

Free Europe

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

STATSMINISTEREN
Arkiv

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9th May, 1941.

Sir,

Free Europe is publishing a series of interviews with leading Allied statesmen now in this country.

We should be greatly honoured if you would agree to grant us such an interview dealing with the following three questions:

1. Why in your opinion is the world at war again after only twenty years of peace?

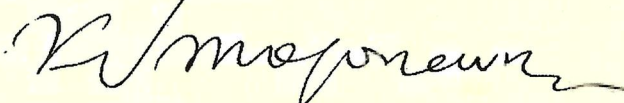
2. Why in your opinion is the Allied victory inevitable?

3. How is peace to be organised in future if the world is to be spared a third war?

I should be grateful if you would let me know when it would be convenient for you to see me. Although of course we would submit final proofs to you before publishing such an interview, it would simplify matters if your answers could be given to me in writing.

Hoping that you will be able to accede to this request.

Yours faithfully,



K. Smogorzewski.
Editor.

Hr. Johan Nygaardsvold,
Prime Minister of Norway,
London.

1. Why is the World at war again after only 20 years of peace?

The immediate cause of the second world war is German Nazism. Nazism gives an especially brutal character to the old German militarism and imperialism. But both German imperialism and nazism have their deeper causes.

German imperialism is the product of three main factors: firstly, the special internal development of Germany during the nineteenth century, through which the democratic forces were stifled by the military-junker caste and the magnates of heavy industry; secondly, the international economic anarchy which promoted conflict for, instead of collaboration in, the distribution and exploitation of the world's economic resources; thirdly, the international political anarchy which enabled each nation to be a law unto itself and rendered impossible the organisation of collective defence against aggressors and law-breakers.

German nazism, like Italian and other forms of fascism, represents a despairing reversion to authoritarian and tyrannical methods of government (suitably adapted to the psychological needs of modern mass societies), resulting from the failure of democracy in certain countries to solve the economic and psychological crises provoked by the international economic anarchy described above.

The world is at war again because the Versailles Peace Treaties and the League of Nations as established by those treaties failed to solve any of the problems I have mentioned, and because the policy pursued by almost all nations, great and small, during the inter-war years encouraged rather than hindered the growth of

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nazi and fascist imperialism.

2. Why is Allied Victory inevitable?

Great Britain and its Allies will win the war because their combined material and moral strength is greater than that of the enemy. Co-operation with the United States will be the decisive factor. The democratic countries will be able to display resources of initiative and moral vigour which can only come from free men fighting for a cause in which they believe.

The British people have already demonstrated their power to endure all trials, their tough, stubborn determination to fight to the bitter end, and their readiness to make far-reaching social and economic changes in order to ensure the maximum utilisation of their natural and human resources.

Through their democratic political institutions and their free public discussion they have proved that the correction of errors is perfectly compatible with a deep and genuine unity of purpose.

The United States possess valuable material resources coupled with an immense dynamic energy which, once it is fully released, will make a terrific impact on every theatre of the war. The genuine attachment of the American people to the ideals of progressive civilisation, together with their practical ability, will make them invaluable allies when the appropriate time comes.

On the other hand, the German "New Order" is already being undermined from within as a consequence of its political repression

and its economic exploitation of the subject countries, while the morale of the occupation troops is being steadily weakened by the hostility of the populations. In Germany itself the Nazis have created a top-heavy dictatorship which lacks true inner loyalty and whose strength, both internal and external, depends on military power alone. I therefore believe that German resistance will collapse very rapidly once Great Britain and its allies are strong enough to take the offensive.

3. How is peace to be organised in future?

The first task after victory must be to make impossible a recurrence of German aggression. To achieve this it will not be enough to disarm Germany, though that of course must be done. It will be necessary to break once for all the power of the anti-democratic and imperialist forces in Germany. *The best we can hope*
Germany and for the world as a whole
will be done by the Germans themselves, once the Nazi dictatorship is overthrown.

To free the world from war, however, in the wider sense, we must break with the former illusions that peace could be preserved by means of pacts and sectional alliances. The prevention of war for the future depends essentially on two things: firstly, the organisation of an international authority which has sufficient power - and that means both military power and political and moral authority - to ensure that the rule of law shall prevail in international affairs and that potential peace-breakers shall be

confronted with overwhelming force; secondly, that the economic relations between nations, and the exploitation and distribution of the world's resources, shall be regulated by planned economic co-operation between the nations.

I believe that the first step towards such international co-operation will be taken by the democratic nations which are now engaged in their life-and-death struggle with the Axis Powers. I hope that the United States will not this time withdraw from European affairs, as they did after the last war, but that the two great Anglo-Saxon Powers, together with all other free nations, will form the basis of a strong international association in which all the peoples of the world will eventually participate.

- I Den umiddelbare årsak til den annen verdenskrig er den tyske nazismen. Det er den gamle tyske militarismen og imperialismen i en mer brutal og demagogisk form. Men krigen har også andre og mere dyptliggende årsaker. De viktigste av dem er, skulle jeg tro, det økonomiske anarki som skaper kriser og sosial uro, og det moralske anarki, som i stadig høyere grad har satt sitt preg på den internasjonale politikk.
- II. Storbritannia og dets allierte vil vinne krigen fordi deres samlede moralske og materielle styrke er større enn fiendens. Det avgjørende vil bli samarbeidet med De Forente Stater. Det britiske folk har vist sin utholdenhet og sin seige, innbitte kampvilje. Statene har både veldige hjelpekilder og en "dynamisk" energi, et veldig overskudd av idealisme og handlekraft. Tyskernes nye orden undergraves innenfra på grunn av deres politiske undertrykkelse og økonomiske utbytning av de erobrede land. Jeg tror at tyskernes motstandskraft vil bryte sammen så snart Storbritannia og dets allierte blir sterke nok til å ta offensiven.
- III. Den første oppgaven etter seiren blir å uskadeliggjøre Tyskland. Den neste blir å skape et politisk og militært forbund og et planmessig økonomisk samarbeid mellom alle frie folk. Jeg håper at De Forente Stater denne gangen ikke, som etter forrige krig, vil trekke seg tilbake fra Europa. De to angelsaksiske stormakter og alle andre frie folk må stå sammen for at det nye forbund skal bli tilstrekkelig sterkt til å sikre oss en bedre fremtid.