well-being, man needs an opportunity of contributing to the common wealth as much as he takes out of it. But, as we shall see later, the provision of food and houses on a health standard will provide work for all willing to work. The essential feature of the change in the economic system, therefore, should be giving priority for the production of the necessities of life until these are available for everybody. The industrial machines should be kept running at full capacity and the nozzle of the economic system directed first towards the poverty-stricken areas. If we are going to build a new world which will remain stable, we must build from the bottom upwards. Once every family is adequately housed, clothed and fed and every person willing to work has a job, we shall be well on our way towards the new world and have a sound foundation on which further building can proceed at a more leisurely pace.

CAN WE AFFORD IT?

Some people say, and, indeed, seem to believe, that after the War we shall be so poor that we shall be unable to provide a better standard of living for the poorer part of the population which is the essential feature of the better world we plan to build. As a matter of fact, after the War the capacity for the production of wealth will be much greater than it was in pre-war days. Every new war factory which has been built is a potential source of wealth. By changing the 'end points' they can turn out the goods which men need for a decent standard of living just as easily as they turn out aeroplanes, tanks and other munitions. One of the economic difficulties after the War of 1914–18 was the increased power of production and the difficulty of finding markets for the

products. Even in Great Britain with two or three million men unemployed and our factories standing half idle, the standard of living was rising. People were better fed, better housed and had better clothes and furniture in 1938 than in 1913. There is not the slightest doubt about our ability to produce the wealth. Men of science have now given us the physical means of attaining the new world order which our poets and prophets have seen only in their visions.

CHAPTER II

WE MUST WIN THE WAR FIRST

SOME people will say 'Why waste time planning until the war is won?' The answer is that this world convulsion is not a war which can be finished by a treaty giving an indemnity and an adjustment of boundaries in favour of the victor. It is a world civil war in which the victors will gain control of the whole world. Such a situation has never arisen before in history. Unless we have a plan to deal with it before the fighting finishes, we shall be as ill-prepared to win the peace as we were to fight the War. In addition to the new world situation, we shall have all the troubles we had after the War of 1914–18 and on a bigger scale. The scramble for jobs of men demobilized and those dismissed from munition factories, and the inco-ordinated rush of business concerns to get on to a peace-time footing again and to keep as much of their war profits as they can, will bring about chaotic conditions with which no Government will be able to cope.

We need the plan not only to be ready to carry us over the transitional period from war to peace, we need it to help to win the War. The fighting spirit of Great Britain was raised to white heat when we were threatened with an invasion because we had something to defend. But the nation has not that white heat for the war of offence needed for victory. We do not have a vision of the future which inspires us with the crusading spirit. Hitler did inspire the people of Germany to follow him in a war of conquest by the picture of the new world order he held out to them. The U.S.S.R. and China

have each a vision of the future which makes men and women give every ounce of their strength and make every sacrifice, even life itself, to attain.

We, in Great Britain, have no such vision of the future. Too many of us are still thinking of a past in which the only thing that seemed to matter was money. Many people have still the idea that if they subscribe to War Loans, they are making an important contribution to the War effort and no more should be expected of them. The fact of the matter is that you cannot fight this War with money alone. Statements like some town "buys a battleship" are sheer nonsense. We cannot *buy* battleships; they must be built. What is needed for the building is material and hard work. Money is needed to keep the economic system running and we need more of it in war-time. So those who have it should give it and give it cheerfully, but they should not be allowed to think that by giving money they have fulfilled their duty to the country unless, through age or sickness, there is nothing more they can do.

This obsession about money is hampering us in all directions. Some business men are still thinking as much about the money they are making as about the output of munitions. They forget that money made out of the War is 'blood money' which no decent-minded person could have any satisfaction in using. Miners have actually stopped work because income tax was deducted from their wages, in spite of the fact that coal means tanks and aeroplanes and these mean life or death to the men fighting for us. We urgently need more extensive communal feeding to save food, fuel and labour and to ensure the bigger output which better feeding of our workers would give. Yet, after two and a half years of war, we are holding conferences to consider the complaint that communal feeding interferes with the profits of

caterers. We cannot fight this War efficiently with one hand on our purse.

The great majority of the people in Great Britain are pulling their full weight and making sacrifices gladly. But we are not yet within sight of the last 5 per cent of the total possible national effort which will make all the difference between a long war and a short war. A plan such as that outlined in the following chapters to bring freedom from fear and freedom from want to "all men in all lands" would give a vision of the future which would inspire the common people, who are the people who must win this War, to give the last ounce needed.

Our leaders could tell the workers that, as soon as the enemy is defeated, the nation is going to set itself to build houses for the homeless with the utmost speed. Neither labour nor material will be allowed to be diverted from houses to motor-cars or any other luxury until every family has a decent home with decent furniture. The national food supply will be increased as rapidly as possible until the poorest family has all the milk, fruit, eggs and every other kind of food needed to give them a diet on the health standard. There will be no more slums, no unemployment, no gross poverty and no people dependent upon charities for the necessities of life. We could call on the miner, the munition worker and the dock labourer to work as they have never worked before, sending up the coal, rolling out the tanks and aeroplanes and unloading the food and munitions. They would know that their future was safe and that the quicker they turned out the stuff, the sooner the War would be over and then they would get on to the much more congenial task of building the new Britain.

To the business men who hold the levers of power and manage the highly complicated organizations which enable wealth to be produced and distributed we could

offer a job which would need all their powers of organization and bring them the great joy of creative effort in a task which would bring benefits to the whole of their fellow men. The carrying-out of this job would bring them not only more pleasure but also more power and prestige than could be obtained from money made out of the War.

To the people of Europe, including Germany, we can say: "*Here is the new order the Allies are fighting for. The day the invasion army comes, it will bring with it the ships laden with the food to relieve starvation and the medical supplies to eliminate the epidemics and restore people to health. The ships will continue to come bringing food and the other things you need not merely for a short period of post-war relief. Under the new world order we are fighting for, the wealthier nations will continue to supply you with these without any demand for payment until every person in your country has reached a standard of living which provides the poorest with the necessities of life on a health standard. Until you have reached that standard, you will not be encouraged to export from your country any wealth needed to provide food and houses for your people. When you have reached that level, your people will have attained economic freedom as well as political and religious freedom. We will then begin to discuss the question of how you can repay the nations which acted as your good neighbours in your time of need.*"

To the people of India we can say: "*We have no desire to hold you within the British Empire by the hair of the head. All the British Commonwealth of Nations are co-operating with all the other Allies to create a new world order under which poverty will be abolished in all countries. You must fight side by side with us to drive the tyranny of the Nazis and Japs from the face of the earth and then co-operate with us in dealing with poverty which is India's main political problem, and in solving that problem your own internal differences will harmonize.*"

If freedom from fear and want, which the Sixth Article

of the Atlantic Charter promises to all men in all lands, were expressed in concrete terms, we could have a statement of peace aims which the common men in all lands would understand. They would realize that this is a war of the common people for the common people. They would know that the victory of the Allies would mean a glorious revolution which would bring a new era of peace and brotherhood among the nations, a new age of plenty for everybody. Men who have the gift of language could give the people a picture of the future and inspire them with a spiritual fervour which would make them redouble their efforts to destroy Nazism so that they could begin to build the new world.

CHAPTER III

FREEDOM FROM FEAR

THE Atlantic Charter promises freedom from want for all men of all lands. The standard of living for the great majority of mankind is so low that, even if want be interpreted as merely the necessities for a healthy life, it will take several decades to fulfil the promise, and it can never be fulfilled unless nations co-operate in a world free from war. War, or even the preparation for war, makes long-range world-wide economic planning impossible. We must first lay the foundations of a permanent peace.

The advocates of Federal Union are right in their contention that peace is impossible so long as every country has an independent fighting force. They suggest therefore that, in Europe, countries should be grouped into regional federal unions, each with a common fighting force and a common economic policy. This would preserve peace within each union but it would not guarantee peace between the different groups. The domination of the German group of States by Prussia does not inspire confidence in regional federation as a means of preserving world peace. Since the United States entered the War, the idea of a British and United States English-speaking federation has been canvassed. This looks too much like the British Empire writ large with its capital transferred to Washington. There is much to be said for an English-speaking federation, but a federation which leaves out the U.S.S.R. and the great Asiatic nations will have little hope of maintaining world peace.

When a fleet of bombers can cross the Atlantic in

about seven hours, and when an Asiatic country can, without warning, deliver a deadly blow at an American country across the widest ocean in the world, it is obvious that, even if whole continents were united in separate federal unions, there is no guarantee that the danger of war would be very much reduced. Science has eliminated distance and brought all the nations of the world into such close and intimate contact with each other that the only stable union is a world-wide union of all countries.

Some form of world government has become a necessity. International finance, international trade agreements, international rules for the control of infectious diseases, international postal systems, international units and methods in science and international art, music and sports events are already phases of a world government, but we do not yet have an international police force to maintain international law and order. This is inevitable. The present War will go on until one or other of the opposing groups has conquered the world. The victor will then become the world government and it must maintain a fighting force which will be a world-wide police force.

The Nazis realize this. They are out for world domination. They are fighting not under the national emblem of the German Eagle but under a new symbol, the Swastika, and they call for and receive the support of men in other nations in their attempt to establish the new Nazi world government. There is no longer any half-way house. This War cannot be settled by a peace treaty with adjustment of boundaries and the payment of a war indemnity. We are fighting for the highest of all stakes—the whole world.

The Allied democratic countries, representing about three-fourths of the world population, are uniting their fighting forces and pooling their economic resources and

their wealth in a common effort to defeat Nazism. When the Nazi forces are broken, the co-operation of the democratic countries will need to be maintained to establish law and order in the defeated countries. They will be in control of all countries and responsible for them. They will find themselves in the position of being a world government. An international group of Allied statesmen who are not absorbed in the prosecution of the War should be set up now to consider the form and functions of the new world government with its world court of justice, its economic council and its police force.

Means should be taken to make the idea of world government familiar to the common people. Federal Unionists have already done much to win acceptance for the idea of countries giving up part of their sovereign rights to a larger unit.[1] It must now be clear that, as things have gone, we must extend our ideas and recognize that the whole world is the only logical unit. It will be easier to reach that by one step than by a series of intermediate steps.

The establishment of a world government would bring about the disappearance of the spurious form of patriotism which has been fostered in the last two or three hundred years and which has reached its highest peak in Germany. It would, however, foster a true and beneficent patriotism. The delegation of certain sovereign rights to an international government, which would keep the peace and promote co-operation between nations for their mutual benefit, would still leave nations free to develop their own form of internal government. The larger the size of a group which combines, the more can each member of the group retain its own individuality and develop its own culture. Home rule for all nations is quite compatible with an overriding world authority maintaining peace. If the fear of war be removed, there is a great

deal to be said for decentralization of government. The smaller democratic nations have been better governed than the larger nations. Before the War, they had a higher standard of living for the common people, greater contentment and social security than the larger nations. The closer the association is between a Government and the people it governs, the better the Government is likely to be. That close association is more easily obtained in a small country than in a large one.

A few people in Great Britain and the United States still talk of this as being an imperialistic war. Nothing could be further from the truth. The British Empire changed into the British Commonwealth of Nations some time after the War of 1914–18, and after this War, the nations of the British Commonwealth, each as a free and independent unit, will unite with other nations in a World Commonwealth. It is fitting that the United States, the British Commonwealth, and the U.S.S.R. who have solved the problem of federation, should take the lead in bringing about the final federation of all nations.

The bringing about of that world union of nations will be by far the greatest forward step which mankind has taken. It will mark the beginning of a new golden age in which peace, justice, co-operation between nations and between men, freedom from fear and freedom from want, and all the virtues which religion has advocated, will flourish. For those of us who adhere to the Christian faith, it will be the answer to the petition " Thy Kingdom come ". In a very real sense, this War is Armageddon. On one side there are ranged the forces of evil, blatantly boasting of evil, and on the other side there are the forces of free men of all nations. It is a world civil war in which there is no room for neutrals. Nations must ultimately range themselves on one side or the other. The Churches might well preach continuously from the text " Cursed be

he who cometh not to the help of the Lord against the mighty ".

This is not " just another war ". It is the last great world war. Those who are killed will have died for a far greater cause than the glory of an Empire. We are fighting for a cause which should call forth every effort and make every sacrifice seem worth while. Mr. Churchill foresaw the ferocious nature of the struggle and offered only " blood, sweat and tears ". These would not be worth while if we did not see through the mist of our tears the vision of the new world order which those of us who survive the War will see established in our day.

CHAPTER IV

FREEDOM FROM WANT

NATURE OF THE ECONOMIC MEASURES NEEDED

THE destruction of Nazism and the establishment of a World Government, which will give nations freedom from the fear of war and relief from the burden of armaments, will clear the way for measures designed to bring about freedom from want.

But we have not yet reached agreement on the nature of these measures. Many business men and politicians talk of economic reconstruction in the sense of getting trade and industry going again on the old lines. We have seen in Chapter I that this is undesirable. Even if it were desirable, it would be extremely difficult to do. New armament factories have been set up in almost every country. By changing the 'end points' of these new industrial units, commercial products can be turned out as easily as armaments. The potential industrial capacity of all countries will be greatly increased at the end of the War. Countries to which Britain and America exported certain products may be able to produce them as economically themselves. The balance of industry in the world is being completely upset by the War. If we reconstruct on the old basis, the fight for export markets will be even fiercer than it was between the last War and this.

Another factor which complicates planning for industry is the decline of old industries and the rise of new. These changes are not foreseen. The Industrial Revolution could not have been planned because no-one foresaw the tremendous changes inherent in the invention of the

steam engine. Nor were the changes which the invention of the internal combustion engine brought foreseen. The great motor-car industry had arrived before any Government department realized it was on the way. Some of these changes happen almost overnight. The discovery of aniline dyes created a new chemical industry in Europe and, at the same time, destroyed the indigo-growing industry in India, throwing millions of people there into such poverty that thousands died of starvation. Even when discoveries are made, the results of their application are not easy to forecast. We have known for years that the new plastics, new alloys, new forms of non-ferrous metals will, to some extent, replace some of the older industries and bring about changes in house construction and in the furniture and clothing trades, but we are still guessing about the extent of these changes and the extent to which they affect existing industries. Changes in industry happen. They are not planned, and it is doubtful whether they can be planned by Government to the advantage of the general community. Our experience of Government planning in pre-war days gives grounds for fears that Government planning would restrict developments to protect existing interests. If the Government would undertake to carry out the schemes outlined in Chapters V to X, which would guarantee everybody a house and food on a health standard and a job, there is a great deal to be said in favour of Governments restricting control of industry to what is needed for the protection of the general community and allowing each industry to develop on its own initiative and enterprise. In any event, it is obvious that planning for industrial developments under present conditions, when the future is so uncertain, is beset with the utmost difficulties.

The same difficulties appear in planning for agri-

culture. We cannot do this until our food policy is decided. Shall we restrict production and imports of food in the interest of farmers or shall we increase production and imports in the interest of consumers? Shall we limit production in the interest of exports or shall we adopt a policy of greater national self-sufficiency? Until these major questions are decided, we cannot plan for agriculture.

But even though we were able to bring about industrial and agricultural prosperity, there is no guarantee that these would give us freedom from want. The unparalleled industrial development in Great Britain in the nineteenth century was accompanied by a fall in the standard of living of the majority of the working class. They worked longer hours, were worse fed and worse housed than in the time of Queen Anne. Those who doubt this statement should read the Fifth and Sixth Reports of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council, 1862 (1) and 1863,(2) and Prof. J. C. Drummond's account of the deterioration of the diet and the physique of the people.(3) This deterioration in physique was obscured by the reduction in the death-rate which followed the control of epidemic diseases, such as cholera, enteric fever and typhus. The elimination of these diseases was due to the advance of medical science and not to the expansion of trade and industry. In the same way, high prices for agricultural produce is no guarantee for freedom from want. In 1840, wheat was 65*s*. per quarter, nearly three times what it was in 1913, and thousands of families were living in a state of semi-starvation.

Although all political parties are agreed that planning for the future is necessary, there is no agreement even on the objective of planning. Some on the Extreme Left see so much evil in the present economic and social

system that they would tear the whole structure down to its foundations to clear the ground for a new classless society. On the other hand, some on the Extreme Right see so much good in the present system that they resent suggestions for any major change. Some still put their faith in international trade agreements, some believe in tariffs, some in free trade, some in nationalization and some in greater freedom from Government interference.

An important development in recent years has been the rise of new groups of planners outside the professional political parties, for example, the Fabian Society, the Political and Economic Planning Group, the Economic Reform Club, the Malvern Conference, the British Association, various scientific groups and other groups, such as the 1941 Committee. The spontaneous rise of these and other groups of planners is an indication of the extent to which thinking people realize the need for planning for the future. The diversity of the aims of the different groups and the methods suggested for attaining them is an indication of the complexity of the problem.

BACK TO FUNDAMENTALS

In these circumstances, the best way to find common ground of agreement, in which all can co-operate, is to go back to fundamentals. All the political parties and all the planning groups would agree with the third phrase of Abraham Lincoln's famous Declaration at Gettysburg, "Government of the people, by the people, for the people". Now, if government is to be "for the people", it is obviously the first duty of government to provide the necessities of life for the people governed. The primary material necessities of life are (1) food, (2) shelter which includes a house, furniture, clothing and warmth, and (3) 'a job', which is a psychological

necessity. The last named prevents the spiritual deterioration which accompanies enforced idleness on the part of men who wish to retain their self-respect by contributing to the common pool of wealth as much as they take out of it.

If we put first things first and plan to fulfil the first duty of government — to provide the necessities of life on a health standard for the people governed — then we know what we are planning for. The minimum standard of housing compatible with health has been defined in Ministry of Health regulations. The standard of food for health is known and has been approved by a number of Governments, including that of the United States and of the United Kingdom. We know what foodstuffs are needed to bring the diet of the whole population up to the standard for health. We have, therefore, a clear, direct and limited objective in planning.

The standard of living of a third of the population is below the level needed for health either in food or housing and, in the case of the poorest, in both. As we shall see later, it would take several years to house and feed the whole population on a health standard. If the Government is going to plan for the welfare of the people, we must plan first for food and houses. If we had every family housed in decency and fed adequately and every man in a job, we should have social security and contentment and a sound economic foundation for more ambitious planning.

Some people will think that providing the bare necessities of life is a very poor aim, scarcely worth while planning for. They should take a walk through the slums of our cities and look at the people, the houses they live in and the food they eat. These people live in a different world from the well-to-do. It is not sufficiently realized that, in some of our towns and cities, there are thousands of

families living in houses unfit for human habitation and families which have not even the elementary sanitary convenience of a w.c. of their own. Among the families of the unemployed and of the poorest paid workers, more than one infant in ten dies soon after it is born because the mothers are badly fed and badly housed.

People who are well off have a dislike of looking at the slums and the slum dwellers. They might, however, obtain information second-hand from the reports of those who have examined these conditions. Take, for example, Mr. Seebohm Rowntree's 1937 report.[4] After an exhaustive enquiry, he tried to ascertain the lowest wage on which a family with three children could be supported. Let us look at the kind of diet in his proposed family budgets. To make it as cheap as possible, he cut out butter and whole milk and substituted margarine and canned separated milk, and he assumed that it would be cheaper if the bread was baked at home. He did not enquire how many houses in the slums would have facilities for baking bread. Take the menu for Monday, the first working day of the week :

Breakfast	Dinner	Tea	Supper
Porridge and skimmed milk, bacon, bread and margarine (or fried bread), tea	Beef roll, mashed potatoes and salad, steamed date pudding	Tea, bread and margarine, watercress	Lentil soup (remains) and bread

That is not a diet on which we can rear a healthy race. It falls far below what we now know to be necessary for health. Imagine a dock labourer, or a miner, after a hard day's physical work, coming home to a meal of tea, bread, margarine and watercress and, for his supper, bread and lentil soup, if there was any left over from

Sunday's supper. Yet Mr. Rowntree was forced to the conclusion that " there are millions of our fellow-countrymen who are so poor that they cannot afford as good a diet as that ". These millions contain a high proportion — nearly one-half — of our children. He estimates that, even if the standard of living were brought up to that level, about one-third of the children in Great Britain would " during five or more of their most critical years be insufficiently provided even according to the spartan standard set forth in this book ". When, to this low standard of feeding, there are added the slum conditions in which these people are crowded, there is no need to look for hereditary factors, ignorance and carelessness of the mother, or any other cause to account for the high death-rate and the poor physique of the poorest third of the population.

It should be noticed that this low standard of living, which would still leave one-third of our children below that standard for the first five years of their lives, was not a picture of actual conditions. This is the *higher standard* which Rowntree suggested we should try to reach within five years. We sing " There'll always be an England ". Does the England about which we sing include South Wales, Tyneside, Wigan and Jarrow, or does it refer only to " the stately homes of England " which house less than 0·1 per cent of the population of England? We need a new song about a new England in which all the population will glory, a song that will give expression to the aspirations and hopes of the miner's wife and all like her who have never known anything in the past except degrading poverty in a sordid environment. These people might well ask the Government, " Who are you planning for? If you are planning for us, what we need is a decent house, food and a job for those who wish to work."

We shall try to show in the following chapters that planning to provide food and housing for our people would bring about agricultural and economic prosperity. It would also cure the pre-war social disease, namely, unemployment. As Mr. Roosevelt has pointed out, there are so many millions of people who have never been adequately fed and clothed and housed that, by undertaking to provide a decent standard of living for these millions, the free peoples of the world can furnish employment for every man and woman who seeks a job. Mr. Roosevelt knows what he is talking about. It was the consideration of the plight of these millions in the United States which brought about the ' New Deal '.

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST NECESSITY OF LIFE

FOOD

We can make only temporary plans for housing because there is no limit to the possible improvement and architectural fashions in housing, but we can make permanent plans for food because food requirements are known and will be the same a thousand years hence as they are to-day. We can, therefore, plan to provide the amounts of the common foodstuffs needed for health. If we produce more than these amounts, there will be a waste of food. If we produce less, there will be a waste of life. This is so fundamental to the whole argument that it is necessary to enlarge on it.

FOOD STANDARD FOR HEALTH KNOWN

The recent discoveries in the science of nutrition have forced us to set up a dietary standard which is higher than that on which political measures were based in the nineteenth century. During the nineteenth century, physiologists studied man as a machine and dietary requirements were calculated solely in terms of (1) the amount of energy (or calories) which the body needed for the maintenance of heat and for performing muscular work, and (2) the protein substances needed for repair of 'wear and tear' and, in the case of children, for constructive material for growth. It was assumed that, if people had sufficient food for these purposes, the needs of the body for food would be met. Appetite is a natural guide to the amount of food needed to maintain the

body temperature and provide the energy for work. It was assumed, therefore, that if people had sufficient food to satisfy hunger, the social and political problem of food was solved. By the end of the nineteenth century, the battle for the cheap loaf had been won. There was no significant part of the population suffering from actual starvation and the question of human needs for food was no longer a political issue.

Early in the present century, physiologists discovered that natural foodstuffs contained vitamins which are essential for health. It was found that some commonly occurring diseases, the cause of which had been a mystery, were due to the lack of these vitamins in the diet. This led to a re-examination of the requirement for minerals, the amounts of which had previously been underestimated, and it was found that there are diseases due to the lack of some of these. This new knowledge led to the setting-up of a new dietary standard which provided, in addition to calories and protein, sufficient amounts of vitamins and minerals to maintain health.

It is only within recent years that we have obtained sufficient information on the requirements for all the different vitamins and minerals to enable us to draw up standards. One of the first standards drawn up on modern lines was that of the British Medical Association, which, in 1933, published a report on the kind of diet which would maintain working efficiency at minimum cost.[1] The diets were drawn up in terms of different foodstuffs. In the same year, what has become known as the 'Stiebeling standard' was published by the Home Economics Division of the Department of Agriculture in Washington.[2] It stated the standard in terms of dietary constituents and also of the foodstuffs which would supply the stated amounts of all the constituents. In 1935 an International Committee, appointed by the

League of Nations, drew up a standard for mothers and children.[3] In 1940 the Canadian Medical Association published a report giving examples of diets which would meet all the requirements for health for families of different sizes.[4] Last year the American Government appointed a Committee on Food and Nutrition to review the whole question of food requirements in the light of most recent knowledge. This Committee has now published its recommendations.[5]

These statements of requirements are all in close agreement. The first, that drawn up by the British Medical Association at minimum cost, is rather lower in some constituents than the others, but they are so similar that, taken together, they can be regarded as the modern dietary standard for health and physique in so far as that can be attained by proper feeding.

It should be noted that these new standards have been approved by authoritative bodies. Thus, for example, the League of Nations standard for mothers and children has been approved by the Ministry of Health, the Medical Research Council and by corresponding bodies in other countries. The recommendations of the Committee on Food and Nutrition is approved by the Government of the United States.

But the validity of the modern standard does not rest merely on official approval. We know from the results of numerous investigations that people living on a diet conforming to this modern standard enjoy the highest known level of health and physical fitness, and that the further the diet falls below the standard, the worse health and physical fitness become. We know also that the standard is practical because the average diet of well-to-do families who have a wide choice of food and whose choice is not limited by purchasing power, does come up to the standard. Long and laborious researches of men of

science have confirmed the knowledge which mankind has acquired about food during the past countless ages. In some respects, it has done little more than clarify that knowledge and present it in technical terms.

The fact that a dietary standard has been stated in terms of food constituents which can be measured provides us with a yardstick by which we can measure the extent to which diets in common use are adequate for health and estimate the amounts of the different foodstuffs needed to bring the diet of a given population up to the standard for health.

INADEQUACY OF DIETS IN COMMON USE

When we apply this standard to diets in common use, as has been done in recent years, we find, for example, that in Great Britain, during 1932–5, the diet of the wealthier half of the population was, on the average, up to the standard, though there were many families, especially those who had only recently become well-to-do, whose diets, through faulty dietary habits, were deficient in some respects. Among the poorer half of the population, however, the diet became worse as income per head of the family fell. In the poorest 10 per cent, the diet was deficient in nearly all the known vitamins and in some of the minerals.[6]

In a more recent enquiry which was just completed before the outbreak of war and is not yet published, it was found that there had been a remarkable improvement in the national dietary. This was due partly to a rise in the standard of living which enabled a larger proportion of the population to obtain a diet adequate for health, and partly to the milk-in-school schemes and the public health schemes supplying milk and other vitamin- and mineral-rich foods free to necessitous mothers

and children. The diet of about two-thirds of the population was up to the standard and that of the poorest was not so grossly deficient as it had been. Still, the position was that something like one-third of the population were subsisting on a diet which could not maintain them in full health.

The results of these investigations were received with some incredulity, especially by those who retained the nineteenth-century conception of food requirements and regarded 'malnutrition' as merely a new-fangled term for the old-fashioned word 'starvation'. But other countries carried out similar investigations and reached similar results. The most exhaustive and comprehensive investigations were conducted by the Home Economics Division of the Department of Agriculture in the United States. In the preface of the 1939 Yearbook of the Department of Agriculture, Mr. Henry Wallace, then secretary of agriculture and now vice-president of the United States, referring to the general nature of the results of these enquiries, says, "Fifty per cent of the people of the United States do not get enough in the way of dairy products, fruit and vegetables to enjoy full health and physique, and a large proportion of them do not get enough because they cannot afford it".(7) Two years later Mr. Milo Perkins said in an official publication: "It has been estimated that 45 millions of our people are living below the poor-diet danger line. Many of them are children who won't grow up to be healthy citizens unless the total problem is tackled now".(8)

These are the two wealthiest countries in the world. In other countries, with the exception of one or two of the smaller democracies, for example, New Zealand and Holland, the proportion of the population whose diet is inadequate for health is even higher.

EFFECT OF DIET ON HEALTH

Health and physique are directly correlated with diet. The gross deficiency diseases, such as rickets, pellagra, scurvy and nutritional anæmia, are confined almost entirely to the poorest and worst-fed families. As family income rises and diet improves, the incidence and severity of these decrease to zero in the well-fed, well-to-do families. In Great Britain, the infant mortality rate, which is directly affected by the feeding of the mother and child, is more than 100 per 1000 among the poorest. It decreases as income rises to less than 20 among the well-fed and well-housed. The death-rate from respiratory tuberculosis, resistance to which is profoundly affected by diet, is 125 per 100,000 among the poorest and falls to half that rate among the well-do-do. The same correlation is also found with regard to many physical disabilities. The average adult stature is about four inches less among the poor than among the well-to-do.(9) The incidence of mental deficiency, which some recent investigations suggest may be partly due to malnutrition, is several times higher among the poor than among the well-to-do.(10) The expectation of life is several years less. Poverty and faulty diet which go together are thus correlated with disease, physical disability and premature death.

Of course, we cannot attribute all these effects of poverty to faulty diet alone. Bad housing, the frustration of unemployment and other psychological influences arising from want and the fear of want play an important part. We know, however, that, in the case of children at least, faulty diet is by far the most important factor because, when the diet is improved, health and physique improve even though there is no change in other environmental factors. When children of the poorer class

are given a diet as good as the diet of the children of the well-to-do, diseases due to faulty diet disappear. Positive signs of health appear and then the children begin to grow at the same rate as the well-fed children of the wealthy. The results of a recent experiment in Toronto suggest that diet is the all-important factor in the high infant mortality rate among the poor. When pregnant women from the poorer districts were given a diet fully adequate for health, the infants were born as healthy as the infants of the well-to-do.[11]

The close connexion between food and health is shown by the corresponding improvement in both which has taken place in Great Britain in the last thirty years. During that period, the consumption per head of the protective foods, that is, those rich in vitamins and minerals, has increased by roughly about 50 per cent. Accompanying this improvement in diet there has been a corresponding improvement in national health. The grosser forms of rickets, scurvy and xerophthalmia (sore eyes), one or other of which affected more than 50 per cent of the children in the industrial areas, have almost completely disappeared.[12] In England, the average infant mortality rate of all classes has fallen from 100 to 57 per 1000. The tuberculosis death-rate has been nearly halved. Children leaving school to-day are 2-3 inches taller than their parents were at the same age. A corresponding improvement has taken place in other democratic countries, such as Holland and Denmark. The extent of the improvement shows how easily health and physique can be built up. It is worth while noting here that the democratic countries took the lead in an international scheme under the League of Nations to apply the newer knowledge of nutrition in all countries. The only great nations which did not co-operate were Germany, Italy and Japan.

Another aspect of the food problem which is only beginning to be studied is the effect of faulty diet on the mind. Pellagra, a disease due to deficiency of one of the vitamins, is accompanied by melancholia, and many of the patients end up in lunatic asylums. Lethargy, apathy and loss of interest in life are characteristic of beriberi. In nutritional anæmia there is usually listlessness, despondency and a peevish irritability. It is probable that there is no physical clinical sign of malnutrition which is not accompanied by a psychological symptom. In an experiment carried out recently at a great medical school in the United States, the vitamin B content of the diet of a group of women was varied without their knowledge. It was found that when the amount was reduced, the women became moody, non-co-operative, unwilling to work and, when they did work, were inefficient. When the amount of the vitamin was increased, the women became brighter, friendlier and wanted to work.[13] A few experiments made on school children who had been previously badly fed show that as health improves with better feeding, the lack of powers of concentration and the early onset of fatigue characteristic of malnutrition disappear and the rate of educational advance is accelerated. It has been suggested that much of the mental dullness and even mental deficiency, which is many times more prevalent among poor children than among children of the well-to-do, is due to malnutrition. In view of the alarming extent of mental deficiency, this is a subject which warrants further investigation.

An observation made a few years ago by a woman doctor throws light on the psychological effects of malnutrition. The investigation showed that 40-50 per cent of women of the child-bearing age in the working class suffer from anæmia. As the anæmia disappeared under treatment, the women's health improved. Most of the

women were not aware that they were in bad health. Many of them expressed astonishment at the improvement in health and stated that they had thought that the indifferent health they had had before was common to all women, merely a penalty of their sex. This woman doctor noted that as their health improved they began to take more interest in their appearance. Many of them bought new hats and others titivated up old models. When this result was reported at a meeting, it was received with laughter. As a matter of fact, it is a pathetic story. These women had ceased to take an interest in their appearance. When a woman of child-bearing age reaches that stage, she should be regarded as seriously ill.

Whatever results further investigations may yield, there is abundant evidence that if the diet of everybody were raised to the level for health a great reduction in disease would result and much of the indefinite ill-health and many of the physical disabilities which afflict the poorer half of the population would vanish. There is no measure which would do more for the promotion of human welfare than bringing a diet adequate for health within the reach of every family.

CHAPTER VI

IMPACT OF A FOOD POLICY ON ECONOMICS

AGRICULTURE

If we adopt a food policy based on human needs, the first task will be to provide the necessary additional foods. Estimates of the additional amounts of the protective foodstuffs needed to bring the diet of the whole population up to the health level can be made. They have been made for the United States, and it has been found that production of the more important protective foods would need to be increased by the following amounts to feed the whole population adequately on a free-choice basis: butter 15 per cent, milk 20 per cent, eggs 35 per cent, tomatoes and citrus fruits 70 per cent, green leafy vegetables 100 per cent.[1] If the United States had these additions to its national larder, the diet of the forty-five millions at present "below the danger line" could be brought up to the safety line.

No such estimates are available for the United Kingdom. We know, however, that milk consumption is lower than in the United States. To bring consumption of milk up to the level recommended by the Advisory Committee on Nutrition, appointed by the Government in 1935, production would need to be nearly doubled.[2] The additional amounts of other protective foods needed would probably be somewhat similar to the United States of America estimates.

The United Kingdom, in pre-war days, imported roughly about two-thirds (estimated in calories or food units) of the food we consume.[3] To meet the needs of the whole population on a free-choice basis, both home

production and imports would need to be increased. This forces us to view our long-standing agricultural problem from a new angle. It is no longer a question of what subsidies should be given or what tariffs or other restrictions should be applied to maintain prices at a level which would make farming profitable. The question is how are we going to find the total amount of food to meet the needs of the whole population. This will be a difficult task for many years after the War. Home production will have to concentrate on the foods we can produce as easily and as economically here as in other countries. Liquid milk, vegetables and some fruits are cheaper produced at home than imported, and there is no reason why eggs and bacon could not be produced as cheaply in Great Britain as in Denmark, Holland or the Baltic countries. These are some of the foods which we need in larger amounts. Fortunately, these products give a big output in money value per acre and require a large amount of labour per acre, a point of social importance in a small densely populated country such as the United Kingdom.

The additional amounts needed are so large that some of the land at present producing wheat, beef and sugar-beet, which can all be imported more cheaply than we can produce them, would need to be devoted to dairying, vegetable- and fruit-growing and to pigs and poultry. British agriculture would become more like that of Denmark and Holland where agriculture was prosperous before the War. British imports of wheat, beef, mutton and sugar would need to be increased to make up for the fall in home production. The increase in the consumption of liquid milk would leave little milk for making butter and cheese. Our imports of these would need to be increased to make good the fall in home production and to raise the total supply to the higher level of consumption required for a health basis. If our additional requirements for fruit are found to be of the same order as those for the United States, namely, 70 per cent, increased imports would need to be added to increased home production to provide the necessary amounts. The larger dairy cow, pig and poultry populations would need not only an extension of home-grown fodder crops but also an increase in the amount of concentrates for feeding stuffs, our imports of which in pre-war days were about 8½ million tons per annum.

If the British Commonwealth joins with the United States on a food policy based on human needs, the pre-war problem of a ' glut ' of foodstuffs, surplus to economic demand, will be replaced by a problem of scarcity. Measures of restriction will be replaced by measures in which science will be applied with all its power to increase the production of food. If the Sixth Article of the Atlantic Charter is to be applied in practice so that nations co-operate to give " all the men in all the lands freedom from want ", the prospect of a world glut of food is so distant that it is completely outwith the sphere of practical politics. All countries can begin to plan for a prosperous and expanding agriculture.

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

This policy of agricultural expansion to meet human needs for food will have a profound effect upon industry and trade. Agriculture will have to be made efficient to enable it to produce the additional foods needed. The great majority of our farms would need to be reconditioned and re-equipped. Many farm buildings in use are well over one hundred years old and adapted to methods of agriculture which are now obsolete. A great quantity of new modern equipment is needed. Better water sup-

plies are needed for many dairy farms, and every farm should have a supply of electricity which can be used not only for lighting but also for milking-machines and other mechanical appliances.

We cannot expect to attract to the land the necessary additional workers or even to retain the present workers unless they have a standard of living equal to that of workers of equal skill in towns. This means not only improved housing with baths, which every farm labourer's house should have, but also better furniture, clothing and the minor luxuries which a skilled artisan in constant employment can afford. The nation must be prepared to pay a price for its home-produced food which will be sufficient to enable farms to be run at a profit and leave a substantial margin to pay for these improvements and developments. The nation need not grudge the money which will go into agriculture. The farmer does not hoard it. It will all come back into the towns to stimulate industry and give employment to workers at a wage which will enable them to buy the additional food. Instead of having town workers capable of making the implements which farmers need unemployed, and land, which could produce the food which the ill-fed unemployed urgently need, going out of cultivation, both town and country workers would be fully employed creating the new wealth needed to lift them both out of poverty.

To pay for our increased imports of food and feeding stuffs, we would need to increase our exports of industrial products. Both the industrial worker at home and the agricultural worker overseas would thus be increasing wealth to their mutual advantage. When we add to the industrial output needed to make our farms efficient and to pay for our food imports the enormous industrial production needed for housing, we have no difficulty in seeing the truth of Mr. Roosevelt's statement that the provision of the necessities of life for everybody will provide employment for all men willing to work.

This increase in agricultural and industrial output would, of course, be good for trade, which would be handling a larger turnover of goods. It would also help to bring about stability in trade. Expansion in the production of food would go on until man's needs were satisfied. Production would then need to be kept fairly constant at that level. People need approximately the same amount of food whether there is a boom or slump in Wall Street or the City of London. Agriculture and the allied industries and the trade in food would, therefore, tend to remain constant. But food production is the world's basic industry, and the trade in food exceeds the trade in any other commodity. Even in a wealthy industrial country like the United Kingdom, about one-fourth of the total national income is spent on food. In poorer countries the proportion is higher. If production and trade in food be kept constant, then a large proportion of the total volume of trade in the world would be stabilized. A stable food industry would help to stabilize other industries. Wheat has been called ' the barometer of trade '. To a much greater extent would an adequate diet involving all the staple foodstuffs be a barometer. If that barometer be kept steady, there will be a chance of fair weather in business.

WHERE IS THE MONEY TO COME FROM?

We cannot have the additional food we need unless we offer the farmer a price which will call forth the additional amounts. We cannot bring the food within the purchasing power of the poorest unless we either subsidize food or increase the incomes of the poorest families. Whatever means be taken to adjust prices to

purchasing power, the public purse, either directly or indirectly, will need to provide the money. The question 'Where is the money to come from?' appears baffling on account of the confusion between money and real wealth. Money is only a symbol, and we become involved in difficulties if we think of a symbol as a reality. Money is a claim on the services of the community, but the value of money depends upon whether the claim can be met. If, for example, at the end of the War, every workman in the country had £100 in War Savings Certificates or Government Loans and decided that, after the exertions of the War, he would take a rest until that money was spent, the whole of our industrial activities would stop and the nation would starve although everybody had abundance of paper money. At the end of the War, we shall have more money than we had at the beginning but we shall, in fact, have less real wealth. The only way to maintain the value of money is to create real wealth so that the symbol will have a right relation to the reality. The credits needed, instead of being devoted to destruction, will be devoted to construction. The increased output of food, the better equipped farms, the increased prosperity of rural towns and villages which will arise from the increased flow of money into country districts, and the increased trade in food which will overflow into other commodities, will be a real national asset for whatever extension of national credit is necessary.

The same arguments with regard to the money needed applies also to the housing scheme referred to (Chap. IX). Although new credits would be needed for both food and housing, the expenditure would, to some extent, be offset by the saving in money which would arise from the decreased expenditure on the treatment of disease which would be prevented, on public social schemes and

private charities which would be unnecessary, and on unemployment which would be reduced to vanishing point. It would be a profitable occupation to calculate the amount of money spent on these schemes, which are only palliatives for the evils with which they deal. It would probably be found that the cost of prevention would be less than the cost of the cure.

In the past we have been too much obsessed with money, as if the making of money were an end in itself. The real wealth of a nation consists in the health, physical fitness and social contentment of its people and, as King George V pointed out, the glory of a nation lies in its happy homes rather than in foreign credits. We can provide the money to fight the War. We can as easily provide the money for food and housing, provided we are as much in earnest about building a better post-war world as we are in destroying Nazism.

AGRICULTURAL AND ECONOMIC PROSPERITY

We have tried to show that a food policy designed to satisfy human needs would lead to an expansion of agriculture, an increase in industrial output and increased trade, and bring about some degree of stability in trade. This food policy could, therefore, be used as the spearhead of a movement for agricultural, industrial and business expansion and prosperity; but, at the same time, it would be a movement for an improvement in national health, for the abolition of poverty, and social security. The movement would reconcile the interest of producers and consumers and of agriculture and industry. Our agriculture and trade policies would no longer be regarded as ends in themselves but the means of achieving human welfare.

Some people with the old idea that you cannot get

on in the world except at the expense of somebody else and that you cannot acquire wealth except by taking it from somebody else will think this is a Utopian policy which will not work. The old pre-war policy of restricting the production of wealth in the interest of the few who had the wealth and of maintaining the great majority of mankind in a state of poverty which deprived them of the primary necessities of life certainly did not work. That was the fundamental cause of the present world-wide convulsion. We must, in a new spirit of co-operation, try a new method which will create new wealth for the majority and which will bring a decent standard of living and a sense of security to everybody. This is the only basis on which a stable civilization can be built.

CHAPTER VII

ORGANIZATION NEEDED FOR A FOOD POLICY

PLANS for a post-war food policy should be made now. If a plan is not ready to be put into operation as soon as the War finishes, there is grave danger that in the confusion which will arise in changing over from war to peace conditions, the emergency organizations which have been created to deal with food will be taken over by 'big business'. In that event, there will be created powerful vested interests which will mould post-war food policy for the financial benefit of those who control the industry instead of adjusting it to provide the food the people need. This happened after the War of 1914–18. The danger of this happening again on a bigger scale is increased by the fact that the present controllers of the organizations for buying and distributing the stable foodstuffs are mainly the men who directed the big food combines before the War.(1) (2) (3)

We must expect some opposition to a food policy based on the needs of the people. The people must be prepared to fight for the control of their own food supplies. The first step in the fight is to have a policy and a plan to carry it through, and then, if the policy and plan meet with the general approval of the common people, to let every household know what the scheme is so that all can demand it with a united voice. Otherwise "freedom from want" promised in the Atlantic Charter will be found only in the "homes fit for heroes to live in" promised during the last War. There is not the slightest doubt that Mr. Lloyd George meant what he said, and it is a national calamity that he was unable to apply to the building of

the homes the same dynamic energy which he applied to winning the War. The same thing will happen to " freedom from want " unless plans are ready before the War ends and the common people know what the plans are. *We must plan now.*

The various planning groups referred to (p. 8) would render a great service to the people who will profit most from freedom from want by co-operating to set up a small committee to collect data about national food requirements and work out the best means of obtaining the necessary national supplies and distributing them in accordance with needs. The plan should be carried to the stage at which a scheme could be handed over for Parliamentary legislation. Working out this first step towards the new world would be of far more value than the most learned reports and dissertations which discuss the political, economic and scientific principles on which the new world should be built but do not answer the question ' Where do we go from here ? '

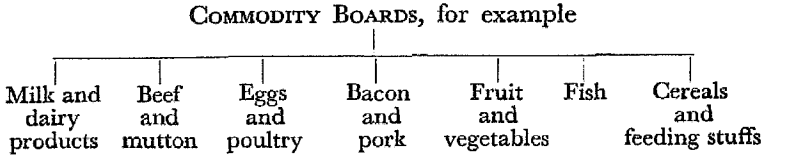
From 1931 to the outbreak of War, I spent a large proportion of my time on Agricultural Commissions and Committees dealing with the reorganization of different branches of agriculture, and on Nutrition Committees dealing with food requirements for health. The work of these Committees was, to a considerable extent, futile because each dealt with only one aspect of the subject. The business of the Agricultural Commissions was to make whatever branch of agriculture with which they were dealing remunerative. The effect of any recommendations leading to limiting the amount of food or raising the price upon the health of the community did not fall within their terms of reference. On the other hand, Ministry of Health Committees submitted reports on food requirements, but the question of whether the food needed before the recommendations could be carried

out was at the time, or was ever likely to be, in the national larder, did not fall within their terms of reference.

Food problems cannot be treated in water-tight compartments. Whatever Government measure affects food affects agriculture, public health, standard of living, trade, both internal and external, and finance. When you touch one, you affect another. When you put up the price of milk in the interest of the farmer, you cut off the milk supply of the poor and must thereafter institute cheap milk schemes for the poor to rectify the damage done by giving a dear milk scheme to the farmer. Raising the price of wheat brings complaints from the poultry farmer who uses wheat for his chickens. Any Government measure affecting food affects the whole social and economic structure.

We have never had a commission dealing with food in all its relationships. Food is so fundamental to economic reconstruction that a Food Planning Commission should be established now.

The following outline is given as an illustration of an organization which might be devised for Great Britain :



The National Food Board should be appointed by the Government after a free discussion in Parliament on the suitability of the men for the posts. The appointment should be made for a period of years so that the Board would not change with any change in government. The members of the Board should be men financially independent of the food trade. The Commodity Boards

might also consist either of independent men or of representatives of all interests, namely, producers, distributors, consumers and taxpayers.

The National Board should be responsible for bringing the national supplies of the main foodstuffs up to the level needed to provide sufficient for everybody and for arranging that sufficient would be available within the purchasing power of everybody. The Board should be voted the necessary funds to carry out these functions and the annual report of the Board would be discussed in the House at the time when the funds were voted.

It is recognized that there would be difficulty in estimating exactly the amount of money needed to enable the Board to get the necessary supplies and also to fix wholesale prices such that an adequate diet would fall within the purchasing power of every family. Data on which an estimate could be made are available in Government departments and from various social surveys. The amount would, of course, vary with the cost of other essentials, such as rent, and with changes in family income; for example, children's allowances would greatly simplify the problem and would decrease the amount needed. This need not be discussed further in this book which deals more with policy than with method.

The National Board would exercise its functions through the Commodity Boards. It would have complete executive powers and should appoint its own officials. The Commodity Boards would control and ultimately own the key-points of food distribution, that is, the processing centres, such as slaughter-houses, milk depots and fruit- and vegetable-canning factories. Each of these processing centres would have attached to it stores in which processed food could be kept for a time without deterioration. These Boards would obtain their supplies from the home producer or from the importer. They

would be the main wholesaler for the foods they handle.

The Commodity Boards would offer the producer a guaranteed market and also a guaranteed price calculated to call forth the total amount needed. They would in turn sell to the trade at a wholesale price calculated to be such that the retailer, giving the minimum distributive service, for example, selling on the cash-and-carry basis, would be able to offer the foodstuffs at a price within the reach of the poorest. Each Commodity Board would be provided with funds to bridge the gulf between what it needs to pay the producer and what it gets from the traders. The amount given to each Board would be decided by the National Board.

Each Commodity Board would thus have a reservoir of money and, at its processing centres, a reservoir of foodstuffs. The rigid connexion between the price paid to the producer and the selling price to the trade would be broken at the reservoir. The Board would, therefore, be able to maintain prices to the consumer at a constant level all the year round, even though it had to pay the producer a higher price in some seasons than in others.

The reserve stocks of food at the reservoirs would accumulate in some seasons and be depleted in others, so that a regular supply for the public would be maintained in spite of the seasonal fluctuations in food production. Eggs and milk, for example, would be maintained at the same price throughout the year instead of being higher in winter when the need for them is greater.

With the knowledge we now have of the preservation of food, there would be no difficulty in keeping the surplus food of a season for use in a later season. Practically all foodstuffs can be preserved. Fish can be preserved for months and appear on the table as fresh as if newly caught and immediately distributed. The food

reservoirs of these Boards would enable food, such as fruit and vegetables, which is at present lost in a season of glut, to be preserved and made available for winter use.

These Boards would not need powers of compulsion over the producer. The offer of a remunerative price would be sufficient to call forth the amounts needed. If too much were sold to the Board, the latter would, in the following years, have to reduce the price offered until it reached the level which called forth the amount needed. In this way, the inefficient producer would ultimately be eliminated.

Farmers would know the guaranteed price offered for each of the commodities and would know that any change would be gradual and notice would be given some considerable time ahead. They would, therefore, be able to decide what type of agriculture was most suited to their farms and arrange for a long-term organization of production instead of, as in pre-war days, chopping and changing in an attempt to catch fluctuating market prices.

There is no need for the Boards to have a monopoly. If a farmer could find a special direct market for his product without passing it through the Board, there is no reason why he should not do so provided the food he produces and sells is up to the standard for health demanded by the Board. Any farmer who could produce and market his product without the assistance of the Board would be a public benefactor not only in saving the funds of the Board but also by competing to maintain a high level of efficiency on the part of the Boards.

In the same way, there would be no need for a uniform retail price with all the inspection and prosecutions needed to maintain uniformity. The service of distribution varies and the cost of it should vary. So long as the poorest people have the food they need with the

cheapest service, there is no reason why retailers should not get as much as they can from the wealthier part of the community wishing an expensive service and willing to pay for it.

The Boards would sell the food at the same price to multiple shops, co-operative societies and small retailers, and these different methods of distribution could be left to compete with each other and the method which gave the best public service would survive.

There would be no taint of pauperism in this scheme. The wealthiest person could, if he liked, buy the food at the same price as the poorest, and there is no reason why he should not be allowed to do so because people would be paying for the national food service in proportion to their income. There would, therefore, be no need for any means test.

The setting up of an organization on these lines would not involve any very drastic change in the food trades. The existing Agricultural Marketing Boards, which deal with some of the foodstuffs, would be taken over as going concerns to form the corresponding Commodity Boards, but, instead of being producers' boards with a monopoly and the power to regulate production and fix prices in their own interest, they would be responsible through the National Board to the whole community — producers, distributors, consumers and taxpayers.

The above suggestions about the nature of the organization needed to carry through a food policy based on human needs is not to be taken as a detailed scheme. The outline is given merely to illustrate the fact that an organization could be built up which would meet the needs of the people and, at the same time, leave full initiative and free business enterprise to both producers and distributors and free choice of food to the people without any inquisition on family income.

CHAPTER VIII

A WORLD FOOD POLICY

THE united free nations have pooled their resources and are fighting on a common front. This co-operation must be maintained after the enemy is defeated. This world-wide civil war is not won when the fighting forces of the Nazis and the Japs are destroyed. We are fighting not merely to defeat these gangsters. We are fighting to establish a new world order which will bring freedom from fear and freedom from want to all men in all lands. This War is not finished until we have accomplished this objective. We have no hope of this complete victory unless the free nations co-operate in a common international economic policy designed to bring the necessities of life on a health standard within the reach of all mankind.

The first task is to feed the starving people in the occupied countries in Europe. This must begin as soon as the invasion of the Continent is well under way. Great Britain and the United States are preparing to do this and, indeed, are already doing what they can. Food has been sent to France and Spain and is being taken to Greece, though in comparatively small quantities.

It will not be sufficient merely to send wheat to save people from starvation and dried milk and vitamin concentrates to cure deficiency diseases in mothers and children. That is only the first step. The nations with food must give all they can, even to the extent of skimping themselves, and continue to give until the people of Europe are as well fed as they are. That is the spirit of the new world order. They must also assist in restoring agriculture in the devastated areas and in building up

the flocks and herds which have been reduced by slaughter. It will take many years to bring the dairy herds up to the level needed to supply the milk European countries need on the new health standard.

This post-war food relief should be the first step towards a permanent world food policy based on human needs. It should dovetail into it without any break. The united free nations might well make it a condition of admission as equal partners to the New World Government that each nation will undertake to adopt an agricultural and economic policy designed to provide food and other necessities of life on a health standard for all its citizens. A Government which is not willing to do this is not fit to be represented on the councils of the free nations.

The adoption of this policy will bring about changes in agriculture in all countries. There are only five or six countries with a net export of food — Canada, Australia, New Zealand and two or three in South America. Even in these exporting countries there are people who are not adequately fed. Bringing the diet of everybody up to the standard will leave less for export unless more is produced. Fortunately, these rich countries can produce more. Production has been throttled down by restriction schemes because markets limited by " economic demand " could not absorb all they could produce. A world food policy based on human needs will absorb all they can produce for many years ahead.

Many other countries do export food. Thus India and some British colonies export oil seeds. The West Indies export sugar ; Rumania exports wheat. In these countries the standard of diet is so low that gross malnutrition is prevalent. A recent dietary survey of Ceylon, one of the most prosperous of British Crown Colonies, showed that a third of the population do not have enough to eat.[1]

The world supply of food is so far short of requirements that we must reorganize agricultural production on a world-wide basis.

Although there is an extensive international trade in food, net exports do not account for more than 5-10 per cent of world consumption. With the exception of the United Kingdom and, to a lesser extent, Belgium and Switzerland, net exports form only a small percentage of the total consumption in any country.

For military or other reasons, the large European countries adopted a policy of national self-sufficiency in food. The establishment of a world federation of nations which will guarantee freedom from the fear of war will make the world food supply more flexible. Nations will find it to their mutual advantage to grow in the countries where they can be most easily produced foods, like wheat and sugar, which can be easily transported. Each nation will need to estimate the amount of each of the staple foodstuffs needed to feed its population, keeping in view the dietary habits of the people, and then decide which can be most profitably produced at home and which most profitably imported in exchange for exports which it can produce more easily than the food it needs to import.

Each nation rightly wishes to maintain a certain proportion of its people on the land. The United Kingdom, with less than 10 per cent of its population engaged on food production, should have more people on the land and fewer in factories making goods for export in exchange for the goods we can produce ourselves. This exchange suits the traders who have a rake-off both ways, buying the goods from abroad and selling the exports. The new world is not going to be run for the benefit of the traders, though in fact trade would benefit by a food policy based on human needs, because both internal and international trade in food would be greatly increased.

In addition to the world shortage of food, there is another aspect of the problem which will be difficult to solve. The standard of living of the people who produce the food is so low that many of them are themselves inadequately fed. If they are to be freed from want not only of food but also of other necessities of a full life, they must receive more for the work they do to feed the world. On the other hand, the poor consumers in the towns cannot afford to buy sufficient of the protective foods, for example, milk, eggs, fruit, to make up an adequate diet. The United States has devised the Food Stamp Plan. The United Kingdom subsidizes the producer and subsidizes some foods for the consumer, provides free or cheap food for necessitous mothers and children, and increases purchasing power by increasing old-age pensions and rates for poor relief. Children's allowances which will help large families will be a further means of bridging the gap between income and the price of a full diet. Each country must solve this internal problem in its own way in accordance with its own internal economy and social system. Each country must realize, however, that the problem is not solved until the retail price of an adequate diet is equated with the purchasing power of the poorest.

There remains the problem of enabling the poor nations to get sufficient food into the national larders to feed their people. This can be solved within a reasonable time only by international action. In addition to a world court of justice and a world police to enforce the decisions of the court, we must have a supreme economic council. A political superstructure will collapse like the League of Nations unless it has a sound economic foundation. One of the functions of the economic council — and probably the chief function — will be to initiate and direct a world food policy based on human needs. This

should be the first step to economic reconstruction. As we have argued (Chap. VI), it would lead to agricultural prosperity, increased trade and financial stability.

It may be found necessary to set up an international financial organization to finance international trade in food. We need not discuss here what form the organization should take or how it could provide the necessary credits. This is a job for the financier and economist, just as the drawing-up of a dietary standard and applying science to increase production is the job of the biologist. There is no doubt, however, that the credits can be arranged on sound financial lines. There was no difficulty in arranging the credits to finance the Industrial Revolution. There is more money in a medium-sized town in England to-day than there was in the whole country in the middle of the eighteenth century. So long as the new real wealth is produced quickly enough to balance the new credits, there need be no inflation.

We must avoid sinking the poorer nations in debt which they cannot repay without depriving their people of the necessities of life. An arrangement on the lines of the Lease-Lend Act can be made and the poorer nations discouraged from the production of exports which would delay raising the standard of the poorest up to the standard needed for health. When that level has been reached, the poorer nations would then be in a position to repay the equivalent of what they had received. This is the spirit of the new world order. It is the spirit of the good neighbour. No nation will wish to accumulate money at the expense of the health of the people of another country.

We must also prevent, so far as possible, the humiliation of the poorer nations. They should be made to feel that, although, for the time being, their position is unfortunate, politically they are fully equal partners with

the wealthy and that it is incumbent upon them to repay to the full the assistance they have received. The stability of the financial organization should, therefore, be guaranteed by the poorer nations as well as the wealthy.

We here venture to comment on the financial arrangements needed, because one is continually opposed by the question—'Where is the money to come from?' If the nations wish to implement the promise to free men from want, lack of money will not prevent them, so long as there are the material resources and men willing to work.

This world food policy presents great problems, but it presents a great vision of the world's population well fed, happy and contented, with expanding agriculture and trade. There would be more advance in human welfare in the next fifty years than in the last couple of thousand.

A conference of representatives of the United Nations should be called now to consider a world food policy in all its implications, and should make the necessary arrangements to bring it into being now, so that the war food policy, the post-war relief of Europe and the permanent policy may form a continuous whole.

CHAPTER IX

PLAN FOR TEMPORARY HOUSING

THE full benefit of an adequate diet cannot be obtained unless people have also housing on a health standard. If food and housing are to be guaranteed, an opportunity must be given to every person able to work to make a contribution to the wealth of the community, at least equivalent to that he draws from it. To complete the picture of "freedom from want" we will, therefore, consider briefly housing and the provision of a job. We need not consider here in any detail the organization needed for providing a decent house for everybody. National housing schemes should be part of a much wider scheme which deals with the shift in the location of industry, the best utilization of land and the laying-out of pleasure-grounds and national parks. Further, the type of housing changes with technical advances and new ideas. A permanent housing scheme is part of a great national scheme which will take us many years to carry out. The immediate urgent problem is very different. The people without homes must be given some kind of house at the earliest possible date. They cannot wait for the development of long-range schemes. This can be achieved best by a temporary housing scheme which would be liquidated as soon as houses in accordance with a permanent national plan are available.

It is to be hoped that on the day the fighting ends and the need for tanks, aeroplanes and guns is over, the war factories will be adapted immediately for the production of materials and commodities needed for house-building and that these will be turned out with almost

the same feeling of urgency as munitions. The struggle will not be finished until everybody who has been bombed out of house and home and all those who never had a home are provided with a decent one.

The erection of the houses and the making of the necessary furniture will help to provide continued employment for the men in munition factories and also for many men now in the Fighting Forces. It might be a good scheme not to demobilize the men unless they can be employed. The Fighting Forces could be transformed into building forces for the erection of houses and other works of reconstruction. As peace-time industry moves into its stride, the army transformed into a labour corps would gradually melt away. What is left could form the nucleus of the proposed National Service Corps to be discussed later (Chap. X).

It would be better not to insist on a standard which would delay the erection of houses. Our first task in housing the people should be to provide for every family a home, wind- and water-tight, with not more than two or three people sleeping in one room, with a w.c. and running water. We might go the length of providing a kitchen grate which would supply hot water and a bath, at least for families where the wage-earner is engaged in a dirty occupation, such as scavenging, mining and other heavy work. The houses should be built of whatever material is available—brick, cement, timber or steel. We should need to use all types to build the houses quickly. This should be quite frankly a temporary housing scheme to get a roof over people's heads and reconstitute homes with the least possible delay. By doing this we should be providing one of the necessities of life for the people who most urgently need it. By the time there are sufficient temporary houses for people, we should have a better idea of what was going to happen to industries

in Great Britain after the War and know better where new towns should be built to suit the new industries. We should also have more knowledge of how the new plastics and other new materials which science is producing could be used to make better and more permanent homes.

There is another aspect of this housing problem which should be kept in view. While we can define a minimum standard for health, we cannot define an optimum standard for comfort and beauty. Our ideas of housing are continually changing. Gas replaces candles and electricity replaces gas. New and better methods of heating and of cooking make old methods obsolete. The designs of kitchens and of sculleries, let alone living-rooms, show themselves capable of infinite improvement. The æsthetics of architecture are notoriously subject to fashion. Everyone with experience of building houses, business premises or factories knows that, although a building is erected incorporating the highest practical standards of utility, comfort and beauty, yet within a couple of decades something new in the architectural world makes us wish to alter the building which we thought at the time of its erection was incapable of further improvement. There may be an element of danger in making detailed plans for too long ahead. We may find ourselves embarrassed with plans which we cannot alter without new committees, commissions and legislation. Let us first house the families who have no homes and then proceed step by step to better houses and more beautiful towns which we know can be built though we do not yet know, even within broad limits, what form they will take and, indeed, where they will be situated.

There is a danger that, if the nation waits until its planners have completed all their schemes for the redistribution of industry and the building of new towns with all the commissions, committees and negotiations between

central and local authorities which will be involved before the long-range plans can begin to be put into execution, the immediate urgent needs of the people who have been bombed out of their homes, and those who never had houses that could be called homes, will be first overlooked and ultimately forgotten. If we are in earnest about freedom from want, we shall start straight away relieving want where it is greatest.

The great mass of our people have only a remote interest in long-range planning because they rightly suspect that their immediate necessities are being overlooked in projected schemes for future generations. If we adopt a straightforward plan of first housing the homeless, they will realize that we are planning for them, in their lifetime, and that they may expect to see something of the new world for which they now toil and sweat.

We should make a declaration now that we are going to concentrate first on housing the homeless and that we shall not waste timber, bricks or steel on any other buildings, not even public buildings, churches or schools, until every family has a decent house.

CHAPTER X

A PERMANENT PLAN FOR A JOB

As Mr. Roosevelt has rightly pointed out, there are so many millions who have never had a decent house and food sufficient for health that if we set out to provide these for everybody there will be a job for every man willing to work. Many people, however, hold the view that if the working classes were assured of the necessities of life, they would be unwilling to work. The gloomy implication is that men must be driven to work by the pangs of partial starvation or the fear of starvation for their wives and families. This does not accord with the facts. The hardest work is done by men who are definitely above the poverty line and free from the immediate danger of being without food or without a home.

There are undoubtedly many men who have been unemployed for a long time who are reluctant to work. These are usually men who are under-nourished. They are reluctant to work because often they are physically unfit to work. They have the same reluctance to physical effort as any other person in ill-health. Apathy, listlessness and a disinclination for physical or mental exercise are well recognized symptoms of malnutrition. They are outstanding characteristics of people who have been badly fed. If these people were reconditioned by proper feeding, the urge to physical activity, which is normal to the healthy young adult, would find expression in work. Experiments with workmen have shown that an improvement in the diet is followed by increased output without any conscious increased effort. There is little reason to fear that the provision of a complete diet for

the whole population would deprive the community of its workers.

There is, however, an economic aspect of this work problem which would arise if every person were assured of the necessities of life on a health standard. It would be more difficult to find men to engage in work, such as mining, scavenging and dock labouring, which is badly paid and is unpleasant or dangerous. Men of low mental development might be content to work at these jobs but not men of intelligence and initiative unless the wages offered were more attractive. The wages paid to these men whose work is so essential for the welfare of the community are too low in comparison with the remuneration paid in certain other occupations. For example, a head civil servant's salary is about ten times as much as that of an elementary school teacher and about twenty times as much as a scavenger or a miner. Further, the head civil servant cannot be dismissed on a day's notice, and his salary does not stop although he is off for a week or two on account of illness, whereas the day the miner does not go down a pit, he drops from a wage to a dole.

When one ascends to the region of really big incomes, such as those made by men holding a number of directorships of companies, by company promoters and financiers who juggle with money, the ratio of remuneration to that of a miner or scavenger may be more than 100 to 1, and it is doubtful whether the service they render to the community is so very much more valuable than that of the miner who digs our coal or the scavenger who empties our dustbins.

This disparity in payment for service rendered to the community is not so marked in the smaller democratic countries where there is not such a wide gulf between wealth and poverty. In Sweden, for example, a head

civil servant gets only two and a half times as much as a school teacher and five times as much as a scavenger.

The remedy is not to reduce the salary of the better paid man if he is giving service commensurate with his income but to increase the remuneration of the man who is obviously earning too little for the essential service he renders to the community. The raising of these low wages should be undertaken as a matter of social justice. Incidentally, it would be economic wisdom. Good wages are good for business. Any essential industry, such as coal mining, which cannot pay wages which will support a decent standard of living, should be nationalized so that the community could give a just return for the essential service which it receives. This is what all decent-minded members of the community would like to do.

There still remains the problem of men who are lazy and thriftless and who will not work if they can avoid it. We do not know how many men are naturally lazy and thriftless. The dole and charities develop these undesirable qualities in men of weak character. Such men lose whatever self-respect they had and are content to drift through life collecting as much as they can from the State or from charity without thought of giving anything in return. They are probably the products of our modern civilization rather than the products of Nature. Unemployment makes unemployables. However that may be, these men in their own interest should be made to work provided they are fit to do so.

We must also think of men at the other end of the social scale who have never made any return for the food they eat, the coal they burn or the service they receive, not so much because they do not wish to work, but because they are not given the opportunity. The number of men in the wealthy classes who do nothing for the community is very much smaller than some of

the working class think. Some of the most valuable social services are rendered by well-to-do people not only without any remuneration but often at considerable cost to themselves. They do this from the sense of their duty to the community. Many young men in the wealthy classes, however, can not fit themselves for work of this kind, and if they do take a job, they are blamed for doing a man out of a job who really needs it. These young people have to make work for themselves at games or lead a rather aimless life. Like the young unemployed men at the lower end of the social scale, they are more to be pitied than blamed. Our social and economic structure does not give them a chance to earn the satisfaction and self-respect which creative work gives.

Every person who reaches adult age is a debtor to the community which has fed, clothed and educated him, and he should be forced to make a contribution to the wealth of the community to repay that debt. There are very few men who would be unwilling to make their contribution of work. We could give everybody an opportunity to make their contribution if we had a National Service Corps in which all men would serve for a period of at least a year before they are twenty-one years old. A man could leave if he wished after one year's service, but, if he could not find any other occupation, he should not be paid the dole. He should remain in the National Service Corps until he found another job or until he had worked so many years that he had made a contribution to the national wealth calculated to be the equivalent of the bare necessities of life which he would consume during his lifetime. American technologists have calculated that if full advantage was taken of all technical devices for production, seven years labour is sufficient to provide a man and his family during his whole lifetime with the material necessities of life.

With our existing methods, a period of probably fifteen or twenty years is nearer the mark; but, whatever the period, when a man has worked that length of time he should be entitled to retire provided he is willing to live at the level which would provide him with the bare necessities for a healthy life. If he wanted more, he would need to work longer but, when he did retire, he would have the same feeling of self-respect and the same respect from the general community as a man who had paid all the premiums on an insurance endowment and was living on an annuity which he had earned.

The men in the Corps would be employed on national or local government work, for example, the temporary housing scheme (Chap. IX), road-making or road-repairing, in scavenging and other municipal jobs; and in the unskilled or semi-skilled work of industries such as mining or railways which might be nationalized.

There would be a continuous flow of recruits into the Corps for the one year's service and there would be, in addition, a number of men working for more than a year. The total number would vary with the state of industry. The men would come back to the Corps from industries becoming obsolescent and leave the Corps to find work in new industries. The work done would therefore vary in amount and to some extent in nature. Labour, surplus to the needs of routine and national work referred to above, could be devoted to land reclamation, the development of national parks in the Highlands of Scotland and other areas where there are large tracts of land of little use for agricultural or other purposes but which could be a great national asset for recreation. Public golf courses, bowling greens, tennis courts and children's playgrounds could be laid out in the vicinity of towns and villages to provide means of healthy recreation for the increased leisure which improved technique in industry makes possible for work-people.

We need not rack our brains wondering where we will find work for the Corps. The work needed to provide food and housing on the health standard will give employment to men who would be idle if the low pre-war standard were maintained. Then the increased prosperity in agriculture and in industry making goods for export and in exchange for food will increase the amount of money in circulation and tend to bring prosperity and increased employment in other industries. If the necessities of life on a health standard are provided for everybody, the home market for goods will be increased to such an extent that the number of men who cannot find employment in trade and industry will never reach anything like the number of unemployed between the War of 1914–18 and this.

This would put an end to doles and would make a great many charities unnecessary. This National Service Corps would improve both the physique and character of our people. The feeling of frustration and the sense of humiliation, which all our unemployed suffer, would be eliminated. Every clear-thinking person has a sense of humiliation and shame when he sees a line of wretched unemployed men queueing up to draw the dole. Unemployment degrades the whole nation, and the charity given to the very poor degrades the giver almost as much as the receiver.

The mixing and working together of youths of all classes for a period of a year would make for national unity and eliminate the last traces of class hatred which, happily, has been disappearing in Great Britain in recent years. Boys from poor families would be astonished to find that boys from wealthy families were decent chaps just like themselves with the same natural likes and dis-

likes, the same impulses and very much the same ambitions in life. Boys from the wealthy families would nearly all thoroughly enjoy themselves doing a year's manual work with youths from other classes of society and with older men who remained in the Corps either because they were unable to get a job elsewhere or because they liked the life and were content to stay there. A year's work in this Corps beside men of all classes would be an invaluable training for men who would later become administrators, politicians, professional men and leaders in trade, industry and social work.

Our educationists might object that the break of the year would interfere with higher education. As a matter of fact, this year's work would probably be the most valuable year's education many men would have. It would give them a first-hand knowledge of life which cannot be provided in university classes. If, however, it were thought that a year would interfere with higher education, the year service could be split into two periods of six months each. At the Scottish universities, until about thirty years ago, many students studied at the university for six months and worked on farms or at other occupations for the other six months during the whole of their university career and were none the worse for it.

If we had a National Service Corps on the lines suggested, the running sore of unemployment in the body politic would be cured. We should have instead a national pool of labour which would rise and fall according to the state of trade and industry. When trade and industry flourishes, the wealth of the community would be increased by the normal extension of industry. When industry declines, the size of the Corps would increase and the national wealth would continue to increase in the form of better roads, land reclamation, development

of national parks and playgrounds and other works of public utility. We should have a regulating mechanism which would eliminate the evil effects of booms and slumps with irregular employment; and we should never again see armies of unemployed men denied the opportunity of creating the wealth which they and their fellow men need.

CHAPTER XI

FRUITS OF A POLICY FOR FOOD, A HOUSE AND A JOB

Most of the advantages of this policy, which puts the well-being of the whole population first in post-war planning, have already been referred to in preceding chapters. It will be convenient to summarize them here.

HEALTH AND PHYSIQUE

There would be a great reduction in disease and improvement in health and physique. We can assume, as a working hypothesis, that the health of the poorest third of the population, who have not hitherto been housed or fed on a health standard, would become as good as that of the well-to-do. The infant mortality rate would be reduced by at least 50 per cent. Five to ten years would be added to the average expectation of life. The psychological effects would be equally important. Healthy people are happy people. Good health makes for good humour and good fellowship.

SECURITY

The corroding fear of unemployment and poverty would be replaced by a sense of security which would remove much of the feeling of frustration and bitterness in life. This new sense of security would not be limited to those who, in pre-war days, lived in the shadow of the fear of unemployment. Many middle-class people now see their business ruined, their investments disappearing

and their incomes shrinking. These people would have a great feeling of relief if they were assured that they would never need to be dependent on either public or private charity and would never fall below an economic level at which they would have a home where they could live in decency and comfort with ample food for their needs.

SAVING IN SOCIAL SERVICES

Many of our public health and social services and most of our charities would become unnecessary. The evils of poverty with which they deal would have disappeared.

BUSINESS

The increased trade in foodstuffs and the increase in the amount of work needed for housing and for making our farms efficient would bring about a prosperous and expanding agriculture and provide an outlet for the products of industry for many years ahead. There would be no post-war slump as there was after the War of 1914–18. The need for food is constant. There would, therefore, be stability in the production and trade of food. This stability would tend to spread to allied and other industries and help to prevent slumps in trade. The worst effects of trade depression would be eliminated because there would be no unemployment. Men dropping out of industry would return to the National Service Corps. Everybody would be well fed and well housed and could wait in comfort for the revival of trade.

WAR EFFORT

The one thing that matters at the present time is winning the War. A declaration by the Government that, after the enemy is defeated, the war effort would

be carried on with unabated vigour until the whole population had the necessities of life on a health standard would inspire men and women to redouble their efforts for the defeat of the enemy which blocks the way to the new world. Those men in the Fighting Forces who have come from the poorest third of the population would know that, no matter what their fate might be, their dependants, instead of existing on an inadequate pension as was the case after the War of 1914–18, would enjoy a standard of living higher than they had before the War. If they knew that the united nations had agreed to apply this policy to the common people of all lands, they would know they were really crusaders in a war to liberate their comrades in all lands not only from the tyranny of Nazism but also from the tyranny of economic slavery. The workers in the mines, the factories and the docks would realize that this is *their* War. They would know that they were pioneers laying the foundation of a new world order for their children and the children of the common people in all lands. They would have a vision of the future world which would make them regard any man or woman not pulling his or her full weight as a traitor to the cause of their fellow men.

The business men who are responsible for organizing production would get an increased sense of the importance of their work. They would feel something of the thrill and joy of creative work which would give them a feeling of satisfaction and psychological well-being such as cannot be got from the pursuit of money. Contrary to what some workers seem to believe, many of these, probably the majority, are prepared to make whatever sacrifice may be needed for a better world. We would get a sense of common endeavour between management and workmen to increase production to the full capacity of the machines and the strength of the workers.

If someone with the gift of writing or the gift of speech could speak to the people of the new world order which can be built and which will be built — for there is no other hope for the world — then a new flame of enthusiasm for the War would run through the whole nation. Even those who can neither fight nor work in the factories would feel that they must be up and doing something to help to win the War and the New World so that they could welcome the dawn of it with a clear conscience and the feeling that they also had contributed.

If the united nations would give this picture of the post-war world to all men, victors as well as vanquished, the common people of the world would rise in their might and crush Nazism, which seeks to destroy the still meagre fruits of freedom which man has gained only after centuries of struggle. Men of all creeds in all lands could join in the cry: "Workers of the world unite". The workers of the world would not be limited to those who wield the hammer and the sickle. They would include everyone who can contribute to the world-wide effort. Even old people who can no longer fight or work could make a contribution by inspiring those who can with their burning faith in the future.

CHAPTER XII

DEAD WEIGHT OF OPPOSITION

THE policy of making provision for the necessities of life on a health standard the foundation of the new world order will be opposed. Most of the opposition will arise from people of little faith who do not believe it can be done. The hard core of opposition will come from a small, but noisy, section of the population who fear that the changes necessary will deprive them of some of their vested interests.

Some people will think that the changes suggested are too drastic and too sudden. They will argue that no change which has not its roots in the past has any chance of survival. Russia made a sudden change. Practically the whole of the old political and economic system was swept away and a new system set up. The new system has survived the most powerful onslaught ever made on a nation. A change which benefits the majority of the people may be extensive and sudden and still survive.

It is true, however, that a sudden change cannot occur without suffering. The Russian Revolution entailed a great deal of suffering. It is equally true that once changes have begun, they cannot be stopped without suffering. It is more dangerous to put back the hands of the clock by force than to accelerate the forward movement.

All the changes suggested here have their roots in the past. The change which appears at first sight to be most drastic is the setting up of a world government. Since the first steamship crossed the Atlantic, international connexions have become closer in science,

finance, trade and even in government measures, such as the International Postal Service. The radio and the aeroplane have now annihilated distance and made a world government inevitable. It appeared inevitable twenty-five years ago when the League of Nations was set up. The League failed because politicians built the structure upside-down. They did not realize that a political system is merely the superstructure of the economic system. In spite of that blunder, the need for a world government was so great that the attempt nearly succeeded. This time the political structure must be superimposed on an economic policy of co-operation between the nations to bring freedom from want to all men in all lands. A positive objective which is for the mutual benefit of all concerned will help to cement the nations more quickly than the merely negative objective of preventing war.

The movement towards world government has been opposed by selfish nationalism and a spurious patriotism which engenders hatred of other nations. These reached their highest virulence in the Fascist countries. It was this opposition which brought about the present War with all its suffering.

One thing which is sure in the present chaotic state of the world, when so much is uncertain, is that the conflict will end only when a World Government has been established. The real issue of the War is whether it will be a Fascist Government maintained by force or a Government of the united nations ruling by consent with the nations co-operating in a common endeavour to promote human welfare. An armistice would be no more than a breathing-space to enable the opposing groups to replenish their forces for a renewal of the struggle. The forces of good and the forces of evil cannot compromise. One or the other must prevail and rule the world.

The suggestion that the wealthy nations should give of their wealth to help the poor nations and not ask for any return in the form of interest or exports, which would delay the people reaching an economic level at which all would have food and shelter adequate for health, does presuppose a new spirit in international dealings. This spirit was preached two thousand years ago and has been practised by millions of people both before and since. It is the spirit of " the good neighbour ". That great generous-hearted nation, the United States, is applying it in the Lease-Lend Act. It is our intention to apply it in post-war relief in Europe. There is no reason why we should not apply it permanently in our international relationships. It is the spirit in which the New World must be built if it is to survive. If all the nations had acted in accordance with this spirit after the War of 1914–18, the economic crisis of 1929 would never have occurred and the present War would have been averted. The nations will find spiritual and economic salvation in the policy of giving.

The idea that the first duty of Government should be to provide food and shelter on a health standard for the people governed is not new. Since the time of Queen Elizabeth, provision has been made by Government to prevent any person from starving. Science has given us a higher dietary standard than the prevention of hunger. But the principle that no one of His Majesty's subjects should lack food is still the same. There is nothing new in the suggestion that people should be housed. We have been doing that in a leisurely way for many years. The principle that every family should have a house in which they could live in decency was accepted. The delay in applying that principle was due to the selfish complacency of the great majority of the people who were themselves well housed.

A Government policy of going straight for the promotion of human welfare is new. But it has been tried out by the Tennessee Valley Authority in area about as large as England. The results have been so amazingly successful that those who were critical of the scheme are now convinced that this policy of directing economics to social ends is good not only for the people but also for business. A policy of food, shelter and a job for everybody is, to a large extent, an extension of this great American experiment on a national scale. The world food policy outlined is an extension of it, so far as food is concerned, on a world scale.

All that the policy outlined here implies is that we should move in the direction in which we have been moving but move much faster in a new spirit and according to a systematic plan. The break-down of old ideas by the War makes this rapid movement possible.

Those who control the national food supply in their own interests may be reluctant to hand over the control to the community so that the supply can be regulated in accordance with human needs and not in accordance with trade interests. Active resistance to a policy of providing an adequate food supply for the people would amount to a declaration of war on the people. " The bread of the needy is their life : he that defraudeth him thereof is a man of blood." But perhaps we blame business men, including those who control our food supply, too much. After all, they have conducted their business according to the generally accepted rules of business. The new spirit may have reached the business men who control our food supply. They may be among the first to come forward and offer their great business ability and experience of organization as their contribution to the national effort to place a diet adequate for health within the reach of everybody.

Even those engaged in long-range plans for a better Britain after the War may offer passive resistance to a direct dynamic policy of immediately relieving want where it is greatest. If these planners were forced to live in the slums, in a house unfit for human habitation, and were told they were last in the queue for a new house, they would develop a greater sense of the urgent need of supplying the primary necessities of life for everybody before embarking on any more grandiose schemes.

There will be some dead weight of opposition in the political parties. The leaders have been so busy with their politics that they have not been able to keep up with the advance in ideas among the people. Some have never read Wells' *Declaration of the Rights of Man* which has been published in every country, the Report of the Malvern Conference, the Proceedings of the Conference on Science and World Order held last September, and other publications which make articulate the aspirations of the people. They are still thinking in terms of the politics of the past, for example, getting the wheels of industry going again and the restitution of Trade Union rights. In international affairs, their thoughts are not so much upon a better world for the common people as upon the adjustment of political boundaries, the grouping of nations to restore the balance of power, the settlement of international debts and the amount of money which should be devoted to post-war relief in Europe.

If we had the new world men want, these problems would lose much of their importance. If every family in all countries had a decent standard of living and were free from the fear of being conscripted for war, it would not matter so much on which side of boundary lines they lived. These people who are still thinking about national and international political power belong to the same group as those who failed to rouse us to do our duty

under the League of Nations Covenant when Japan attacked Manchuria; who arranged the farce of applying sanctions when Italy attacked Abyssinia; who led us through the shame of the pretended non-intervention in Spain to the disaster of Munich, when we handed over to Hitler the armaments which he later used for the subjection of Europe. The fault of these men was that they wanted to hold on to a past which they found good for themselves and assumed to be good for everybody else. They were afraid of the future and played for safety and self first. They had no vision to see the changes which the advances in science and the emergence of new ideas had made inevitable. The people cannot blame them because the great masses of our people showed the same complacency and the same lack of vision which has landed the world in the present mess. Truly where there is no vision, the people perish.

This lack of vision is not confined to the politicians of the Right. The older politicians of the Left seem to be afraid of new ideas which they regard as too revolutionary. They want to build the New World, but according to methods which they thought of in their youth. They think a new food policy should begin with nationalization of the land and, indeed, some of them do not seem to look further than a policy of nationalization. As Hogben has said, some of our political planners are "bleating about the nationalization of the land without advancing a single constructive proposal for collectivizing the nation's food supply on a scientific basis".[1] Nationalization is not so much a question of ownership as a question of management. We cannot be sure that management by a new branch of the civil service would be any more efficient than under private ownership. In any event, the people cannot wait for food until the land has been nationalized.

The only aspect of the thorny question of nationalization which need be considered here is whether it would accelerate or delay the provision of the necessities of life for everybody on a health standard. Any political measures which would interfere with this should be deferred, no matter how desirable they may seem on theoretical grounds. The centres for processing food, which are the key points of the food industry, must be nationalized or at least controlled by an authority directly responsible to the people through Parliament, and the body controlling these must also control food imports. It may be desirable to nationalize the railways and other means of transport to get traffic rates for foodstuffs on the same system as the postal service so that we may be able to get new sources of supply from land far removed from the consuming centres. It may be necessary to nationalize the mines because it does not seem possible, under private ownership, to give miners a standard of living compatible with the dangerous and disagreeable nature of their employment.

So far as other industries are concerned, it might be better, in the meantime at least, to leave them. There is a danger of attempting too much. There would be a great deal of opposition to nationalization, much of it well-founded. Nationalization would be liable to be a bureaucrat's paradise. There would certainly be more regulations and more forms to fill up, and the dislike of regulations and forms is now so great that freedom from filling up forms might well be added to Mr. Roosevelt's four freedoms.

The common people could, as it were, make a deal with business. If they got securities for the necessities for a full life, which would mean a rise in the standard of living of a third of the population above the pre-war level, the business men might be left with full liberty to

exercise all their enterprise and ingenuity in developing industries other than those concerned with the primary necessities of life, and get the full reward of whatever money they could make. This would provide for the flexibility needed for the development of new industries which would be lost if the industries were run by a bureaucracy. Two limitations would, however, need to be imposed : (1) the power of money over the necessities of life must be broken and (2) no monopolies can be allowed. As soon as a company or group of companies directly or indirectly controls a given percentage of any raw material or the means of production of any commodity, it should be taken over by the Government. But, even then, there should be free competition between private companies and the group controlled by Government.

There are many difficulties which will be met with in building up the new world. Let us go step by step. The first step is obviously to provide the necessities of life for everybody. When that first step has been taken, the next step will be easier.

There will, of course, be other forms of resistance not referred to here. There is the dead weight of resistance which arises from complacency or from lack of faith in the future. There is also the resistance which arises from self-interest. The latter would disappear if everyone realized, as General Booth did, that you cannot lift up the bottom layer of society without lifting all the layers above it. The wealthy will find both safety and satisfaction in the laying of a solid foundation to the social and economic structure from which they derive so much benefit.

CHAPTER XIII

THIS IS A PEOPLE'S WAR

THE common man has had a long struggle for political and religious liberty. The fight is far from won. Indeed, considering the long history of mankind, the fight has only recently begun. Only a part of humanity have attained this freedom, and their hold on it is not very secure. In the last ten years it has been lost, first in Germany and then in the whole of Western Europe. The Nazis have declared their intention to extinguish the torch of freedom in all countries. They know that the world is now so small that tyranny and freedom cannot exist together. The only hope for the survival of Nazism is the extinction of freedom. The only hope for the survival of freedom is the destruction of Nazism.

When the common man did win political freedom, his hold on it was not secure because political freedom was not linked with economic freedom. The instincts which prompt man to fight for the material necessities of life are more primitive than the instincts which prompt him to fight for spiritual and intellectual freedom. The unemployed in Germany surrendered political freedom for the promise of economic benefits. It is only the rare spirits, such as those who fought in the International Brigade in Spain, who are ready and willing to sacrifice not only the necessities of life but also life itself for political freedom.

Now we are in the middle of a world-wide war for the complete freedom of the common man. This War is not merely a defensive war to preserve our political liberties. It is an offensive war to bring economic freedom

to all men of all lands, to the vanquished as well as the victors. The fight for economic freedom will not necessarily be won when the Nazis and the Japs are defeated. It will not be won until all mankind have sufficient of the necessities of life to enable them to attain their full manhood. Only then will man be completely free ; only then will his hold on political freedom be secure.

There is a danger that, when the Nazis and the Japs are defeated, the dead weight of resistance may delay the attainment of economic freedom. The fight for it must go on until it is attained. The driving force must come from those who already have the necessities of life. Our unfortunate fellow men who have been deprived of these are physically and spiritually stunted. They can only make a demonstration to show their needs as they did when they *lay down* in Oxford Circus. Even the men who marched from Jarrow had to be stimulated and led by Ellen Wilkinson and others who already enjoyed the adequate housing and adequate feeding which maintained the strength and courage needed for the fight for economic freedom. Those who have not the necessities of life on this standard have neither the strength nor the spirit to be in the vanguard of the struggle.

The leaders in the struggle must be those who have already enjoyed economic freedom and who are prepared to fight like crusaders for those who have never enjoyed it. Church men, men of science, literary men and business men have already taken up the fight. Their ranks must be augmented by men and women of goodwill of all classes, by all who have a faith in a future better world and the courage to fight for it and work for it. The main urge in the struggle should come from the working classes who already enjoy the necessities of life. They are nearest to the abyss of poverty and realize best the benefits which decent housing, adequate food and security would

bring to those who lead a sub-human existence below the poverty line.

The struggle must be carried on in the right spirit. Some of our socialist friends seem to be too much obsessed with the desire of pulling down the wealthy. Pulling down the mansions of the wealthy will not provide houses for the poor and taking luxuries off the table of the wealthy will not put milk, eggs and fruit on the table of the poor. In any event, a spirit of tearing-down will not enable us to achieve our end. We must have the spirit of building-up, beginning at the bottom where the need is greatest. The man in the munition factory, who is making £10 or £15 a week, should have a guilty conscience when he thinks of the soldier's wife with a family existing on only a fraction of what he gets. He would be foolish not to take the biggest wage he can get, but, to clear his conscience, he should champion the cause of those less fortunate than himself. The old-age pensioner and the soldier's widow must be housed first. The diet of the family of the poorest workman must be improved first. If the battle for economic freedom is fought in this spirit, strength will be added to our arm by the knowledge that we are fighting in a cause which is 100 per cent righteous and that we are not willingly causing any suffering to any class.

We have had promises from our leaders about " the fuller life ", about " relegating poverty to the limbo of the past ", and about " freedom from want ". If these were merely political phrases, they would be unforgivable. But our leaders mean what they say. The full implication of these promises should be stated in concrete terms which the people can understand. Our fighters and our workers in the war industries would then have a clear vision of what they are fighting and working for.

The British Commonwealth, the United States of

America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, the new Government which we hope will eventually be set up in India and all the other nations adhering to the cause of freedom should make a united declaration of their determination not only to destroy Nazism which seeks to enslave men but also to bring economic freedom to all men in all lands, even to the people in Germany. The common people of the world would then realize more fully that this is a great war of liberation. They would know what they were fighting for. The men in the Nazi Army would know what they were fighting against. Such a declaration would be the best of all war propaganda. But to be effective it must be true. Those who speak to the people must have a faith in the future and confidence that the Governments will establish economic freedom.

We have not yet got a proper basis for this propaganda. Although some of the members of the Government have given expression to vague phrases about a better world, there has been no clear-cut declaration from the Government. There has been no indication, for example, that the Government is prepared to base post-war food policy on human needs and to co-operate with all other Governments to apply such a policy on a world-wide scale. The greatest need at the present time is to crystallize public opinion so that the Government, with a united people behind it, can preach this gospel of economic freedom and common brotherhood for the people of all lands. This gospel will then rouse the common people of all lands to fight like heroes and work like heroes for a victory which they feel will be *their* victory.

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