

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

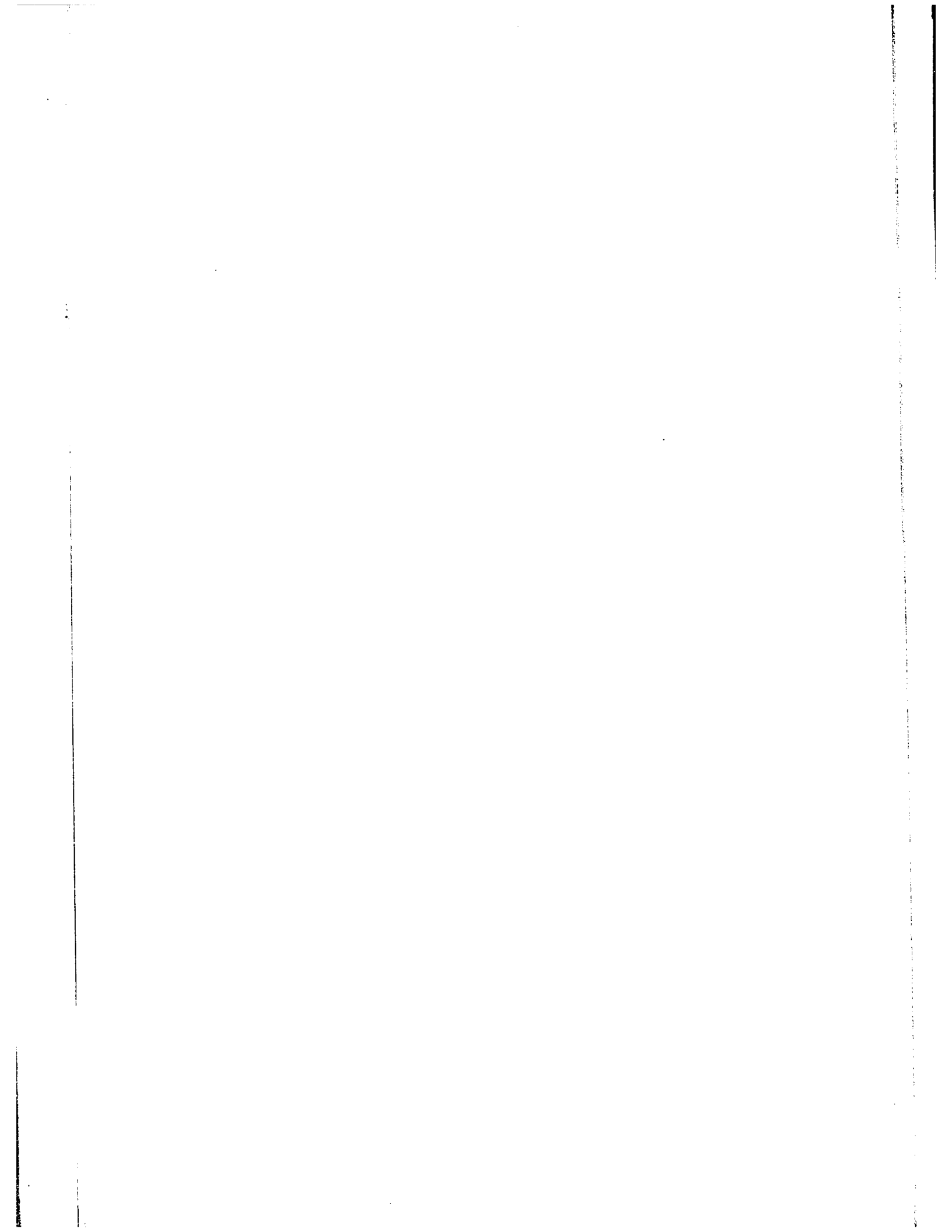
The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

ProQuest Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

UMI[®]



AR 05-14

THE WORLD STATE: A NECESSARY
CONDITION FOR WORLD PEACE

by

Wm. Joseph Dooley

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Philosophy of the University of Ottawa
in partial fulfillment of the require-
ments for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy.



OTTAWA

1965

UMI Number: DC52430

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI[®]

UMI Microform DC52430
Copyright 2007 by ProQuest LLC
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

The Reverend Wm. Joseph Dooley was born in Indianapolis, Indiana on January 13, 1917. He received his elementary education in St. Joan of Arc Grade School and Saints Peter and Paul Cathedral Grade School. He entered the diocesan seminary of St. Meinrad at St. Meinrad, Indiana in September, 1931. Upon completion of his studies in the minor seminary, he was awarded a three year scholarship of the Basselin Foundation to enter the Theological College of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. He received the B.A. degree from the Catholic University in 1939 and was ordained to the sacred priesthood on May 30, 1944.

In 1940 he received the M.A. degree from the same institution; the topic of his Master's thesis was "A Comparative Study of Aristotle and St. Thomas on the Will". He received the licentiate degree in Sacred Theology from the Catholic University in 1944 and the doctorate in Sacred Theology from the same pontifical institute in 1948; the thesis submitted for this latter degree was "Marriage According to St. Ambrose".

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis was prepared under the guidance of Reverend Doctor Clemens Stroick, O.M.I. of the School of Philosophy of the University of Ottawa.

The author wishes to acknowledge the keen interest and assistance of his director as well as the help of Dr. William Siffin of the School of Political Science, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

To the librarians of the University of Ottawa, the Catholic University of America, the Library of Congress, and to all who aided in the preparation of the manuscript, especially to Miss Patricia Jeffers, the author is grateful for their many services.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION vi

 A. Definition and Description of Basic
 Terms vi

 B. Purpose and Plan of the Study xvii

PART I

Chapter	Page
I. HISTORICAL RESUME OF THE WORLD STATE MOVEMENT	1
A. Early Concepts	2
B. After the Peace of Westphalia	17
1. The Westphalian Tradition	17
2. French Revolutionary Tradition	18
3. Tradition of the First Two World Wars	21
C. World Federalism	24
II. OPPOSITION TO THE WORLD STATE MOVEMENT	37
A. Nationalistic Approach	38
B. Communistic Opposition	49
C. Functionalist Approach to World Peace	54

PART II

Chapter	Page
III. NECESSARY PREMISES FOR A WORLD STATE	68
A. Preexisting World Community	69
B. Certain Universal Moral Standards and Democratic Ideals	76
C. Sufficient Educational Level	79
D. Peaceful Opposition and Interchange of Rule	82

TABLE OF CONTENTS

E. Minimum Exercise of Federal Authority 85

F. The World State Myth 88

IV. THE WORLD STATE AS THE ONLY PERFECT POLITICAL
SOCIETY 90

 A. The Scholastic Concept of Perfect Society . . . 91

 B. Philosophical Evaluation of the Modern
 Sovereignty Concept 100

 C. Subsidiarity and the World State 111

 D. Resume of World Federalist Argumentation . . . 121

CONCLUSION 140

BIBLIOGRAPHY 148

ABSTRACT

INTRODUCTION

A. Definition and Description of Basic Terms

This dissertation is an attempt to set aright many minds, including my own, on matters of grave political importance. The problem is exceedingly familiar to all people of world affairs; it is the serious question of "just how necessary is the world state". The thesis to be proven is: a world state is a necessary condition for world peace. The vast majority of people who favor this thesis have been guilty, including myself at times, of being satisfied with only a meager and somewhat ordinary proof of it. A more careful approach to this problem from the standpoint of scholastic political philosophy will show that this precarious position is in no wise justifiable. Some people approach the problem thus: if a world state is a necessary condition for world peace, then we had better prepare for world war. One must admit however that they may be correct, since the topic in question deals with future free human events. It is consequently the hope of the author of this thesis to prove philosophically the necessary connection between world state and true world peace and then to show the probability of a future world state.

The two central topics therefore of this thesis are world state and world peace. Each of these concepts must be clearly explained as well as defined, demonstrating

how the former is the means to achieve the latter. By world state is meant first of all a true state and not simply an administrative bureau of a perpetual alliance, a league or even a confederation of many, most or even of all of the nations of the world. A world state must possess the traditional characteristics found in any state: people and territory - preferably the entire world - supreme political authority¹ and a government to exercise this authority. Few, if any, scholastic political philosophers will dispute the foregoing. However, many will justifiably inquire how small a world state may be, or how few nations it could embrace and still rightfully be called a world state. Theoretically, the universal world state could embrace only a few - or conceivably even one state alone - which would prepare for themselves a world constitution, besides their national constitutions and make express provisions for other nations of the world to join the world state on fair and equitable terms. Certainly an important matter, this question is not the chief problem of the disseration.

Yet the world state which is to be proven as one of the necessary conditions for world peace and certainly the most necessary one, will have to embrace that minimum number of strong nations the combination of which will be

¹Jacques Maritain maintains in Man and the State, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1951, pp. 40-43, that neither the body politique nor the state is a sovereign entity.

able morally, and physically if necessary, capable of maintaining and fostering in this world peace, justice and order and all that these imply. Thus one or two recalcitrant large nations might seriously hamper a world state as an effective peace-making agency.

Scholastic political scientists and ethicists do not support just any concept of world state. They subscribe only to that type which, besides being a true state in every sense of the word, is sufficiently organic to give due consideration to all of those basic rights of man as man. The Communist elements in this world also have an elaborate plan for a world dictatorship that may well become a world state.² Such a Communistic superstate could surely keep some form of peace but it would be the "peace" of a well guarded jail. Hence, the only acceptable plan of world state for the scholastic philosopher, and the one to be employed in this study, is thus defined: a world state is that state which embraces morally all the nations of the world or at least a sufficiently large number of the more powerful nations organized into a truly organic state for the purpose of the common good of the world. Indeed this is idealistic, and the world may be a long time arriving at this level of nearly universal unity. While it is possible for the world state to come into being by the stroke of genius of a world

²Cf. Elliot R. Goodman, The Soviet Design for a World State, New York, Columbia University Press, 1957.

federator, it most likely will come into existence, if at all, by the formation of a small nucleus or block of nations that is willing and eager to grow in size until the accession of all the order-loving nations of this world is completed. If present day trends continue, the future federal political union of the world may well be first of all an economic union that naturally and almost necessarily develops into a political union. This union may come with or perhaps without the consent of the governed. In any case, it should as far as possible seek to achieve the very purpose of its existence - the common good of the area that it serves, hopefully the whole world, and thus set up a worldwide system of justice, law and order, as the alternative to continued international anarchy.

To achieve its end of the world common good the world federal state will have to be able to make laws binding on individuals as well as on nations. In fact the world law should bind chiefly individuals, and on occasions it may bind member states also. This procedure is quite different from international law, which binds states and nations primarily, and on occasions it binds individuals. The world federal state should have jurisdiction over the high seas, adequate taxing authority, a law enforcement system of federal world marshals or a civilian police force. There must also be a civilian executive, a proportioned legislature with a fair voting system, and a world judiciary.

A bill of rights to protect world citizens from world state encroachments would be a "must" in the minds of freedom loving peoples. Powers not delegated to the world federal government would remain with the constituent member nations or with the citizens of the world.³

In order to have the clearest possible notion of peace it is necessary to define and describe the word as it is to be used in this thesis. In modern times there are unfortunately two rather distinct situations for which historians, journalists and even some political scientists employ the word peace. The following descriptions are thus needed before embarking upon the formulation of an exact definition of peace.

First of all, the word peace is used to indicate internal peace often referred to as "civil peace". This of course, is a correct use of the word. This peace is violated by means of civil disturbances against the laws of the realm. A second use of the world peace is the case of what political scientists often call international peace. This use of the word, if consistency is to be maintained, is really an abuse of the word; it is likewise very misleading because it helps to create a false impression that "international peace" is the same sort as "civil or internal peace". What is referred to as civil peace is the product

³Cf. any current policy statement of the United States group of United World Federalists, 1321 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

of an order amongst the citizenry produced by law and government. What is referred to as international peace is not the product of law and government. It is usually no more than the absence of war among nations, which may be potentially at war but actually not shooting at one another. This common concept of "international peace" is an unacceptable use of the term as far as our definition will be concerned, for peace in this case means at best only a truce or a truly potential (but not actual) war.⁴

A semantic error similar to the one about the word peace is made in reference to the word war. War within a state is called civil war, but even during a civil war, potential peace remains so long as there is some form of government. The other form of war - international or interstate war - takes place between distinct political communities, which are even potentially at war when they live in that form of "peace" which is an armed truce. Thus to consider these situations from a strictly philosophical viewpoint, it will be necessary to overcome the temptation of referring to a situation as "peace" when the shooting has stopped.

Emery Reves in his Democratic Manifesto has the following description of this situation:

All those brief respites from war which we call 'peace' were nothing but diplomatic, economic,

⁴This whole concept of peace and war is the basic contention of Mortimer J. Adler as found in his How To Think About War and Peace, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1944, pp. 44-54.

political, and financial wars between the various groups of men called "nations", with the only distinction that these conflicts, rivalries, and hostilities have been fought out with all the means except shooting.⁵

A similar comment on this same problem of words is found in "Talk of the Town" of the New Yorker in 1943:

Nothing is more frightening than to hear what is not law called law, what is not peace called peace . . . To speak as though we had peace when what we've got is treaties and pacts, to use the word 'peace' for non-peace, is to lessen our chance of ever getting world peace, since the first step toward getting it is to realize with dazzling clearness that we haven't got it and never have had it.⁶

Thus, the "peace" often spoken of today is only an armed truce, and it is unsafe to continue to use the word in such a confusing manner. By understanding something of the causes of peace, we may be able to understand the true and full meaning of the word peace.

Centuries ago a Christian cosmopolite undertakes the formulation of a definition of peace. His definition is still valid today. St. Augustine writes in his City of God:

The peace of man is ordered concord. The peace of the household is the ordered concord of commanding and obeying among those living together. The peace of the city is the ordered concord of commanding and obeying among citizens. . . The peace of all things is the tranquility of order. Order is the disposition of equal and unequal things attributing to each its place.⁷

⁵New York, Random House, 1942, p.64.

⁶May 8, 1943, p. 11.

⁷Book 19, Chap. 13, 413-426.

St. Augustine is here speaking of social peace which is primarily a matter of political institution, of justice and of law. St. Augustine points out clearly that peace involves a concord of a multitude of things, an order among them which establishes this harmony. As for human beings peace consists in a group living together in concord and enjoying, as St. Augustine puts it, the tranquility of order. Order is therefore the key word in the discussion of peace, for it both establishes harmony in the multitude and bestows a tranquility upon those living together. And when people live together by rules of their own making instead of by their baser instincts there is ever a question of commanding and obeying and a "disposing of equal and unequal things attributing to each its place".

This order St. Augustine refers to results from the reign of law or from the proper functioning of government. Order among the many is the result of the "disposition of equal and unequal" or the proper arrangement between the ruler and the ruled. The many are not a community unless there is some semblance of order or organization among them. Thus the cause of peace in a multitude is the order of that multitude.

Therefore to have a working definition of peace for the twentieth century it is possible to paraphrase the ideas of St. Augustine adding modern adaptation. It could be phrased thus: The peace of all men is the ordered concord

among all men. . . . The peace of the world is the ordered concord of commanding and obeying among the citizens living together in the world. . . . The peace of all things in the world is the tranquility of order of all things in this world. . . . World order among nations is the disposition of equal and unequal nations attributing to each its fair place in this world.

Consequently, according to St. Augustine, peace consists in the formation of a unity out of many. This is reminiscent of the Latin motto on all the coins of the United States, a reminder that out of the many formerly independent political units a larger unity of interdependence has been established. Thus a community means a unity which has been formed by bringing individuals together. This political unity, no matter how large or small it is, is one of social peace which does not differ essentially whether in the possession of a small city-state or a huge world federation. Viewing peace from the positive angle, especially in the smaller communities to which the world is at present accustomed, we can see that peace does not mean simply the absence of fighting, but that includes all that is needed for the common good of the community, whatever its size. This does not mean that the community when correctly formed, will have perfect peace and harmony, for such does not exist in this life. However, to stay on the side of realism, it is possible for a community to be so

laden with imperfections and defects that its peace comes to the vanishing point and the community to dissolution.

Of the many forms of social peace the interest in this thesis must be confined to political peace and what it immediately implies. To see the difference between political peace and all other types, one must first of all distinguish the political community from the others. A characteristic of the "sovereign" political community is the fact that, while it includes other communities in itself, it is not included by any other political community. Therefore subordinate associations as well as individuals are among its members, and are in one way or another subject to its rules. Each and every person thus belongs to some all-inclusive political community, the paramount community, as well as to many communities of lesser size, each serving its own proper purpose. This inclusiveness of the political community must not be so great as to extinguish the life and purpose of the other communities, for such would be totalitarianism, but should foster and encourage them in every allowable way according to the principle of subsidiarity. Hence the political community must distinguish itself chiefly by the way it provides peace. Political peace is therefore the "paramount form" of peace which all the individuals and organizations enjoy in a political society, the "paramount community", to which all belong. This concept of the political community in view of the scholastic principle of subsidiarity should in no way

be construed as to infringe on the rights and prerogatives of the Church, which also in scholastic parlance is regarded as a "perfect society". Whatever is characteristic of the peace in the smallest of the political communities of this world is likewise the case with the largest. The political peace of the smallest nation or state is essentially the same as the political peace to be found in the world state, not yet in existence. Since peace is the "life" of a community, and since there is peace only among the members of any given community, whatever is needed to preserve the community is needed also for the peace of the community. The community becomes the necessary condition for communal peace.

Thus far the investigation of the nature of peace, political peace especially, brings the discussion to the brink of the conclusion of the thesis itself. While the chief stress is placed necessarily on the political peace, there is no thought of lessening the importance of that form of individual peace that can be maintained even during political war, namely, that spiritual peace derived from sanctifying grace.

The thesis of this study proposes the world state as a necessary condition for world peace. This implies that there are other prerequisites, and these also shall be considered briefly, not because they are matter essential to this study, but because they help to complete the picture of what is required for world peace. If one would bring

together all of the necessary conditions for world peace, he would have the sufficient condition for world peace. This likewise is not the chief subject of this dissertation, since our aim is to see why the organic world state is simply one, even if the most important one, of several conditions necessary for that world peace which is the tranquility of world order. Therefore our working definition of political peace must stress not only the tranquility of civil order but also all those positive and promotional aspects of the common temporal welfare of all socio-political levels of society.

B. Purpose and Plan of the Study

The originality of the study lies in the considerations of world peace and world state from the aspect of the application of the scholastic principles of subsidiarity in light of the concept of a perfect political society on the world level. Much is said in general about applying the moral law in the family, by the Church, and by lawful civil authorities. Yet there has grown up along with the advent of "one world" a new set of human relationships on the world level which are, of course, subject also to morality yet where very little has been done to provide for the application of the moral law. Likewise flowing from the considerations of the natural moral law, there must be a rigorous examination of the scholastic concept of the perfect political society

and its application to the situation of world state. Running through these considerations will be the idea that the moral law will not function in a vacuum - not in a religious vacuum, and surely not in a political vacuum, and least of all in a vacuum of worldwide proportions. An element of originality should be found also in subjecting to the scrutiny of scholastic logic the ordinary traditional arguments for the world state. Other considerations in this dissertation will be peripheral, even though they have their own importance, and even some importance in showing a more complete picture of the problem of "how necessary is the world state to achieve world peace".

The overall plan of this study includes a brief history of the proposals and proponents of the world state movement as well as some of the opposition to the idea from nationalistic, Communistic, and "functionalist" sources, although these are obviously not essential to the thesis. On the central theme itself consideration will be given to the various necessary conditions for the organic world state, since every necessary condition for this type of world state is also by implication a prerequisite for world order and peace. It is not the intention of the author of this dissertation to offer elaborate proof for each of the proposed prerequisites of the world state, not forgetting however that they too are important for the validity of the main thesis, which at this point, still remains to be proven.

The central part of this study will be devoted to proving why the organic world state is a necessary condition or prerequisite for obtaining and preserving world order and peace. The two chief approaches to this problem will be to examine carefully and then to apply the scholastic concept of the state as a perfect society to the world state ideal, and likewise to show how the scholastic idea of subsidiarity, in view of the governmental tasks no longer able to be fulfilled by nation-states, demands the establishment of a world state commensurate with the magnitude of the problems to be dealt with.

Since the natural moral law does not "function" well in a political vacuum, nor really in any other type of vacuum, there remains the gigantic task for the ethicist and political scientist to combine forces and devise a positive legal structure whereby the natural law can achieve its purpose of world peace. However, this dissertation is not primarily a treatise on world peace plans. It does nevertheless concentrate on those world state arguments which are rooted in the idea of subsidiarity and in the scholastic concept of perfect society with its ramifications of supreme political authority or "sovereignty".

In this study every effort is being made to consider the arguments offered and not just the people who offer them. This entire study should therefore lead us to the logical conclusion of a scholastic political scientist or ethicist.

Only a sufficiently powerful organic world state which is solidly rooted in man's socio-political nature will be that truly perfect political society instrumental in procuring that world order, justice and peace, i.e., the universal temporal welfare which the inhabitants of this entire earth long for.

PART ONE

Chapter I

HISTORICAL RESUME OF THE WORLD STATE MOVEMENT

But we must not become victims of history, or allow ourselves to be overturned by it. Rather we must dominate it, and direct it towards the salvation, and not towards the destruction and shipwreck of the world.¹

Of all those who seek to influence history the advocates of a world state form a vanguard. These people are labeled by some as idealists; passing judgement upon themselves, however, they usually consider themselves to be realists. Reinhold Niebuhr insists that the whole question of world organization must be dealt with from the standpoint of historical realism. With a note of pessimism he would hold that a world government is a strict necessity at present for world peace but unfortunately not available. He writes:

In the present situation the idealists rightly insist that the economic interdependence of the world demands new international political organization . . . some kind of world government which will make our economic interdependence sufferable . . . the realistic and historical school does not deny these new necessities and possibilities. But it views the task of realizing them in the light of its knowledge of the stubborn inertia of human history. It wants to know how nations are to be beguiled into a limitation of their sovereign rights, considering that national pride and parochial self-sufficiency are something more

¹Giuseppe Angelo Cardinal Roncalli (Pope John XXIII), "Catholics and UNESCO", Catholic Mind, June, 1953, p. 322. This is from a sermon preached to the delegates of the 7th General UNESCO Conference, Nov. 12, 1952, in Paris.

than the mere fruit of ignorance but recurring forces in all efforts at social cohesion.²

Thus Niebuhr insists that historical processes do not conform to the pattern that the idealists have mapped out for it.

A. Early Concepts

Plans for a world political organization have fascinated man ever since the beginnings of written history. Less interest however has been shown in the establishing of a universal state. Ancient plans for interstatal organization seem almost modern in their principles, even if not so in their detail. From the earliest times down to the Peace of Westphalia there is one political philosopher who for his detailed world state plans stands out above the rest - Dante Alighieri (1265-1321), who lived at the very end of the medieval scholastic period.

The term "world state" as applied to the peoples of antiquity is obviously subject to the spacial limitations of the world as it was known at any given period of history. To the Babylonians or to the Persians the world is coextensive with their empires and the territories adjacent to them. To the Greeks, it embraces less territory until the time of Alexander the Great (356-323 B.C.). Yet to the Romans the world is much larger embracing the Europe, Asia and Africa

²Harry R. Davis and Robert C. Good (Editors), Reinhold Niebuhr on Politics, New York, Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1960, p. 244.

known to them. After the growth of Christianity, Christians think in terms of a Christian commonwealth with a true political significance and thus most medieval philosophers and political thinkers see no special reason to be interested in a world state. The world state problem is then not one primarily of spatial extension but rather of a unifying principle of authority bringing people together in some type of unified political community.

The earliest concepts of universal state are based on the concept of personal aggrandizement inspired largely by the desire to subject and conquer. These world empires of the East are rightly described as "Empires of Power" in contradistinction to the later Roman Empire which is an "Empire of Government".³ The rulers of these early "power empires" consider it their mission to conquer and to regard the conquered not as citizens but merely as subjects of their brand of world state. Here it is impossible to find anything like a community of free, even if not politically independent peoples.⁴

The situation of the Greeks presents a somewhat different picture. The internationalism of the free and independent city-states promoted a trend that was still to be found in Greek thought when Alexander the Great began

³Jean du Plessis, The Human Caravan, New York, Sheed and Ward, 1939, p. 128.

⁴Walther Schücking, Die Organisation der Welt, Leipzig, Alfred Kroner, 1909, p. 11.

his conquering expeditions. Alexander's world state was an external expression of the Greek philosophy of cosmopolitanism, even though his teacher, Aristotle, regarded the city-state as being the perfect political community.⁵ Nor did Alexander follow Aristotle's advice

. . . to treat the Greeks as if he were their leader, and other peoples as if he were their master. . . . But, as he believed that he came as a heaven-sent governor to all, and as a mediator for the whole world . . . he bade them all consider as their fatherland, the whole inhabited earth.⁶

Fortunately or unfortunately Alexander's world state was too short-lived to have much lasting result.

The intellectual predecessors of the cosmopolitanism practically exemplified by Alexander the Great were such Greeks as held to the concept of universal human solidarity, so necessary for the foundation of any workable world society, be it municipal or international. Socrates is regarded as the first to proclaim himself "a citizen of the world". The Cynics made a similar proclamation, but largely as a reaction against the nationalistic narrowness and racism and slavery found in the Greek city-states.⁷ The Stoics on the other hand, propounded a more positive form of

⁵Aristotle, Politics, Benjamin Jowett, translator, The Modern Library, New York, Random House, 1943, 1261a.

⁶Plutarch, "On the Fortune or the Virtue of Alexander", Moralia, Vol. 4, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1936, p. 397f. Others may disagree with this Plutarchian semi-glorification of Alexander.

⁷Walther Schüking, op.cit., p. 20.

cosmopolitanism. In Zeno's world state all men would form one great community in which order, peace, and unity would prevail. Of him, Plutarch writes:

The much admired Republic of Zeno, the founder of the Stoic sect, may be summed up in this main principle: that all the inhabitants of this world of ours should not live differentiated by their respective rules of justice into separate cities and communities, but that we should consider all men to be of one community and one polity and that we should have a common life and order common to us all, even as a herd feeds together and shares the pasturage of a common field. This Zeno wrote, giving shape to a dream, or as it were, shadowy picture of a well-ordered and philosophic commonwealth.⁸

The Roman Stoics manifest no less a cosmopolitan attitude than do the Greeks, of whose heritage they are a part. Cicero, perhaps one of the greatest of the Roman political philosophers and statesmen, gives evidence of a universalism when he wrote that "the unanimity of the races of the world must be regarded as a law of nature".⁹ Cicero's thought is continued in other works:

. . . it is our duty to respect, defend and maintain the common bonds of union and fellowship subsisting between all members of the human race.¹⁰

But in the whole moral sphere of which we are speaking there is nothing more glorious nor of wider range than the solidarity of mankind, that species of alliance and partnership of

⁸ Plutarch, op.cit., p. 397.

⁹ Marcus Tullius Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, Book I, Chapter XIII, 30, Loeb Classical Library, New York, Putnam's, 1917, p. 37.

¹⁰ Cicero, De Officiis, Book I, Chapter XLI, 149, Loeb Classical Library, New York, Macmillan Company, 1913, p. 153.

interests and that actual affection which exists between man and man.¹¹

About one century later another Stoic, a more prominent member of the Stoic school, Seneca, regarded mankind as belonging to a world commonwealth which excels in its importance the local commonwealth.

Let us grasp the idea that there are two commonwealths, the one, a vast and truly common state which embraces alike gods and men, in which we look neither to this corner of the earth nor to that, but measure the bonds of our citizenship by the path of the sun; the other, the one which we have been assigned by the accident of birth.¹²

The famous Roman philosopher-emperor, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, brought the concept of cosmopolitanism to its zenith, for in his conception every man was a citizen of the universe, "the highest state, of which all other states are but households".¹³ This imperial cosmopolite continues the same trend of thought when he writes:

If the intellectual capacity is common to us all, common too is the reason, which makes us rational creatures. If so, that reason also is common which tells us to do or not to do. If so, law also is common. If so, we are citizens. If so, we are fellow-members of an organized community. If so, the Universe is as it were a state - for

¹¹ Cicero, De Finibus, Book V, Chapter XXIII, 65, Loeb Classical Library, New York, Macmillan Company, 1914, p. 171.

¹² Lucius Annaeus Seneca, De Otio, IV, 1, in Moral Essays, Vol. II, Loeb Classical Library, New York, Putnam's, 1928, p. 62.

¹³ Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, The Communings with Himself of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Book III, Chapter II, 49, Loeb Classical Library, Putnam's, 1916, p. 71f.

Hitherto the whole earth from east to west had been rent asunder by continual strife. To curb this madness God has taught the nations to be obedient to the same laws and all to become Romans. Now we see mankind living as citizens of one city and members of a common household. Men come from distant lands across the seas to one common forum, and the peoples are united by commerce and culture and intermarriage. From the intermingling of peoples a single race is born. This is the meaning of all victories and triumphs of the Roman Empire: the Roman peace has prepared the road for the coming of Christ.¹⁷

St. Augustine (354-430) a contemporary of Prudentius but in a different part of the Roman Empire, did in no wise escape being influenced by the ideals of universal empire. While he may or may not have agreed with this tradition, he was definitely a part of it. In fact, St. Augustine seems to concentrate on the undesirable features of what he designates as the "third" circle of the world state in which he lived. In his City of God he writes:

After the state or city comes the world, the third circle of human society - the first being the house, the second the city. And the world, as it is larger, so it is fuller of dangers, as the greater sea is more dangerous. And here, in the first place man is separated from man by the difference of languages . . . But the imperial city has endeavored to impose on subject nations not only her yoke but her language, as a bond of peace. . . . True, it is: but how many great wars, how much slaughter and bloodshed have provided this unity!¹⁸

¹⁷ Prudentius, Contra Symmachum, II, 578-636, English translation from Christopher Dawson, The Making of Europe, New York, Sheed and Ward, 1938, p. 23.

¹⁸ St. Augustine, City of God, Book, XIX, Chapter VII, Great Books of the Western World, Vol. 18, Chicago, Encyclopedia Britannica, 1952, p. 515.

Perhaps St. Augustine was referring only to an ideal instead of a real world empire in which he lived, when he wrote:

This heavenly city, then, while it sojourns on earth, calls citizens out of all nations and gathers together a society of pilgrims of all languages, not scrupling about diversities in the manners, laws, and institutions whereby earthly peace is secured and maintained, but recognizing that, however serious these are, they all¹⁹ tend to one and the same end of earthly peace.

By the time Augustine was approaching death the great empire that had won its unity by wars and bloodshed was itself beginning to disintegrate at the frontiers, for the Vandals were beseiging the imperial forces at Hippo, the very month that he died, August, 430. Yet in its greatest days the empire was not at all a society of autonomous and coordinate states, but a single world state and while it may have tended to destroy some of the originality of mankind, it still remains without parallel even in modern history.²⁰ Long after its dissolution, the Empire continued to live on in the minds of men as a symbol of human unity and as an exemplar of universal political organization, remaining a political ideal for such men as Charlemagne, Otto the Great, and Napoleon. Yet the world had to wait until

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 522; cf. also James Scott Brown, Law, the State and the International Community, New York, Columbia University Press, 1939, Vol. I, p. 192.

²⁰ Cf. Christian Lange, Histoire de l'internationalisme I: jusqu'à la Paix de Westphalia, Kristiania, H. Aschehoug, 1919, p. 21f.

the late Middle Ages for another specific proposal of the ideal of a world state, for in no sense could the Holy Roman Empire be regarded in practice as a world state even if it was considered as a state superior to other states, prior to the Peace of Westphalia. Doubtless Christendom as both a symbol and a cause of medieval political unity and cooperation²¹ precluded any serious discussion on the details of a real universal state, which is not to be found even in the numerous writings of St. Thomas Aquinas.²²

It must be remembered that in such an historical review universal organization falls into two categories: the one, that of universal rule or empire in which all the nations are held together by a municipal law; the other, that of an international organization of sovereign states.²³ Prior to the Peace of Westphalia the apogee of all these historic proposals was the one explained by Dante Alighieri in his De Monarchia, which contains three books, the first of which evolves Dante's theory that there is a need for a

²¹James Bryce, The Holy Roman Empire, New York, A. L. Burt, 1904, p. 89.

²²Cf. Robert Hutchins, St. Thomas and the World State, Milwaukee, Marquette University Press, 1949, p. 11f.

²³For a list of these proposals during a five-hundred year period, cf. Jacob Ter Meulen, Der Gedanke der Internationalen Organisation in seiner Entwicklung, I: 1300-1800, Haag, Martinus Nijhoff, 1917, pp. 80-97. A similar work but more general in its scope has been prepared by Sylvester J. Hemleben, Plans for World Peace through Six Centuries, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1943.

world rule of all peoples, if mankind is to enjoy the peace desired by all. This world rule is called by Dante "unicus principatus," the single rule for all people that is necessary to attain universal peace for mankind. To prove his thesis Dante sets forth an array of arguments, some of which are philosophical, some theological, some poetical. Dante's predecessors, in their purveying the idea of universal state, were never so explicit as he in their writings. The concept was usually idealized without any details or philosophical considerations. By Dante's time the Church had developed to the point of having tremendous power and prestige. Thus he was able simply to secularize this idea of Universal Church and have the idea of universal state, adducing at times the same reasons but on the natural instead of the supernatural level.

Dante's first direct argument for a world rule is based on the supposition that for the universal common welfare a single world government is necessary. He writes:

Or take finally a state or kingdom, whose aim is the same as that of a city, save that it takes more responsibility for peace - there must be a single government which both rules and governs: otherwise the end of the state is lost sight of, or the state itself falls to pieces, according to the infallible truth: 'every kingdom directed against itself shall be laid waste.' If therefore, these things are true among individuals and particular communities which have a unified goal, what we proposed above must be true. Since it appears that the whole of mankind is ordained to one end, as we proved above, it should therefore have a single rule and government, and this power should be called the Monarch or Emperor.

And thus it is plain that for the well-being of the world there must be a single world rule or empire.²⁴

Dante continues by showing that every institution needs a unified direction, be it the family, the city, the kingdom, or even the world itself, which means mankind as a whole.

Therefore, the relations among the parts exist for the sake of the unifying structure, not vice-versa. Hence, if the form of this structure is found among the partial associations of men, much more should it be found in the society of men as a totality, on the strength of the preceding syllogism, since the total structure or its form is the greater good; but as we have seen sufficiently clearly in the preceding chapter, this unifying structure is found or should be found in mankind as a whole; and as those societies that are partial in a state and the state itself, as we saw, should be composed of a structure unified by a governor or government, so there must be a single world-ruler or world-government.²⁵

Here Dante injects a religious note into his argument for a single world administration or world-government which has its unity in God.²⁶ Individual governments are merely portions of the entire world order:

But its parts are well ordered only on the basis of a single principle (this follows from all we have said), and hence it too must be well ordered

²⁴Dante Alighieri, On World Government or De Monarchia, translated by Herbert W. Schneider, New York, Liberal Arts Press, 1957, p. 9.

²⁵Ibid., p. 11; cf. also James Bryce, op.cit., p. 280.

²⁶Herbert W. Schneider, the translator of this English edition of De Monarchia, writes that "the term 'prince' and cognate terms are used by writers in the classical tradition as a technical term for sovereign government and may be translated impersonally", op.cit., p. 10, footnote.

on the basis of a single principle, namely, through its governor, God, who is the absolute world-government. Hence, we conclude that a single world-government is necessary for the well-being of the world.²⁷

Not at all exhausting in this historical survey the political philosophy of Dante, one notices in this last citation how Dante seeks to ground his world-government concept also in the natural moral law. He explains:

World Government, on the other hand, must be understood in the sense that it governs mankind on the basis of what all have in common and that by a common law it leads all toward peace. This common norm or law should be received by local governments in the same way that practical intelligence in action receives its major premises from the speculative intellect.²⁸

Finally, Dante regards the birth of Christ, taking place as it did, within the world empire of Caesar Augustus as a stamp of divine approval upon the idea of a world government for the whole human race.²⁹ Like other writers of the scholastic train of thought, Dante prepares his arguments in a logical fashion and does not hesitate to intermingle the theological with the philosophical.³⁰ The mere

²⁷Dante Alighieri, op.cit., p. 10. Cf. also E. Sharwood Smith, "Dante and World-Empire", The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Medieval Thinkers, F.J.C. Hearnshaw, general editor, London, George G. Harrap, 1923, p. 128.

²⁸Ibid., p. 20. Cf. also Charlton Wilkinson, "Dante's Vision of International Peace", Nation and the Athenaeum, XXX, No. 3, October 15, 1921, p. 111.

²⁹Ibid., p.23. Cf. Etienne Gilson, Dante the Philosopher, New York, Sheed and Ward, 1949, p. 200f.

³⁰For a further study of the whole political philosophy of Dante, cf. John Joseph Rolbiecki, The Political Philosophy

quantity of Dante's writings place him above both his predecessors and his successors who have proposed directly or indirectly the concept of a world state or world rule, prior of course, to the time of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

Well over two centuries pass before the world again has the proposal that might hint at a universal state. Really the following brief items of Montaigne and Bacon, respectively speaking, could be taken in an ideal sense strictly. They are, however, worth mention in passing. Montaigne says that "I look upon all men as my compatriots, and embrace a Polander as a Frenchman, preferring the universal and common tie to all national ties whatever".³¹ Francis Bacon is even less definite in his ideas than Montaigne, his contemporary. Bacon writes: "Even so likewise the nature of this great city of the world and the policy thereof, must be first sought in mean concordances and small portions".³²

Perhaps mention should be made of the Memoirs of Maxmilian de Bethune, Duc de Sully, written between 1617 and 1638, which contain the "grand dessein" attributed to

of Dante Alighieri, Washington, Catholic University Press, 1922, especially pp. 132-147 dealing with his concept of universal empire.

³¹ Essays, in Great Books of the Western World, Vol. 25, Chicago, Encyclopedia Britannica, 1952, p. 471.

³² Advancement of Learning, in Great Books of the Western World, Vol. 30, Chicago, Encyclopedia Britannica, 1952, p. 471.

Henry IV, Bourbon king of France. The plan was designed primarily to unite Europe into a federation and after settling Europe's basic problems, the conquest of areas of Asia and Africa was to be undertaken, but the new territories acquired were to be formed into new kingdoms and admitted into the Federation instead of being parceled out among the original members.³³ Sully claims that Queen Elizabeth favored and supported this plan. This plan is accused of having the ultimate aim of humbling the Habsburgs, which, ironically enough, if carried to its logical conclusion of a world federation, may have humbled also the Bourbons.

Emeric Crucé is a contemporary of Duc de Sully, although a rather obscure one, a simple French Carmelite friar. He published in 1623 during the great age of mercantilism, Le Nouveau Cynée, as an "indictment of war and a plan for perpetual peace . . . the chairmanship of the assembly would rotate among the Great Powers, all of whom would agree to wage war against any defiant prince".³⁴ Membership in the organization is to be universal including the Pope, the Sultan of the Turks, the Kings of India, Persia, China, the Grand

³³ Cf. Theodore Kukulhaus, Der Ursprung des Planes vom ewigen Frieden in den Memorien des Herzogs von Sully, Berlin, 1893, pp. 58-127. Cf. also Frederick L. Schuman, The Commonwealth of Man, New York, Alfred Knopf, 1952, p. 345f and Christian Pfister, "Les 'Economies royales' de Sully et le Grand dessein de Henri IV", Révue Historique, LVI, 1894, p. 326. Pfister also thinks that Sully was influenced by Crucé. Cf. Pfister, op.cit., p. 330-331.

³⁴ Frederick Schuman, supra, p. 345f.

Duke of Muscovy and even African monarchs. Such proposals are certainly bold for his day and age. He advocates also a universal police force, universal religious toleration; Venice is suggested as the meeting place for the representatives of this federation.³⁵

During the long and devastating Thirty Years' War we find apparently the last of the pre-Westphalian proposals of a world order in the form of world state. Campanella, an Italian, in 1633 possibly motivated by the havoc wrought by the Thirty Years' War advocates in his Monarchia Messiae:

. . . a universal monarchy to eliminate enmity, rivalry, and famine by relief of drought-stricken areas from the surplus of fertile regions, which would be possible if all stood united under one monarch.³⁶

In this case the chief reason, the common welfare of the people, is given as the very motive which this world state should formally have.

Except perhaps for the Stoics of Imperial Rome there is found no concentrated practical and philosophical movement for the formation of a world state. This must await more modern times. Yet of all those who have called for the formation of a world state, Dante Alighieri stands out as

³⁵For a complete study of the writings of Crucé, cf. Thomas Willing Balch, editor and translator, Introduction to Emeric Crucé, the New Cyneas, Philadelphia, Allan Lane and Scott, 1900, especially pp. 104-140.

³⁶Edith Wynner and Georgia Lloyd, op.cit., p. 34. Cf. also Jacob Ter Meulen, op.cit., Vol I, pp. 20-22.

the most prominent, the most exact and the most reasoned and explicit in his comparatively elaborate proposals for the formation, not simply of an international organization of sovereign states, but of a true world state which he conceived as a world monarchy. Even before the time of Hugo Grotius, it was becoming a common opinion of many European advocates of world peace that if peace were to be had at all, it would have to be on an international level through the cooperation of sovereign states and not through a proposed world state.

B. After the Peace of Westphalia

1. The Westphalian Tradition

The Peace of Westphalia ushers in a new tradition for interstatal relationships. Prior to this time there is some faint hope that the world might be somehow associated with the Holy Roman Empire, the supposed successor to the old Roman world state. The Holy Roman Empire is viewed as a superior sort of state, theoretically speaking, that is. In this same tradition writes the Moravian bishop, Johann Amos Comenius (Komensky), who maintains that all men are citizens of this world and should be united under a system of universal law.³⁷

³⁷ Cf. Matthew Spinka, John Amos Comenius, That Incomparable Moravian, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1943, pp. 105-108.

The Peace of Westphalia inculcated a new concept of equal and sovereign nations into the minds of many, a concept of which they were no doubt proud, as it facilitated the cause of the growing and new nationalism, at least in so many places. This new tradition now also of internationalism causes such men as Hugo Grotius³⁸ and Francisco de Vitoria³⁹ to write on international law, the "law" that should be observed among sovereign states, a voluntaristic "law", yet a code of conduct for both peace and war, a code more honored in the breach than in the observance. Admitting the status quo of equal but sovereign states, no one could seriously discuss the question of universal state and apparently no one did for some centuries; at least, posterity fails to inherit any written testimony.

2. French Revolutionary Tradition

By the end of the 18th century political thinking is completely disturbed, for weal or woe, both in theory and in practice; the French Revolution ensued, and in the maze of new and old ideas some reconceive the plans of a universal state. Such a plan is proposed to and rejected by the

³⁸ Prolegomena to the Law of War and Peace, Francis W. Kelsey, translator, New York, Liberal Arts Press, 1957, pp. 19-25.

³⁹ Cf. James Scott Brown, Law, the State and the International Community, New York, Columbia University Press, 1939, Vol. I, p. 313.

revolutionary French National Assembly by Baron de Clootz, Jean Baptiste du Val de Grace. Advocating the supremacy of human rights over states' rights, he promotes the idea of a world republic with cultural autonomy for all. All men are to be called brothers instead of by their nationality.⁴⁰

At this same period of history, when Europe is fiercely torn by despotism on the one hand the fiery principles of the French Revolution on the other, and it is thought that republican constitutions might end wars by depriving rulers of their arbitrary powers of making war, Immanuel Kant published (1795) his tractate Zum ewigen Frieden,⁴¹ yet even he is unable to break himself away sufficiently from the concept of internationalism and national sovereignty to advocate a true world state.

Another German, a friend of the French Revolution, Joseph Görres, hopes that as France liberated (sic) other nations, a world republic is to be established under the leadership of Napoleon, to include also the United States. He proposes the summoning of a popular convention to draw up a world constitution.⁴²

⁴⁰ Edith Wynner and Georgia Lloyd, op.cit., p. 51; cf. also Jacob Ter Meulen, op.cit., Vol. II, Part I, p. 21.

⁴¹ Perpetual Peace, translated by Lewis White Beck, New York, Liberal Arts Press, 1957.

⁴² Cf. Jacob Ter Meulen, op.cit., Vol. II, Part I, pp. 51 and p. 93.

Still in the same historical period, Karl Salomo Zacharia in his Janus advocates a world state organization to start with Europe, but to develop to include ultimately the whole world; its basis to be the freedom and equality of all peoples of the world.⁴³

Still another author in the Napoleonic period, Karl Friedrich Christian Krause, in his Das Urbild der Menschheit, urges a world federation of local federations. He feels for a while that Napoleon can unify Europe. Closer examination of his plans indicate that they resemble more a confederation than a federation.⁴⁴

Napoleon's exile and the return to a more conservative internationalism under Metternich causes a waning in the world state proposals. It seems that troubled times chiefly cause people to give serious consideration to this world state problem. Thus between the period of the Napoleonic wars and World War I there is only one noteworthy world state proposal, that of the Englishman, William Stead, at the turn of the century. Perhaps he was motivated by the horrors of the Boer War in which his country was involved and which he eagerly wanted terminated. Like other Europeans

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 73-79.

⁴⁴ English translation edited by W. Hastee, The Ideal of Humanity and Universal Federation, Edinburgh, T. & J. Clark, 1900, especially, pp. 60-112.

before him, he wants the world state to start with a united Europe, beginning with England and Germany and finally embracing the entire world.⁴⁵

3. Tradition of the First Two World Wars

Nearly all of the following advocates of a world state are in some fashion or other under the spell or influence of the horrors and waste connected with war. They advocate a world state on the premise that civil peace comes from government and not from leagues or treaties. Consequently, they are at times impatient with internationalism, even forgetting on occasions that historical events evolve slowly and not by leaps.

It is interesting to note that from time to time one finds the title "United Nations" as a name for a federation of the nations of the world. As there are with the United Nations, so there were also plans to convert the League of Nations into a world federal government.

The first noteworthy wartime plan is that of an American attorney, Alfred Owen Crozier, who aims at the establishment of a Nation of Nations. He wants America to take the lead in this world federation modeled on the Canadian and Australian constitutions. The immediate aim however

⁴⁵The United States of Europe, New York, Doubleday and McClure, 1899.

is to bring about a cessation of hostilities (1915).⁴⁶

Another American, Theodore Harris, proposes a world constitution patterned on the United States federal plan for all those nations which possessed the capacity of self-government. Other portions of the plan appear to have been copied from the American constitution. Those areas unable to govern themselves should be treated as "federal territories" until they evidence ability for self-government.⁴⁷

In connection with the establishment of the League of Nations there was a Swiss Committee of thirty-four members which planned a constitution for a universal league, based on the pattern of the Swiss federation. This committee published in 1918 its own proposals in Bern, Switzerland.⁴⁸

Another American wartime plan (1918) for a United Nations comes from a constitutional and international law professor, Raleigh Colston Minor, who, due to the great differences he sees among the nations, advocates a more loosely constructed federation than the ones known today; however, he puts an unfortunate and disagreeable provision in his

⁴⁶ A Nation of Nations, Cincinnati, Stewart and Kidd, 1915.

⁴⁷ A Proposed Constitution for the United Nations of the World, New York, C.F. Ruckstuhl, Inc., 1918. This is only a pamphlet.

⁴⁸ Draft of the Constitution of a Universal League of Nations, Bern, Swiss Committee for the Preparation of the League of Nations, 1918.

"Republic of Nations" - white supremacy in the counting of the world's population, the non-whites, Japanese excepted, being counted as "one-third" of all others. Such is reminiscent of Article 1, Section 2, Paragraph 3 of the United States Constitution.⁴⁹

The period between the wars continues to produce plans for a world state. An Englishman, H.J. Paintin proposes a Federation of Man (1926) with universal membership in the organization. It is suggested that this federation should be an outgrowth of the League of Nations.⁵⁰

Federalism appears to be an essential in practically all of the proposals of the twentieth century. W. L. Walton, an American, proposes (1939) a federation of all the nations of the world to be adopted when ratified by responsible governments representing two-thirds of the people of the world. Representational advantage is given to the literate nations; English is named as the official language.⁵¹

Other individual writers continue up to the present day their advocacy of world federation, and as they do so, they often seem to pay little or no attention to the organizations, either because they have no interest in such

⁴⁹ A Republic of Nations, New York, Oxford University Press, 1918, cf. especially pp. 20ff.

⁵⁰ League of Nations at the Bar of Public Opinion, no city Paintin and Simpson, 1926.

⁵¹ Workable World Peace, Grafton, South Dakota, no publisher listed for this pamphlet, 1939.

organizational effort or perhaps they regard some of the organizations as a hindrance rather than a help.

By the turn of the century two definite trends can be seen in the efforts to achieve a world state. Some feel that it will come in connection with the repeated efforts to call a constitutional convention. Others feel that these calls to a constitutional convention have only an educational or propaganda value and will achieve nothing practical in the long run. They feel that most will be achieved through efforts at strengthening some international organization like the League of the United Nations to the point of making it a world federal state.

C. World Federalism

Not everyone who is for a world state is a world federalist, but by far most of them are, at least those who voice their opinions openly. This is so much the case that there is justification for referring to the most recent period of development as the age of "world federalism". This is not to say that all of the world state advocates have joined the various organizations sponsoring world federation of one sort or another.

However from the year 1940 to the present it is not unusual to find organization backing for a good portion of the world state proposals. In such cases the organization

encourages, aids and even sponsors the author of world state proposals. Such has been the case with the Campaign for World Government, World Government Crusade, United World Federalists, CURE and Union Now. Double sponsorship is given to the Federation of Nations plan of the feminist leaders, Lola Maverick Lloyd and Rosika Schwimmer - sponsorship of the Campaign for World Government and of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Their plan (1942) like others stresses true world federation with emphasis on women's rights in government and elsewhere. They want to begin with a provisional world government which would formulate and publicize a world constitution.⁵²

Another organization-sponsored and originated plan (1943) comes from the Women's Organization for World Order. Their world government is more unitary than federal, with the unusual provisions of having psychiatrists observe and report on the sessions of parliament composed of an equal number of men and women.⁵³ The organization proposes some very morally objectionable police powers for the world state such as euthanasia, abortion, birth control, death for defective infants and sterilization.

In the "world federalist" tradition an American

⁵²Cf. Edith Wynner and Georgia Lloyd, op.cit., pp. 107-112.

⁵³Ibid., pp. 116-120.

attorney, William C. Brewer, proposes a federal world alliance modelled on the Swiss and American constitutions. The world alliance is a minimal but real federation, with a full federal government to handle the single delegated power of maintaining peace. The world alliance would have to be ratified by three-fourths of the world's nations.⁵⁴

In the same "world federalist" tradition is Oscar Newfang, a long-time advocate of world government, having written a number of books on the subject. His aim is realistic enough to seek to develop such organizations as the League of Nations and the United Nations into a federal world government with membership open to all nations. The type of federation he offers is not very closely knit. He might be accused of advocating confederation instead of federation.⁵⁵

Those authors writing during the second World War echo often some sentiment against the enemy nations, along with their world state proposals. Such is Ruth Bryan Owen, who proposes a universal federation based on the plan of the American constitution. She calls for a declaration of interdependence of all nations after the United Nations wins

⁵⁴ Permanent Peace, Philadelphia, Dorrance Publishers, 1940.

⁵⁵ World Federation, New York, Barnes and Noble, 1939 or World Government, New York, Barnes and Noble, 1942 or Harmony between Labor and Capital, New York, Kinckerbocker Press, 1927, especially pp. 237ff.

the war over the Axis powers.⁵⁶

Leslie Balogh Bain, in the proposal to make a federation of regional federations, sets up as one of the aims the elimination of fascism and imperialism.⁵⁷

Percy Bordwell presenting in 1943 a world federation plan based on the American constitution and thus not differing greatly from the plans of others, is of the opinion that the ratification of a world constitution is a power reserved to the American people and can be lawfully ratified only by a constitutional convention.⁵⁸

Another federation of federations plan is that of the Englishman, Edward J. Byng (1943) but it is colored by a definitely anti-German sentiment.⁵⁹

In the same year John B. Corliss, Jr., suggests that the Axis powers should be put under the supervision of the World Congress, yet in time should have fair representation in the world congress.⁶⁰ Eldon Griffin, also in 1943, advocates a world federation, but does so with anti-German sentiments. He has the unique proposal of a board of roving

⁵⁶ Look Forward Warrior, New York, Dod, Mead and Co., 1942.

⁵⁷ Chaos or Peace, New York, M.S. Mill Co., Inc., 1943, especially pp. 88f.

⁵⁸ "A Constitution for the United Nations", Iowa Law Review, Vol. 28, No. 3, March, 1943.

⁵⁹ A Five-Year Peace Plan, New York, Coward-McCann, Inc., 1943.

⁶⁰ The Greatest Project of All Time, Detroit, privately published, 1943.

critics to criticize publicly those holding public office.⁶¹

Organizational backing for the socialist plans of John H. Rosser, an Australian, calls for a simple world federation with industry held by common ownership.⁶²

A world federation with class A, B, and C membership is proposed by the American, Wallace Speers. The class is based on the nation's ability to sustain itself economically. The economically backward nations would have no parliamentary representation and class B nations would have no vote in the parliament. The establishment of a world state is to take the place of peace treaties. The world state capital is to be rotated among the nations in the highest economic class.⁶³

There is also the Britisher, Michael Young, who proposes with much anti-German bias, a world federation, yet retaining much of the imperialism of the past. Free world representatives should meet at the Vatican to organize the "World Association of Free People".⁶⁴

Shortly after the second World War the various

⁶¹ Clinching the Victory, Seattle, Wilberlilia Publishers, 1943.

⁶² World Charter, Brisbane, Australia, Morcoms Pty., 1943.

⁶³ Coorder Nations, private publication, no city given, 1943.

⁶⁴ The World Settlement from the Trial of Adolph Hitler, New York, E. P. Dutton, 1944.

organizations begin publishing regularly their magazines like the World Federalists' World Government News, and later The World Federalist; Union Now publishes Freedom and Union; and a University of Chicago intellectuals' group publishes for a while a magazine named Common Cause. Besides these magazines various groups of world federalists have organized into chapters and branches and now publish their bulletins. In the late 1940's and early 1950's the output of literature on the subject increases greatly. One of the better known evangelistic type of books is Emery Reves's The Anatomy of Peace published in 1946,⁶⁵ and Mortimer Adler's How To Think About War and Peace is dated 1944.⁶⁶ Since then several shelves would be needed to hold the books, pamphlets, and articles on the subject.

World Federalists in the United States hold yearly conventions besides the yearly meetings of the World Movement for World Federal Government. Vernon Nash⁶⁷ and Julia Johnson⁶⁸ have both written several volumes on the subject;

⁶⁵New York, Harper and Brothers.

⁶⁶New York, Simon and Schuster.

⁶⁷Yes, But, New York, World Federalists, Inc., 1946; It Must Be Done Again, New York, United World Federalists, Inc., 1946; The World Must Be Governed, New York, Harper, 1949.

⁶⁸World Peace Plans, New York, H.W. Wilson, 1943; United Nations or World Government, New York, H.W. Wilson, 1947; Federal World Government, New York, H.W. Wilson, 1948.

the latter devotes three volumes in the Reference Shelf series to the problems of world organization and world government, with ample bibliographies for each. As early as 1947 Helen F. Conover has a short bibliography prepared for the Library of Congress on the topic of world government.

Throughout the 1950's however the torch for the cause of the world state movement has been carried by the world federalists in various nations, even though not all of these "federalists" have been members of any one organization. The first and most obvious cleavage among the world federalists themselves is that of the maximalist-minimalist controversy. The maximalists seek a world state that is truly a federal state with all those normal powers that are found in any traditional federal state. The minimalists seek a world federation with that minimum number of delegated powers adequate to preserve the peace of the world, peace being taken in a somewhat negative sense.

Probably the most comprehensive union of national groups for world federal government is the World Movement for World Federal Government, with headquarters in The Hague, Holland (1965), which has active associated organizations in some thirty nations of the world. Its magazine is The World Federalist. Among these groups is the American organization, the United World Federalists, with thousands of dues paying members and associated youth groups, which has its headquarters in Washington, D.C. This group was founded in 1947 by

Cord Meyer, Jr., who is no longer much in evidence among them. This organization with its regular annual assemblies seeks to arrive at world federation by converting the United Nations into a world federal state with minimum powers, adequate for keeping the peace. Prominent among its members are Norman Cousins, lecturer and editor of the Saturday Review; Mrs. Marion McVitty, official U.W.F. observer at the United Nations; George Holt, one-time executive vice-president of the organization and at present (1965) a syndicated columnist; Rev. Donald Harrington, prominent Unitarian minister in New York, plus other celebrities in the American business and social world. It is now (1965) publishing a small monthly magazine called The Federalist. Members are accused of going off on tangents at times instead of concentrating on world government.

Closely associated with the World Movement for World Federal Government is the World Association of Parliamentarians for World Government, with members from various national parliaments, congresses, and diets throughout the world. This organization also carries a roster of easily recognizable names such as Clement Atlee, Hugh Gaitskell, Max Habicht, etc. Its aim is to interest members of national parliaments in the cause of the world state movement, preparing for the hoped-for day when a ratification vote for a world state should take place in the various legislative assemblies of the world.

world. Nothing is more in conformity with the traditional doctrines of the Church, nor better adapted to her teaching concerning legitimate and illegitimate war, above all, in the present circumstances.⁷⁰

Prominent among the intellectuals for world government, though not always members of the World Federalist organizations, is the Chicago group that for some years sponsored the magazine Common Cause. This group has included Mortimer Adler, Robert Hutchins, Guiseppe Borgese and Rexford Tugwell. Their most promising work was done during the last two decades. Legal journals in the United States during the late 1940's also examined rather carefully the world state concept; likewise a whole issue of The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (July, 1948) is dedicated to the various approaches to one world. In 1946 the American Bar Association Journal also discussed the world state question and likewise in the same year, issues of the Atlantic Monthly. Some writers approach the question from the political standpoint, some from the sociological and others from the financial viewpoint.

Most recently however there are several movements directly or indirectly focusing attention on the need for a true federal state for the world. Such are the International Registry of World Citizens with headquarters in Paris, The

⁷⁰"Address to the Delegates of the World Movement for World Federal Government", L'Osservatore Romano, An. 91, Num. 80, April 7, 1951, p. 1. (Translation mine from the original French.)

People's Congress with headquarters in Bergan, Holland, The Campaign for a World Constituent Assembly with headquarters in Brussels and the Committee for a World Constitutional Convention with headquarters in Denver, Colorado.

The United World Federalists had set 1955 as the target date for the charter review conference in the United Nations. At that time they hoped that the nations of the world could undertake to revise the United Nations Charter into a federal world constitution. This plus other approaches to world peace have been the topic of lectures, seminars, and study at various universities throughout the world as well as the preoccupation of various peace research centers and foundations. An academician would look at all of this as contributing to the formation of the world community, a necessary preliminary for any democratic world state.

Finally, a survey of publications on the topic of world government shows by the year over a twenty-five year period (1938-1963) the following tally: in the five year span from 1938 to 1942 there appear each year fewer than twenty publications of varying lengths on the subject of world state. But the following six years - 1943-1948 inclusive - see a very definite increase in the yearly number of publications, besides of course the articles in such propaganda magazines as The Federalist. During 1948 there are about one hundred publications on the subject of world state. But after that date up to the present time, 1965, there are

fewer than twenty publications each year on the subject. And while some of the writings have been classed as utopian or sentimentalist, the monumental work of attorney Grenville Clark and Harvard professor Louis Sohn, World Peace Through World Law, still attracts wide attention and favorable comment in intellectual circles. The labels, sentimentalist or utopian could be applied in this case only with the greatest reluctance. But every movement, be it political, religious, or philosophical, has its sentimental stage before it crystallizes into something acceptable and "respectable". Perhaps the aforementioned work of Clark and Sohn has rendered this service to the world state movement.

One final word on the history of the world state movement comes from some world federalists who think they have an unusual historical perspective founded on the fact that the modern age does not progress only accidentally; it makes progress also on purpose, deliberately. A world federalist editorial entitled "Clocks and Calendars" imagines squeezing fifty-thousand years of history into a fifty-year capsule and then viewing only the last ten of these fifty years:

A decade ago we would have emerged from the cave man era. Two years ago Christianity would have appeared on the human scene. Gutenberg would have invented the printing press 15 months ago and the Wright Brothers would have made their epic flight 18 days ago. Radio would be ten days old, and four days ago TV would have first blinked its eye at the world.

Then in the final few seconds of our compressed 50 years came the acceleration that shot progress to the very heavens . . . jet planes, nuclear development, orbital missiles, and antibiotics; each happening so fast that man scarcely had time to realize that time, as he once knew it, has collapsed. It is now a dimension.⁷¹

⁷¹George Ghetia, editor, One World or None, Washington, United World Federalists, 1960, p. 3.

CHAPTER II

OPPOSITION TO THE WORLD STATE CONCEPT

Many are the reasons why people oppose the idea of a world state. Some of the opposition is born of the serious conviction that the world state cannot achieve what it purports to achieve, and that some other institutions may be in a better position to obtain true peace. There is however very little of the popular opposition which is not in one way or another closely bound up with strongly emotional sentiments. This is especially true in the isolationist areas of the various nations.

The most vocal of the world state adversaries fall into three classes: the advocates of a strong nationalism; the adherents of Communism; and those who feel that more highly developed diplomatic service and better perfected international organizations are the answer to the problem of world peace.

Many of these people who oppose the world state concept do not always convey clearly and openly their opposition. In some cases they seem to be for the world state in theory, but in practice against it because they envision next-to-impossible conditions for the world state to become a reality. Every effort will be made to study these opinions in their proper place - among the necessary conditions or premises for a world state. The opposition with the greatest popular appeal is that of traditional nationalism.

A. Nationalistic Approach

Of all the socio-political phenomena in the twentieth century there seems none universally stronger than nationalism. It is to be expected that therefore the most reasoned as well as the most ridiculous opposition to the world state idea should derive from this source. Nationalism has had the longest period of time to crystalize its arguments in favor of the nation-state. Of course if the ideal form of state is the nation-state, there is no place in this world for the world state. Thus every logical proposal for the nation-state is at least an indirect argument against the world state, unless perhaps one agrees with John W. Burgess who holds that, besides its various immediate purposes, the ultimate purpose of the national state is to develop a world state.¹

However this same author regards the national state as one of the world's greatest achievements:

The national state is the most perfect organ which has as yet been attained in the civilization of the world for the interpretation of the human consciousness of right. It furnishes the best vantage-ground as yet reached for the contemplation of the purpose of the sojourn of mankind upon earth. The national state must be developed everywhere before the world-state can appear. Therefore, I would say that the secondary purpose of the state

¹Political Science and Constitutional Law, Vol. I, Boston, Ginn and Co., 1890, pp. 85f. The central thesis of world federalists would be that peace will come by the lessening and controlling of powers of the nation-state. Cf. Philip Van Slyck, Peace: The Control of National Power, New York, Fund for Education, 1963, pp. 15-41.

is the perfecting of its nationality, the development of the peculiar principle of its nationality.²

Of course nationalism is not the same in all countries and each period of national development finds great differences even within the same nation. Modern nationalism, with its roots solidly established in an earlier romanticism, receives its greatest impetus at the time of the French Revolution, which has enabled nationalism to have a mystique all its own. Thus, for example, one reads in Johann G. Fichte's (1762-1814) Addresses to the German Nation:

Shall we say a nation is a body of men, inhabiting a definite territory, who normally are drawn from different races, but possess a common stock of thoughts and feelings acquired and transmitted during the course of a common history . . . tend to form a separate State for the expression and realization of that common will? If we so define a nation, we may further define national character as the sum of acquired tendencies which a national society has built of its racial blend, its territory, and the mass and social variety of its population.³

Thus under nationalism, and especially in its exaggerated forms, teachers, parents, priests are expected to devote their lives to the pursuit of this patriotic vocation of love and loyalty to the homeland. Some will also insist that a distinction should be made between nationalism that stems from a false philosophy and that whose fundamental aim is to foster the "national purpose" of any state, as long as

²Ibid., p. 86.

³Translated by R. F. Jones and G. H. Turnbull, Chicago, Open Court Publishing Company, 1923, p. 130.

it does not conflict with the common good of the whole world. However most forms of nationalism overstress the "national purpose" by every conceivable means of communication with the docile masses. Carlton Hayes writes:

. . . the national state, through education in national school, national army, and national journalism, through the social pressure of national patriotism, inculcates in its citizens the fancy that they are world by themselves, sufficient unto themselves; it teaches them that they are a chosen people, a peculiar people, and that they should prize far more what is theirs as a nationality than what is theirs as human beings. It is this spirit of exclusiveness and narrowness which thrives on, and in turn nurses, a smugness that is laughable, an ignorance that is dangerous and an uncritical pride that can be reduced if at all, only by a beating.⁴

Thus, while nationalism in theory can be reconciled with the world state concept, in practice it is rarely possible, because the "national purpose" is almost always viewed as a good quite independent of all other nations.⁵ The exclusiveness and narrowness of most eager nationalists prevents them from seeing that the "national purpose" can ultimately be achieved only in view of the common good of the whole world. Patriotism becomes a religion for many, and the imagined "sins" against this cult are numerous. The virtues of this stateolotry are all swallowed up in the

⁴Essays on Nationalism, New York, Macmillan, 1928, p. 26. Cf. also his Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism, New York, R. R. Smith, 1931.

⁵For a study of this conflict cf. John J. Wright, National Patriotism in Papal Teaching, Westminster, Newman Press, 1956, especially pp. 193-223.

supreme virtue of nationalistic patriotism. The typical forms of stateolatry culminate in a blind cult of the nation, and a negation of international justice. All this forms a part of the mystique of nationalism.⁶ They ". . . one and all appeal to certain fixed and final factors which are considered necessarily to impose themselves upon a people and to form of them a 'nation', requiring them by a species of scientific determinism, a common patriotism".⁷

The most eager zealots of the cause of nationalism have not only sought to support their position by use of the military, but also have appealed to racism as a basis for their stand. Such "Nordic" extremists as the French author, Gobineau (1816-1862) and the German racist, Alfred Rosenberg⁸ and his Anglo-German intellectual forebearer, Houston Steward Chamberlain (1855-1927)⁹ would hold that ideas of universal brotherhood are purely mythical and completely devoid of any truly scientific foundation. Of humanity as such, Chamberlain writes: "For this humanity, about which men have philosophized to such an extent, suffers

⁶ Cf. Howard O. Eaton, Federation: The Coming Structure of World Government, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1944, pp. 128f.

⁷ John J. Wright, op.cit., p. 28.

⁸ Der Mythos des XX Jahrhunderts, Munich, Hoheneichen-Verlag, 1936.

⁹ Foundations of the Nineteenth Century, Lee translation, New York, John Lane Co., 1912, 2 volumes.

from the serious defect that it does not exist at all".¹⁰

And while men today (1965) hope that the worst forms of racist nationalism are now a thing of the past, there is no reason to believe that the last vestiges of these disastrous myths have been uprooted from the minds of men. In some areas of the world, particularly among the new nations, nationalism is being fostered by all available means, some good, some bad. Perhaps, since history is "made" more rapidly these days, the new nations will pass through their periods of nationalism more rapidly and soon come to see that the "national purpose" is achieved only in concert with the lawful national purpose of all the other nations of the earth.

No one ever thinks of the world state in terms of nation state. It is hard to conceive the world as one nation since nations are always thought of as being relatively small geographic units. Those who oppose the world state will thus show how the government of a geographical unit the size of a nation state is sufficiently hard to manage. A successful imperial state will thus be most difficult to maintain, and a fortiori, a world state will be impossible. To illustrate this, the nationalist needs only to cite the British plans for imperial federation in the nineteenth century.¹¹ Thus by showing how difficult

¹⁰ Ibid., Vol II, p. 200.

¹¹ Gerald P. Dartforth, "Failure of Federalism in the

federation is for groups that have much in common, the nationalist can assert that it is impossible for those groups that have little in common. In this vein Gerard Mangone writes:

Federation is an extremely rare form of government. It requires neighboring peoples to have a shared history, common interests, and similar values. . . . A federal union almost certainly requires some previous experience with democracy for it emphasizes representation, majority votes and minority rights . . .¹²

As long as an active majority, or even an extremely vocal minority, of men believe rightly or wrongly, that the greatest possible temporal benefits in this life come to them as a result of the national state, they will continue to support the national state. Hans J. Morgenthau notes:

The most extensive society in which most men live and act in our times is the national society. The nation is . . . the recipient of man's highest earthly loyalties. Beyond it there are other nations, but no community for which man would be willing to act regardless of what he understands the interests of his own nation to be. Men are willing to give food, clothing and money to the needy regardless of nationality. But they prefer to keep the needy where they are rather than to allow them to go where they please and thus become useful citizens again. For while international relief is regarded as compatible with the national interest, freedom of immigration is not.¹³

British Community", Current History, August, 1960, p. 112.

¹² "The Fallacy of World Federalism", Current History, Sept., 1960, p. 164. Mangone can scarcely be called a nationalist if he still agrees with the subject matter of his doctoral thesis, The Idea and Practice of World Government, New York, Columbia University Press, 1951.

¹³ Politics Among Nations, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1954, p. 479.

Morgenthau continues to see personal and overriding national loyalty as a factor that will prevent the world state from normally coming into existence. He writes:

Under the present moral conditions of mankind, few men would act on behalf of a world government if the interests of their own nation required a different course of action. On the contrary, the overwhelming majority would put the welfare of their own nation above everything else, the interests of a world state included. In other words, the peoples of the world are not willing to accept world government, and their overriding loyalty to the nation erects an insurmountable barrier to its establishment.¹⁴

The most eager advocates of the national state staunchly insist that sovereignty is very sacred and must not be surrendered at any cost. They regard simply as an academic abstraction the idea that a world state is necessary to avoid atomic holocaust. Many of them are careful not to attempt to disprove the thesis. They find it far easier to stress the de facto importance of the national state and national sovereignty. They stress the idea that both people and nations have an innate horror of delegating even a small share of sovereign power to international organizations, much less all of it to some questionable world state under the control of foreigners. Mangone points out:

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 479. Cf. also Walter F. Berns "The Case Against World Government", in Readings in World Politics, Robert A. Goldwin et al., editors, New York, Oxford University Press, 1959, pp. 425-438. William G. Carelton also shows how nationalism must surrender to the spirit of universalism before world government can exist; cf. his "What Our World Federalists Neglect", Antioch Review, Vol. 8, March, 1948, pp. 3-16.

But it is illogical to suppose that because many sensitive people recognize the horror that might be visited upon them by atomic warfare they will instantly surrender the material possessions and personal values that seem to give consent and meaning to life itself.¹⁵

Easier still becomes the task of the advocates of nationalism if they succeed in associating the idea of peace only with the success of the national state. Men have repeatedly died for what they hoped would bring peace and possibly prosperity to their own nation and therefore probably to the rest of the world. When faced with the world war questions they can easily retort that there is only a nominal difference between worldwide civil war and worldwide international war. They make remarks like this because they envision the world state simply as a huge international organization.

Finally, the nationalists insist that a true world state never existed and thus there is no experience that can be relied upon for its formation and successful management. And even if, under some one or other set of favorable circumstances, a world state were to come into existence, the sentiments of nationalism would not allow it to stand for very long, because the peoples of this world are simply not

. . . willing and able to do what is necessary to keep world government standing. For they are not prepared to perform that revaluation of all

¹⁵ Op.cit. p. 165. Cf. also William H. Fisher, "Error of World Government Perfectionists", Social Studies, January, 1947, pp. 3-5.

values, that unprecedented moral and political revaluation which would force the nation from its throne and put the political organization of humanity on it. They are willing and able to sacrifice and die so that national governments may be kept standing.¹⁶

In considering the nationalist approach to the world state problem it must be realized that not all of those in the nationalist camp present arguments so well ordered and appealing as the foregoing authors and proponents just cited. Many confine themselves to an emotional approach and thus appeal largely to those who, from the intellectual standpoint, would be classified as lunatic fringe.

To the thrifty and eager conservative the world state looms as an ominous economic factor. Their "classic" opposition is vigorously nationalistic. Wisconsin Representative Lawrence Smith's testimony before the U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee is as follows:

The world government would have the power to tax directly every individual over and above the present federal, state and local taxes. It would not be denied under this kind of organization that America would be paying the bulk of taxes that were necessary to support a world government just as we are certainly paying the bulk of the cost of the United Nations. It certainly would have the right to regulate commerce, eliminate tariffs, and flood our country with slave labor commodities . . . It could transfer to public ownership major industries, institutions,

¹⁶ Hans J. Morgenthau, *op.cit.*, p. 479f. Cf. N. A. Pelcovits, "World Government Now?" *Harpers*, November, 1946, p. 396. He challenges the three "great errors" of world government advocates: that man creates a government by setting up a constitution; that clashing sovereignties are responsible for war; and that nations fight because they lack means of peaceful settlement.

and properties that are now owned by private individuals and thus bring an end to capitalism or private enterprise as we have known it and which has made this country the envy of all the others. Precisely as I see it, world government would establish a world welfare state with power to control the destiny of every American from the cradle to the grave.¹⁷

The hyperpatriot when condescending to deal with the question of the world state will portray it as undesirably as possible. Such is the case of the testimony of John Trevor before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee representing the Patriotic American Societies of Women:

Economically we are so far ahead that we would have to give up all the gains of labor in the last hundred years. This plan would drag our laboring classes to a low standard of living that they could not and would not accept. This would mean unending labor strife.¹⁸

A fine example of the unreasonable nationalistic opposition to the world state movement is found in the writings of Charles W. Phillips, who in his article "World State or Free Men" seeks to make the unpleasant association of the world state movement with Communism. He writes:

¹⁷ Congressional Digest, Vol. 31, August-September, 1952, p. 209f. Cf. also G.M. Elliott, "World State Fallacy", National Review, No. 130, March, 1948, pp. 237-241.

¹⁸ "Should the U.S. Support a Federal Union of All Nations", Congressional Digest, Vol. 31, August-September, 1952, pp. 209-213. Similar opposition may be seen in W.W. Kamp, "World Government or Else", Christian Century, Vol. 65, Feb. 4, 1948, p. 147. And in Merle Kling's "World Government-A World of False Premises", Social Education, April, 1950, pp. 168-179.

Much has been said and written about the necessity of world government as the only means of eliminating wars and fashioning an orderly world. No one will take issue regarding the worth of such noble objectives . . . our question for the moment, however, is what will World Government do to human freedom? Are we in America more interested in World Government than in being free people? . . . We owe it to future generations to exercise the same common sense in deciding whether to trade our form of government for a World Government that will have to hand over unlimited personal power to fallible human beings . . . There you have it . . . It is now being proposed to us as the only means of insuring world peace. . . . It provides for a global system of compulsory collectivism . . . a subversive doctrine!¹⁹

Not all of the unreasonable opposition to a world state is directly nationalistic. Myra Hacker's testimony before the U.S. Senate Sub-Committee on the Revision of the U. N. Charter is an opposition based on her religious views. She says in part:

The law and morality of Western civilization is in the Christian tradition. A world government would have to include conflicting moral codes - Moslem, Brahmin, Shinto, Voodoo, Hebrew and so forth. With a superstate we would have to have superreligion and would be back to union of church and state. Today, as it was 1900 years ago, it is the conquest of the soul rather than the earth that is important. The living forces²⁰ of religion can make material forces immaterial.

Two anticlimax objections to a world state from a pseudo-religious viewpoint were presented to the author

¹⁹ NUEA Debate Handbook, Vol. 1, pp. 213-220. J.D. Hickerson testifies in the same vein in his "U.S.A. and World Federation; the Story in Congress", Congressional Digest, August-September, 1952, Vol. 31, Nos. 8-9, p. 197.

²⁰

Congressional Digest, supra, p. 214f.

personally. The "illogic" of the first is as follows: God in His just anger at the tower of Babel changed the languages of the peoples of the earth so that it became necessary for them to form nations. This is a good thing and the world should be kept that way; thus God's work should not be spoiled by a world state. The second "argument" is just as illogical: the Bible says that there shall always be wars. But a world state should logically prevent wars. Therefore, a world state is not possible since it would indirectly contradict the Bible! Such "arguments" should have an appeal, it is hoped, only to a very limited few.

B. Communist Opposition

Only in practice are the Communists not opposed to a world state. They favor, however, only their own brand of world organization, assailing with their usual vigor all the plans of the free and democratic world for true universal government. In theory however they are bound to oppose all forms of world state, because ultimately, according to Karl Marx, all forms of the state will wither away. Any future world state, like any national state, would be only an interim expedient until such time as all forms of the state will disappear.²¹ In the meantime however Bukharin expects

²¹

Cf. Elliot R. Goodman, The Soviet Design for a World State, New York, Columbia University Press, 1960, pp. 426-471; this is his chapter on "The World State of No State".

the world proletariat to unite all nations into a single world state.²²

As is to be expected the Soviets have in almost every instance voiced a very harsh disapproval against all western-world attempts at international organization, like the League of Nations,²³ which the Soviet Union however later joined; the Pan-Europe plan of Count Coudenhove-kä-
lergi²⁴ or Clarence Streit's plan as seen in Union Now. A typical Soviet denunciation of these is seen in the following familiar Leninist terminology:

The 'ideologists' of big capital now try to convince the peoples that war must be waged in order to federate all the 'democratic' states into a super empire and thereby produce the basis for lasting peace. This idea put on the market as a brand new product, is in reality an old, unsal-
able product of imperialism . . . Any such super empire would not be an insurance of peace, but right from the start machinery producing new wars.²⁵

Soviet denunciations of even the less pretentious plans at local federal unions of western European states is still very forthright. This was the fate of the proposed

²² Nikolai Bukharin and E. Preobrazhenskii, The ABC of Communism, Moscow, 1919, p. 167. This and subsequent references were largely found in Goodman, supra.

²³ Ibid., pp. 92f.

²⁴ Nikolai Bukharin, Capitalist Stabilization and Proletarian Revolution: Report to the Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, Nov. 22 - Dec. 16, 1926, Moscow, 1926, p. 60.

²⁵ "In Search of War Aims", Communist International, XVI, No. 11, November, 1939, p. 1112.

Finno-Swedish federation, the Polish-Czechoslovak plans, the proposed Danubian federation, and other such local European federalist proposals.²⁶ Such denunciations are quite logical and certainly to be expected when one remembers the fact that "only socialism can build a world of universal prosperity and peace based on the fraternal collaboration of peoples and nations."²⁷

The most vitriolic Communist barbs have been directed where one might expect them. Due to the fact that the United States is probably the most powerful non-Soviet state, any American efforts at cosmopolitan integration are labeled anti-Soviet and capitalist gangster imperialism for the domination of the world. When President Truman reveals in an interview that he favors a world federation,²⁸ he is roundly denounced as a cosmopolitan trickster hiding American aims at world conquest.²⁹

When prominent Americans like Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, Governor Harold Stassen, and Senator Hubert Humphrey, as well as some less prominent people from the ranks of the United World Federalists speak out in

²⁶ Cf. Elliot R. Goodman, op.cit., pp. 388-392.

²⁷ J. Revai, "A 'Federated Europe'", Communist International, XVII, No. 8, August, 1940, p. 506.

²⁸ Cf. John Hershey, "Profiles: Mr. President", The New Yorker, XXVII, No. 8, April 7, 1951, pp. 49f.

²⁹ Cf. Elliot R. Goodman, op.cit., p. 409.

favor of a federal world state, the Soviet attack becomes the most vicious against these "homeless cosmopolitans". They are variously referred to as "agents of Wall Street", "imperialist cosmopolitan gangsters", "capitalist stooges", "fascist degenerates", or "traitorous vile ringleaders", of plots against the Soviet state. Pope Pius XII's approval of world federalism, naturally brought further denunciations, this time against papal universalist propaganda.³⁰

The Communist effort has gone so far as to single out by name such early world federalist authors as Emery Reves, Vernon Nash, Robert Hutchins and his associates at the University of Chicago.³¹ These "degenerate capitalist lackeys" are well known in world federalist circles for the solid and often philosophical writing on the world state problem. The Communists have likewise not failed to lambast even the movement that aims to gather a people's world constitutional convention as a means for forming a world republic. At most this movement could have only an educational value, which, of course, does not deserve belittling.

The Communists have labeled the European world federalists as lackeys of their American counterparts, who take

³⁰ Cf. O. E. Polents, World Government-Weapons of the American Imperialists in the Struggle for World Hegemony, (in Russian), Moscow, 1950, pp. 7f.

³¹ E. Cherniak, "Amerikanskie", Novyi mir, No. 10, October, 1950, pp. 268-270.

their dictation from the "economic imperialists of Wall Street". The Communists can take "consolation" in the fact that the world federalists "do not have any influence among the masses, but are only a mob of reactionaries of all tints and colors. Deprived of the support of the broad popular masses, those groups exist and function chiefly on the dollars that Wall Street sends them".³²

Thus it is to be expected that the Communists will continue to oppose any formation or strengthening of political unions that might in some way or other upset even slightly the balance of power in a way unfavorable to the Soviet Union. As should be expected the Communists are furious about the European Defense Community and the European Economic Community, since these in some way or other stand in the way of the grand Soviet design: nothing but a Soviet world state is possible or even desirable. Thus all plans for a world state, or what might lead to planning for a world state, which are not of Communist origin are immediately rejected as a moral threat to their own future world state. This means that the free world will most likely have to undertake its plans for a world state without the Soviet Union, at least at first, and do so also in the face of intense hostility from Communist circles.

³²O. E. Polents, op.cit., p. 7.

C. Functionalist Approach to World Peace

To friend and foe alike of the world state movement there should be agreement that the most comprehensive political means proposed for the maintenance of world peace is the formation of a world state. It is not every internationally minded person that sees the world state as the only sure way to world peace. Many sincerely feel that it is not necessary to go to such lengths to obtain a truly viable world order. In their own minds an organization far less complicated, and therefore, probably easily the more obtainable is far more desirable. These people oppose the world state movement, not always because they are unconvinced of its theoretical correctness, but because they feel that the same ultimate goal, world peace, can more likely be achieved by other means, such as a strengthened United Nations organization, a better developed and more efficient diplomatic service on the part of the nations, especially the larger ones. Most prominent among the many who support this approach to the world peace problem is Frederick L. Schuman, who writes:

But the alternative to world government is not necessarily world disorder, world war and world annihilation. If men are wise, the alternative is a new balance of power and a new diplomacy designed to prevent violence and promote order by settling conflicts through bargaining. Yet if men were wise, they would perhaps have long since found means of giving political expression to the age-old vision of the unity of mankind.

For this, today's generation is obviously not yet ready.³³

Certainly the supporters of the United Nations are as sincerely interested in universal peace as are the world federalists. It is thus definitely a question of means, and not one of ends, to be achieved. Some supporters of the United Nations feel that the plans for converting the U.N. into a world federation are much too pretentious. Consequently, many who support the United Nations, essentially as it is today, as the ultimate solution for international political problems become as impatient with those who would convert the United Nations into a world federation as with those who would destroy the U.N. by weakening it or abolishing it. These supporters feel sure that an effort to convert it into a world federation would in fact produce its disintegration without, of course, ever achieving world federation. This opinion has been shared by many persons affiliated with the American Association for the United Nations.

V. K. Wellington Koo, Chinese ambassador to the United Nations, declares that the U.N. is our last and only hope for peace. He writes:

³³ International Politics, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1958, 6th edition, p. 268. Nor can Schuman be accused of having no interest in the world state. Cf. especially Chapter Seven of his The Commonwealth of Man: An Inquiry into Power Politics and World Government, New York, Alfred Knopf, 1952.

After seeing what the world suffered in two disastrous wars within a quarter of a century, it seems clear to me that the U.N. is the only sound and feasible experiment for us left to try. We must make it a success, or we shall have to face the unimaginable consequences of its failure. There is really no sound or effective alternative.³⁴

In a questionnaire submitted to a goodly number of writers and experts on the United Nations and world government, the second question asked is: would you favor a plan in which the United States should take the initiative in forming a federal union of all the nations of the world? This questionnaire is submitted by the editors of Debate Handbook of the Mid-West Debate Bureau of Normal, Illinois. While nine of the forty-seven who reply declare themselves in favor of world government for sometime in the future, only five of these feel that some serious effort should be made almost immediately to seek a world government, preferably through the United Nations.

An interesting contrast may be found in the writings of Clark M. Eichelberger, of the American Association of the United Nations. He declares:

If you examine the Charter carefully, you will find that the U.N. is a sovereign body in itself, and that its principal organs and the Secretary General may create such additional staff and bodies as are necessary to perform the functions of the organization. The nations, at a

³⁴"Basic Problems of the U.N.", Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, July, 1947, 252: 82. Cf. also Sir Norman Angell, "U.N. or World State", Rotarian, Vol. 68, June, 1946, p. 12.

considerable sacrifice of sovereignty, are constantly building up a sovereign body in the U.N. The U.N. is far from a league - it is the beginning of a world government. If it were not for the veto, the Security Council would contain all the aspects of executive authority that the World Federalists have advocated.³⁵

However, this same author within two years, when asked if he favored the U.S. taking the initiative in the formation of a world federation, replies in the negative:

The U.N. has shown a capacity for evolution through a liberal interpretation of the Charter. The Uniting for Peace resolution shifted the center of gravity from the Security Council to the General Assembly and thus provided a legal way around the veto . . . The time will come when the Charter can be revised and the U.N. strengthened. It may well be that a stronger U.N. will not follow³⁶ the pattern of the American 'federal union'.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, with a proverbial interest in the U.N., is polled by the same questionnaire and she gives the simple, short reply: "Make what we have work".³⁷

Senator Lester C. Hunt of Wyoming gives likewise a negative

³⁵ "World Government via the United Nations", Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, July, 1949, 264:22. Cf. also Robson's remarks in Is World Government the Path to Peace?, University of North Carolina, Extension Bulletin, Vol. 26, No. 4, 1946.

³⁶ Eichelberger's reply to the previously mentioned question about world federation in the questionnaire published in Debate Handbook: What Form of International Organization Should the United States Support?, Normal, Ill., Mid-West Debate Bureau, 1951, p. 222.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 228. However, as early as 1911 H. LaFontaine, Senator of Belgium, prepared a brochure for International Conciliation, October, 1911, No. 47 entitled "The Existing Elements of a Constitution of the United States of the World".

reply with the following comment:

It appears that no more constructive action towards World Peace would or could be taken under such a federation of nations than is now possible under the United Nations.³⁸

Richard L. Strout, a political writer for the Christian Science Monitor gives also a negative reply to the same question on world federation, showing that he, too, is satisfied that the U.N. is the answer. He comments briefly: "Why have a Federal Union when we have the U.N.?"³⁹

Inis L. Claude, Jr., after distinguishing between governmental institutions and governmental results, asserts that "to say that the world needs to be governed is not the same as saying that a world government must be erected."⁴⁰

He claims that the functional test should be the deciding factor. He writes:

The world requires methods and agencies adequate for performing reasonably well on a global scale the functions which governments have undertaken to perform and have occasionally managed to perform with great success in independent states;

³⁸Debate Handbook, p. 229. Cf. also Guiseppe Antonio Borgese, Foundations of the World Republic, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. 25-28.

³⁹Ibid., p. 229. Gunnar Myrdal also sees in the U.N. Charter a form of world written constitution and thus a potential world government, a sort of practical condominium of five big powers, unfortunately separated by their political differences. Cf. his Realities and Illusions in Regard to Inter-Governmental Organization, London, Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. 13f.

⁴⁰Swords into Plowshares, New York, Random House, 1959, p. 434.

yet world government is not the only conceivable or necessarily the best possible means of meeting the requirement. To put it differently, the benefits which governments ideally and sometimes actually confer upon the societies in which they operate are desparately needed by the global society, but it is not certain that those advantages are most likely to be provided by institutions patterned after or closely analogous to the so-called 'governmental' institutions of states. The instrumentalities appropriate to the solution of the world's problems may or may not constitute a system which looks like government, sounds like government, or acts like government. The test is functional performance, not institutional resemblance.⁴¹

Of course, there is no need to say immediately what will be the source of these governmental benefits if they do not come from government itself. The philosophically-minded world federalist would counter that this is like expecting an effect without a sufficient cause. Perhaps some will say that these benefits are to be derived from the observance of international law. Such is the central idea found in The International Law of the Future which in no wise pretends to plan for a world state, but simply to prepare the best possible solution in international organization. This volume lists several postulates, principles and proposals. The first three postulates follow:

Postulate 1.

The States of the world form a community and the protection and advancement of the common interest

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 434f. In Chapter 17 Claude writes at length about the serious and nearly impossible problems to be faced by a world government, if it should ever come into existence, although, he himself, admits the theoretical correctness of the world federalists' position.

of their peoples require effective organization of the Community of States.

Postulate 2.

The law of the Community of States is international law. The development of an adequate system of international law depends upon continuous collaboration by States to promote the common welfare of all peoples and to maintain just and peaceful relations between all states.

Postulate 3.

The conduct of each State in its relation with other States and with the Community of States is subject to international law, and the sovereignty of a state is subject to the limitations of international law.⁴²

The author and compiler of these concepts regards international law as the solution to the problem, for he himself, comments that "it is to be assumed that the State system which has grown up over a period of several centuries will continue to exist in the future".⁴³ Yet in another passage the same author declares:

Law cannot exist in a vacuum. It must be related to the society it serves. Nor can public law be divorced from political and social movements. International law depends upon, is conditioned by, the general character of international relations. . . . It therefore seems essential to the 'revitalizing and strengthening of the international law' that States collaborate continuously⁴⁴ to promote the common welfare of all peoples . . .

World state advocates insist strenuously on the

⁴² George A. Finch (ed.); The International Law of the Future, Washington, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1944, p. 5.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 20.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 27.

first statement of the above cited passage and would likewise agree on the need of promoting the common world welfare. Yet they would just as vigorously assert that the modern concept of international law is not the answer.

A similar concept, not concerning international law by name, but the moral law itself is proposed by Heinrich Rommen. He would have the moral law stand in about the same relation to the nations as others consider international law. He writes:

The strife among nations can be best settled if the universal law of morality, the principles of natural law as the unwritten constitution of the international community are commonly accepted. For then power is put to the service of fundamental moral ideas. And there is no evasion of the principle that the greater the power, influence, and prestige of a nation, the greater is the responsibility for peace and justice.⁴⁵

Such an idea is equivalent to saying that morality is a substitute for a universal municipal law in the world arena. It returns us to the concept of law in a vacuum, albeit in moral law in a political vacuum.⁴⁶

A further elaboration of the idea of the supremacy of "world law" as a means to a lasting world peace is found in the carefully prepared research of Wallace McClure,⁴⁷

⁴⁵ The State in Catholic Thought, St. Louis, B. Herder Book Co., 1945, p. 735.

⁴⁶ Cf. Joseph Dooley, "Morality in a Political Vacuum", American Ecclesiastical Review, 128:1, Jan., 1953, pp. 27-32.

⁴⁷ World Legal Order, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1960.

who seeks to show how the greatest degree of world order can be achieved through continued use and extension of existing laws, the United Nations and other legal institutions, short of course of world state, which is scarcely mentioned in the study. He first shows, and rightly so, how national constitutions should recognize a law above them, such as the law of nations. Thus international law and/or the law of nations should be integrated into the national constitutions and laws of the respective states, making national constitutions to be part of the world legal order. In every case national constitutional law should supplement and incorporate international law, allowing for the supremacy of treaties. The famous international law dictum - pacta sunt servanda - would be a national constitutional requirement of each nation as well as a rule of International Common Law.⁴⁸

Further, Wallace McClure presumes the United Nations to be the legal structure for the world community. He sees the U.N. as the institutional component of the world legal order, and the development and strengthening of its charter through usage as a forward step in the constitutional order. A means to these intermediate ends is making the United Nations an objective and not an instrument of the national policy of each member state of this world organization. To McClure this means setting up the goal of the supremacy of the supranational common law over each and every national

⁴⁸ Ibid., especially pp. 52-70 and 130-206.

constitutional law.⁴⁹

. . . the problem of safeguarding world law challenges human beings of the new civilization - human beings who may be confidently expected to demand such unified community will as to develop law in harmony with total human progress and to maintain it as the authorized expression of the progressive will of the world community, hence, the source of the final basic authority in the world. The world must be safe for law - sovereignty.⁵⁰

Thus to McClure, and others who share his opinion, world law is not a product of world state, but an outgrowth of the law of nations, international law, and various national constitutional laws. Logically, he sees no reason for a world state, since this would be superfluous and unreasonably difficult to bring into existence.

Lastly, the building up of the diplomatic service by giving it all the support - financial, psychological and military - that it needs and by furnishing it with the very best trained personnel available is offered as an effective alternative to the difficult-to-obtain world state. In the eyes of the world government advocates, however, what the diplomat is expected to achieve is really infinitely more difficult to obtain than world government, because the diplomat would be seeking to achieve what is practically impossible under the circumstances.

49

Ibid., especially pp. 212-292.

50

Ibid., p. 326.

Many educated people continue to believe that peace, or at least the absence of war, can be achieved by vastly improving our international statesmanship. They look at the diplomatic service of many nations, especially their own and rightly see in many cases how it could be improved, or how it is so often "cheated" by being staffed with very second-rate personnel, or how the money furnished this very important international political endeavor is woefully inadequate, especially when larger amounts are spent on less worthy causes. They say that diplomacy and international statesmanship have never been sufficiently tried in the noble cause of achieving world peace. Advocates of diplomacy and statesmanship see three areas of endeavor which can be exploited in the cause of a lasting world peace. In this connection it should be noted that this approach to world peace is rather negative, since almost all the stress is placed on the avoidance of war, and very little on the positive aspects of the common temporal welfare of the whole world. Of course, the very absence of war allows each state to develop its own welfare as well as to make a modicum contribution to that of the whole world. To the philosophically-minded among the advocates of world government this is insufficient.

In achieving peace by diplomacy the first thing expected of the world diplomats is to obtain a universal agreement outlawing war, wherein the signatories pledge their nations to refrain from war as an instrument of national

policy. Coupled with this would be a treaty of eternal friendship of each nation with all the other signatories. The League Covenant and the Locarno Pacts were such treaties, except they were not universal. War would have to be regarded as an international crime and each nation must pledge itself against such a crime. The wisdom of history points out a very natural human factor here overlooked: that all law, even treaty law, needs some type of enforcement agency, which in this case is sorely lacking, except by going to war - the very thing the world seeks to avoid.

Connected to the dream of outlawing war is the much spoken of "ideal" of universal disarmament. This approach to world peace sees armaments as the chief, if not almost the only, cause of war. Advocates of this approach to war and peace, fail to distinguish between the negative and the positive causes of both war and peace. They expect the best diplomats to stay busy with disarmament conferences until success is reached. Many forget or perhaps cannot see that in many cases disarmament conferences are used as a coverup to blame a potential enemy for his intransigence. With the specter of atom and hydrogen bombs, or something worse, the advocates of "peace by diplomacy" insist that now the disarmament programs must be "foolproof". However, disarmament conferences and commissions can achieve almost nothing when the participants come to it surfeited with a vicious nationalism that seeks peace with no real consideration as to what

really causes peace, or even war.

Still a third and allied program whereby the diplomats should seek to achieve world peace is that of collective security. This idea is founded on the concept that peace can be gained by an arrangement in which all nations will agree to combined coercive action against any other nation breaking the law of an international agreement. Of all the diplomatic approaches to world peace this one seems to enjoy the most universal acceptance.⁵¹ This approach presumes that states are persons in law, and are equal in law, forgetting that states are not persons in fact, and certainly not equal in fact. Thus while a state might agree in principle to collective security, it will carry out its commitment to this plan for world peace, only if it sees itself threatened in the foreseeable future by the aggression or the violation in question. Thus if states were real persons or were truly equal, they might be deterred from evil by a sense of realism, or they might even act on international principles. But since these conditions are lacking, an aggressor will usually not be deterred because too large a number of states will in practice remain disinterested. Thus, when collective security is enforced in practice, there is as much likelihood of having war as of preventing war. These principles of war and peace are seen with a maximum of

⁵¹ Cf. Frederick Schuman, The Commonwealth of Man, New York, Alfred Knopf, 1952, especially chapter 7.

clarity by the founding fathers of the United States,⁵² even though their descendents in the same nation seem often blinded to them. Alexander Hamilton saw clearly that the collective security of forcing states into action is madness; individuals instead should be brought to law. He writes:

To coerce states is one of the maddest projects that was ever devised. A failure of compliance will never be confined to a single state. This being the case, can we suppose it wise to hazard a civil war? . . . the thing is a dream, it is impossible. . . . What is the cure for this great evil? Nothing but to enable the national laws to operate on individuals in the same manner as those of the states do.⁵³

Thus in the thinking of the world federationists Alexander Hamilton has the key to the problems as to why other long tried methods in the search for world peace are in the long run next to useless. Yet many who support the diplomatic way to a lasting world peace, seek their goal in an "ever improved diplomatic service and increase of true statesmanship", and continue to oppose, directly or indirectly, what they regard as the "impossible way of world government". This opposition only betrays a lack of philosophical insight and careful research into the positive and negative causes of both war and peace.

52

Cf. the opinions of James Madison in Max Ferrand (ed.), *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1911, pp. 34 and 64 and 164f.

53

Max Ferrand (ed.), *supra*, pp. 13f.

PART TWO

Chapter III

NECESSARY PREMISES FOR A WORLD STATE

Before giving serious philosophical consideration to the world state as a necessary condition for world peace, one must logically consider those very conditions which are a necessity for the world state itself, for if one seeks to prove philosophically that the world state is a necessary condition for world peace, he must also undertake an exposition of what is needed for that world state which he proposes as necessary in achieving world peace. Obviously, a sufficient condition for a world state would have to embrace all those necessary conditions, whatever they may be. And while the study of this dissertation does not call for the examination of all those conditions necessary for world peace, the author will be required to consider all of the proposals given as necessary for the establishment of a lasting world state upon which should be founded enduring world peace. However, it should be necessary to consider only those proposals which are sincerely made by those who favor a world state, or at least the proposals of those who, while they do not explicitly favor it, do have a sincere interest in what is needed to establish it firmly.

The people who propose necessary conditions in connection with the establishment of a world state can thus be

divided into two general classes. First, there are those who in their sincere desire to achieve a world state seek to indicate everything that is needed for its establishment and for its continued success. There are those people who, while being hesitant to align themselves openly with those against a world state, set up such unreasonable conditions for its establishment that they are more rightly classified with its opponents. The chief but not exclusive interest of this thesis is to investigate all of the necessary premises of those who set them forth as an aid in the establishment and preservation of a democratic world state.

These necessary conditions or premises can be divided into six general classifications. Since the world state, if it ever comes into existence, will be the creation of cooperating free human beings, it is very difficult to determine in advance precisely what the comprehension and extension of these necessary conditions would be. When one considers minimal necessary conditions, the problem of determination and classification becomes less demanding on one's prophetic ingenuity.

A. Preexisting World Community

Of all the conditions set down for the existence of a world state, that of the world community is the one mentioned oftenest in the writings of those with carefully

delineated plans. It must be remembered that the world community as such is not a cause of a world state; at least it is not a direct cause, but only one of the several necessary conditions. The large number of ways through which a world community might develop could lead the unwary into believing that an advanced world community is a world state itself. Some people have gone so far as to call the United Nations a world federation. That is incorrect, although many hope that it will be some day.

A first logical question should be: why is the world community designated as a first prerequisite for the establishment and maintenance of a world state? The answer is to be found basically in the nature of man as well as in the nature of any state. Man is essentially a social being and by implication also a political animal. Any political or even any social organization must not only be rooted in man's nature, but in practice, must have the support of the human beings involved with it. This support further implies the existence of a community of men sufficiently active and/or numerous to accomplish two things: first to form the social organization and to keep it in existence; and secondly, to overcome the opposition to its formation and to its continued existence. If this be the case with social and political organizations of lesser importance, it a fortiori the case with the paramount world political organization - the world state.

The number of natural bonds welding together any social and/or political community is great. Most prominent among these are the: familial, religious, cultural, social, economic, racial, linguistic, and even at times, political. The exact balance among these is certainly hard to determine. It is conceivable that one or more may be missing without preventing the formation of a community, and without weakening it unduly when it is already formed. Such should also be the case with the world community that is the forerunner of the world state. The relatively stable community of the American nation and its federal form of government has been formed and maintained without either racial, religious, or economic homogeneity. The same may be said of the pluralistic Canadian nation with its religious, linguistic and cultural differences. Further study of the factors needed for an integration sufficient to establish and maintain a political community should point out even more clearly what will be needed for the world community that is the predecessor of the world state.

Even a periferal observation can demonstrate the fact that if some bonds of unity are missing, the strengthening of other bonds that do exist can be instrumental in the formation and maintenance of a political community. No doubt the world community will be the most pluralistic and heterogenous of all the political communities that can at present be conceived. This means that all existing bonds will

have to be stressed again and again by the world state advocates if they ever expect to create a world community strong enough to pave the way for the formation of a world state. Such factors at present can be the economic, cultural to a limited degree, religious to the extent of a universal belief in one God, and geographic insofar as jet air transportation makes the whole world now more united than portions of larger nations were some twenty years ago.

There has always been some minimum form of world community insofar as all peoples of the earth have occupied this one globe. The first great step towards the formation of the world geographic community is that of Ferdinand Magellan, whose sailors circumnavigated the world, because after this trip the people of the world were in possession of experimental knowledge of its size and of the fact that it is round.

The existence of the United Nations and all of the many previous organizations that paved the way for its coming into being indicate the presence of a limited form of world political community, the paramount community that concerns us here. Many social, economic and cultural factors have paved the way for this limited world political community which needs, of course, a much greater degree of integration if the United Nations is to be converted into a world state. The story of world government is truly the story of integration - of world political integration and all the factors

that assist in achieving the future form of universal perfect political society.

Religious unity, which each of the world's missionary churches seek to effect in favor of its own group, while probably desirable and helpful in the formation of a world political community, has not proved to be indispensable in the formation of other enlarged stable communities. Cultural and scientific interchanges on an international level likewise prepare the way for the political community on the world level. Once however, any type of world community is formed, all areas of social and cultural interchange are facilitated. Thus the influence should ultimately prove to be reciprocal.

To the modern mind the presence of both economic and transportation factors looms as most prominent and influential in the formation of a world political community, since economics and politics are today viewed as being almost inseparable, at least in practice. International air service has made distances "shrink". Jet transportation has caused further shrinkage and supersonic travel promises even more. And while these factors bring a further integration of the world's social, economic, cultural and scientific communities, and therefore a greater opportunity for the formation of an integrated world political community, the paramount world community, they also put the world in greater danger of armed struggle, especially when many of the national arsenals

are oversupplied with atomic weapons to the point of overkill. Thus what may prove a help in the formation of the world community, may also pave the way for the world's destruction unless the paramount community, the world state, can come into being quickly enough - however soon that has to be - to bring justice and order into these areas of human relations.

The formation of the world community, so necessary as a preliminary for the establishment of the world state, represents diverse forms of togetherness. In his emphasis on the importance of democratic self-expression and the important role of cultural developments, in the formation of the world state out of the world community, Gerard Mangone writes:

The national integration of the modern state itself, which now looms as the dastard villain in many world government pamphlets, was part and parcel of the devotion of artists to a national community; in prose and lyrics the praises of the mystic fatherland, with its common tongue, soil, history and customs, poured forth, and the brilliant sense of enlargement, spiritual by nature, contributed no little to the more rugged political process. To create a world community a similar sense of enlargement would have to be stimulated, and the arts and crafts would have to be enlisted for the purpose. Again, it is not necessary to deny the risks of standardization, but great causes cannot be divorced from great risks.

Like religion, some may insist that a universal language is needed for the formation of a viable world community. All admit that this would be a help, but experience now proves that a universal tongue is neither needed for conducting world

¹The Idea and Practice of World Government, New York, Columbia University Press, 1951, p. 210.

affairs nor is it essential for world organization of any sort. The intercommunication in the United Nations conclusively shows this. But unless proposals for a world state can afford to present to future "world patriots" of the world community the philosophical inducement of a cultural freedom, they will have lost one of their greatest potentialities for bringing minds and hearts to the cause of the world state.

Again Mangone writes:

A unifying culture not based upon the idea that men have a right to opinions and a right to make judgments in important areas of their communal life will most certainly create a sterile society; however, the insistence upon toleration, minority criticism and compromise ought not to emasculate a democratic culture, ought not to entangle it in a pitiful weighing of opinion against opinion until all recognition of the revolutionary faith in the character of man is lost and the procedures of the democratic system prostituted to anti-democratic purposes . . . if a democratic culture is to survive and flourish and offer itself as a rationale for world society and world government, then the belief in democracy must be dynamic and institutions² to spell out its hopes will have to be improvised.²

Thus the free world advocates of a world state are interested in practice only in a truly democratic world state and the democratic world community that precedes it and supports its continued existence. They should therefore recognize truly democratic and universal forms of justice as being an important integrating factor in the formation first of the world community and then of the world state.

²Ibid., pp. 237f.

B. Certain Universal Moral Standards and Democratic Ideals

This second of the six to-be-discussed necessary premises for the world state presents at first sight the greatest problem, since it deals with morals and ideals. In this area one is tempted to look for the least conformity and the greatest diversity. Yet even here a certain minimum standard must be met if the discussion of conditions for a world state is to continue. With a somewhat negative approach, Mangone stresses the "no compromise" attitude:

The creation of a world government to satisfy the urgings of men for a creative life, for liberty within order, and for diversity within unity, presupposes a moral climate from which intransigence has been removed and in which mutual respect flourishes, but it is suggested that to adjust continually the innumerable frictions arising from the natural envy, despair, or inertia of any such society, a stopgap of time for compromise must be available and that this may or may not be furnished by the array of force both within and between nations at some particular time.³

Even if it is agreed that there must be a minimum of agreement on moral standards and democratic ideals, it is probably harder to determine the minimum than it is to render a judgment about the other necessary preliminaries for a world state. Yet this too is one of the philosophical difficulties in approaching the question of world state.

When minimums are spoken of, one has to refer to a minimum number of people and not the basic minimum of morality in each and every inhabitant of the earth, many of whom

³Mangone, op.cit., p. 129.

may have from the moral standpoint not yet reached the use of reason. However, the basic minimum for the formation of a world state should include a sufficient number of people who are willing to tell the truth, who are willing to be honest in their dealings with others, who have some appreciation of the worth and dignity of the human being, and who have respect for human conscience even in the areas of personal disagreement. Less than all this would be generally unacceptable to those who espouse the cause of democratic world government.

In the area of democratic ideals for the future world state, two items must be stressed for the present. First, many democratic governments and a majority of their inhabitants have too few or almost no ideals about democracy. Instead of considering the democracy they so pretend to love as applicable on a universal basis, they often have a very narrow concept regarding this matter, seeing democracy from a nationalistic and selfish viewpoint. They are quite unwilling to allow the advantages of democracy for lesser developed people, and if they have a sincere conviction about the unpreparedness for democracy of certain less sophisticated peoples, they are unwilling to do much to aid these peoples to arrive at the level where they can be considered as "worthy" of democratic self-government. This attitude will make no converts for democracy especially among the uncommitted peoples, and democracy will not be completely safe

for the world state and even for the national state until democratic people have true ideals as well as the missionary spirit about their democracy.

Secondly, on the question of world government, democratic nations, while better than others, have often been slow to prepare and to grant self-government to colonial areas. It can well be understood why colonial areas, if they contain even some few farsighted inhabitants, may well fear that a world state will come into existence before the advent of their political independence and thus consolidate the position of the mother country in its hold on a colonial area. Again, this is a question of a moral and not a static concept of democracy that must come into play at this juncture. Mortimer Adler aptly notes:

The moral obstacles can be overcome only by changing the wants of men and nations. Furthermore, the moral obstacles will vary in force and character from nation to nation. . . . Taken together, these moral and cultural factors comprise the spiritual difficulties in the way of world peace.⁴

A democratic world government is thus unthinkable except in terms of a truly democratic belief in the toleration of minorities and the freedom of the individual. And democracy cannot begin to fight for a world state unless it embraces the ideal of actively coping with the problems of want and hunger that beset the earth at present. The program towards leveling off found in many democratic states must

⁴Op.cit., p. 214f.

be aimed at the entire world. Mangone declares:

Moreover, if techniques and institutions devised to alleviate economic disproportions within the democratic, whether labor unions or regulatory commissions, ought to be subjected to sound public administration and feasible democratic control, so, too, the world agencies created for economic adjustment ought to meet such criteria. No one can assert that alternative methods for advancing economic democracy on a world level are clearly traceable, yet it may be said that the more prosperous states need not only to recognize their obligations to the community of men but also to be prepared to share their good fortune through relatively independent agencies.⁵

Thus the most universal of all moral standards needed to establish one of the prerequisite foundations of the world state, is the very idea that relations among men as well as among nations are ultimately based on moral obligations, which should be implemented and spelled out by enlightened civil codes. Expediency can no longer play the dominant role unless it, perhaps on some few occasions, is solidly rooted in morality. Fundamental moral principles must take precedence over any single national advantage; otherwise gradiose world government plans carry no more weight than the paper on which they are printed.

C. Sufficient Educational Level

The equalization of educational opportunity becomes indispensable to raising the level of civilization. Equal educational opportunity is usually inseparable from political equality. Only those

⁵Op.cit., pp. 214f.

who are admitted to the status of free men will be educated for freedom. . . . World federation requires a basic quality in the civilization of the federating nations, which means an equality in political status and in educational opportunity for their several populations.⁶

Thus writes Mortimer Adler in the early 1940's. It can be doubted today (1965) if as he sees a far more developed world community, he would demand such rigidly equal educational advancements in all of the federants of a world state. However, even in the world's most developed nations there exists a bloc of culturally and educationally underprivileged children and adults, which forebodes serious problems in the near future, with or without a world state.

On the other hand, it can also be said that in all the nations today there is at least a small bloc of cultured and fairly well-educated persons that can and do handle both internal and international affairs. Although the "bloc" is woefully small in some nations, there is usually a supply for essential governmental and international affairs, even when there is not enough to fill all the needed civil service positions. Most give a very good account of themselves in the United Nations. Again, while it is difficult to establish exact minimums in this regard, the formation of a world state would certainly aid the culturally underprivileged nations to rise faster in education development than they would otherwise. Help would be more easily available

⁶ Mortimer Adler, op.cit., p. 241.

from those nations that could afford to give it. Yet post-factum educational advantages of a world state will not produce a world state. In any case, the position in life held by the culturally privileged will in no wise be for long secure, if the cultural gap between them and the rest of the world is not closed with reasonable speed, with or without a world state. In many cases this hiatus is of greater proportions than the people in either the more developed or the lesser developed nations realize. Without too much calculation of the cost, the prepared nations of the world must work with all due speed, despite the reasonable and unreasonable difficulties they encounter, to elevate the overall educational level of the work, with or without having in mind a future world state.

Moralizing aside, a minimal goal should be proposed of ten per cent of the people fully literate with over one-half of the rest of them on the way to literacy, and the ultimate goal of a morally universal literacy of all the educables. A ten per cent literate group in any one nation can speak and act for the rest of them, if the majority of the rest are at least somewhat eager for education. A lesser amount of formal education than this in this world might prove abortive any formal attempt at establishing and especially at maintaining a world state. And the social doctrines which democracy must teach the literate, and even the illiterate world, is, first of all, the principle of free

association of all peoples, then the importance of the "consent of those governed", equality before the law, equality of economic opportunity, and the tolerance of minority criticism. High ideals indeed, but these must be aimed at before the academic and social functions of education can have their effect in producing world peace and prosperity even in small quantities.

D. Peaceful Opposition and Interchange of Rule

Certainly not the first requisite considered, yet one taken for granted in the democratic states of the world, is the practice of peaceful opposition within the various branches of government. Unless there is the attitude on the part of a sufficient number of citizens and government officials that opposition to an administration must be at least tolerated and preferably encouraged, there can be no smooth functioning of democratic government. A more positive outlook on this question would be to encourage peaceful opposition for the purpose of a check on the party in power. Thus the opposition party, even if it should never be in power, always fills an important role in any well regulated government. This plan of the role of "watchdog" is one of the great virtues of the British system of government. Instead of having to suffer the accusation of being subversive of the government, the minority or opposition parties automatically assume the role of "watchdog" until such time that one

or more can return to power in an administration.

Perhaps one of the greatest didactic advantages of the United Nations is the fact that it has taught some of its delegates the lesson of peaceful opposition, a lesson that they surely would not have learned from the home government that sent them to the U.N. Assembly. This is an invaluable lesson which must not be lost in the formation of the world community preparatory to a world state.

Almost as a corollary to peaceful opposition in government is the peaceful interchange of rule, since it flows from the attitude of peaceful opposition. There can exist the peaceful change of administration only when there is the attitude of peaceful opposition. This too, is the case where there are substantially fair elections and voting procedures. The losers, while regretting and deploring their election losses, do not have the conviction that they were cheated out of victory by fraud. They know that they must assume or perhaps continue in the very important minority role of checking on the party in power. If it is a question of surrendering power to a different winning party, the losing party helps the winning party make this interchange of rule to take place as smoothly as possible.

Of course, not every plan for a world state contemplates peaceful opposition and peaceful interchange of rule as necessary prerequisites for a world state; those advocates of a world state in the free and democratic nations

do regard this as very essential. They could otherwise abandon their own plans with the heroic efforts to implement them and easily subscribe to the Communist program.

The great need for peaceful interchange and opposition is even more forcefully seen when one either imagines any governmental situation without these, or opens the pages of any history book to read an account of suppression of all peaceful political opposition and of the violent and revolutionary interchange of rule common in many nations today (1965). There is some small comfort however in seeing that violent interchange is not as prevalent in large governments as in small ones. It is expected that these larger governmental areas in any world state would insist on peaceful interchange, since they are used to it themselves.

The problem of peaceful opposition presents a different and perhaps more difficult situation. It is possible, however, that peaceful opposition would be conceivable on the level of world government even if denied in many areas on a local level, especially in the politically less mature nations of the world. However, there is hope that the freedom involved in peaceful political opposition will also be contagious, and if a world state is formed, committed to a program of peaceful opposition on its own governmental level, but prior to the disposition to peaceful opposition in each instance on the local level, there again is a well founded hope that the lesson given by government of the world state

will be adopted by all those component members, whose cultures and traditions have not previously provided for this peaceful opposition and interchange. A world state might well be able to coerce legally, slow as this process may be, the component nations to adopt the procedures of peaceful opposition and interchange of administrative rule.

E. Minimum Exercise of Federal Authority

The fifth of the conditions listed as necessary for the world state is the minimum exercise of authority by the federal or central government. In the way of general or central authority this is the least that is needed not the most. A world state, admittedly, need not be a world federation. It could conceivably be a unitary state, although the likelihood of a unitary state is infinitely less than the probability of a future world state federal in form. Thus a rather limited world federation is the very most that the world government advocates can expect at first. Yet a federal type of government for the world is the very least form of government that can bind the world together into a true state possessed of even minimal unity and cohesion. Federal authority is exercised on people directly and upon the component political units in the federal only indirectly if at all. Thus it is to be considered different from a confederation, which acts directly upon its component member

states and indirectly, if at all, upon the population of the member nations.

If a world state comes into existence by way of a world federation, it cannot rightly be called a world state until it has been converted into a world federation. The terminology "international government"⁷ is rather freely used, but taken in a strict use of the terms, it could mean no more than the government of a confederation, or perhaps of a league of legally sovereign entities like the United Nations. Nor should the league or confederation be expected to produce the lasting civil peace and prosperity that is the common temporal welfare resulting from a properly constituted state. The difference between the two political entities here discussed, i.e., federation and confederation, is not one of degree; it is one of kind.

The discussion here of "minimum exercise" of federal authority in no wise immerses us in the discussion of the minimalist-maximalist controversies among certain groups of world federationists. Any government that is a federation by definition, must possess at least the minimum number of delegated or even residual powers from the federants in order to accomplish its purpose. This is the least comprehensive form, from the governmental standpoint, of the exercise of

⁷ See for example, David Mitrany, The Progress of International Government, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1933 or Leonard Woolf, International Government, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1926.

state authority and thus is the least and not the most, except perhaps at first, that can be expected in the formation and functioning of any future world state.

For any basic and careful discussion three important principles must be stressed concerning federation, whether on the local, national, or world level. A federal form of government of its very nature supposes at least two levels of government: a general government and a regional government both operating directly on the same people, each citizen being subject to two governments. Kenneth C. Wheare in his classic work, Federal Government, gives as his description of federation: "the method of dividing powers so that the general and regional governments are each within a sphere, coordinate and independent".⁸ He further refers to this idea as a novel principle, "the principle of division of powers between general and regional governments each independent within a sphere".⁹ He looks upon this idea as chiefly America's contribution to the field of political science, for he insists that the "federal principle has come to mean what it does because the United States has come to be what it is".¹⁰ A league or a confederation does not act directly upon peoples but upon states; the general government of a

⁸ Oxford University Press, London, 1953, p. 11.

⁹ Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 12.

league acts only upon member states, never upon people directly.

Thus like any other federation, the world federal government in order to be what it aims to be, will have to comply with the threefold principle: first, of acting along with regional government directly upon the people; secondly, of being constitutionally limited to its own sphere; and thirdly, of being independent of its coordinate subdivisions within that given sphere.

F. The World State Myth

The last to be considered of the conditions necessary for the world state is the questions of the world state myth. This concept of the myth is not an entirely new one to be developed, for even as early as the Middle Ages the idea of universal empire, certainly unrealistic for those times, fascinated the minds of many. This idea was the foundation for Dante's plea for a world government. This concept continued to entertain the minds of many people until the time of the peace of Westphalia. This medieval myth of universal empire centered about the Holy Roman Empire, which was regarded in itself as a superior form of government in comparison with the rest.

In fact the growth and development of many modern states has been aided and abetted by various myths.

Nationalism has fathered the majority of them, by means of fostering a patriotism which has both solid and fabricated bases, a mingling of the true with the false, the rational with the irrational. Various historical events, especially those in connection with independence or military victories are celebrated and immortalized by means of holidays, public oratory and romantic writings. For example, the French can and do celebrate Bastille Day with emotion as well as devotion. The justly famous trip of Vasco de Gama to India was romanticized and immortalized by the Portuguese poet, Camoëns in his Lusiads. Added bits of unreality coupled with the cold facts in this and in other instances have allowed a greater opportunity to fascinate and therefore to interest and entertain the minds of prospective followers and advocates of this or that cause. The loyalists and patriots of all nations go through the same procedure.

Here, the world state devotees will see a certain number of things that they must do to popularize their idea, not simply by the best possible philosophical arguments, but by catch phrases, prose and poetry that glorify, idealize, and portray the tremendous purity and nobility of their entire program. Entertaining myths about the world state will make the whole program more romantic and thus more acceptable to prospective followers of the world state movement.

CHAPTER IV

THE WORLD STATE AS THE ONLY PERFECT POLITICAL SOCIETY

The concept of "perfect society" seems to be an idea that is found only in scholastic philosophy. To the uninformed non-scholastic the idea may perhaps sound like a haughty one, and certainly misleading. The word "perfect" refers only to the nature of the organization and not to how well or how ill it functions. This concept is the most broad and comprehensive designation that the scholastics apply to the state. It is the purpose of this study to examine the two concepts - world state and perfect society - viewing each in the light of the other.

Besides the consideration given to the world state as the only perfect political society, a careful study of the concepts of sovereignty and subsidiarity will be presented. Lastly, there will be an analysis of the common or now traditional arguments offered for their cause by the world federationists. No philosophical consideration of the world state could rightfully omit any one of these area studies, all of which are needed to show just how and why the world state is the only perfect political society absolutely speaking - and hopefully, relatively speaking also in the none too distant future.

A. The Scholastic Concept of Perfect Society

Centuries before the Scholastics reached their prominence there existed the idea of the political community as a perfect society. Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) regards the state as a self-sufficing community. In fact, it is this which in his mind distinguishes the state from all other lesser social groups. He writes:

When several villages are united in a single community, large enough to be nearly or quite self-sufficing, the state comes into existence, originating in the bare needs of life, and continuing in existence for the sake of a good life.¹

Aristotle continues by describing the state as a "community of families and aggregations of families in well-being, for the sake of a perfect and self-sufficing life".² Elsewhere he writes of the state as the "union of families and villages in a perfect and self-sufficing life by which we mean a happy and honorable life".³

From the context of these Aritotelian passages it can be seen that he is not speaking of the state as a perfect society in the sense of being a completely autonomous and independent entity, but rather in the sense of being a self-sufficient community from the cultural, economic, and

¹ Politics, I, 2, 1252, p. 27-30.

² Ibid., III, 9, 1280b, 33 1281a, 1.

³ Ibid., III, 9, 1280a, 31.

social point of view. It is interesting to note that Aristotle stresses the good life and not just any type of life that one is to expect from the state or political community. To him "the proof that the state is a creation of nature and prior to the individual is that the individual, when isolated, is not self-sufficing".⁴ He continues: "A city only comes into being when the community is large enough to be self-sufficing".⁵

However, Aristotle does not ascribe to the state the prerogatives which are often claimed by many modern national states. His stress is not upon political autonomy and independence, but upon what the state can and should do for its citizens. His emphasis on the concept of self-sufficiency stresses the duties of the state to provide the common good and not what is often thought of today - freedom from any dependence upon any other state. Aristotle gives us no reason to think that his concept of self-sufficiency does not include interdependence upon other groups and peoples.

St. Thomas as he comments on the Politics of Aristotle repeatedly refers to the state as a "perfect community" even as the "most perfect" of human societies. He does however, place less stress on the idea of the completeness

⁴ Ibid., 1253a, 27.

⁵ Ibid., II, 2, 1261b, 13.

of the self-sufficiency. And while he admits that every human society is ordained to provide for some necessity of life, it is the perfect community which is capable of making sufficient provisions for all the necessities of life.⁶

It is clear from the words of St. Thomas as well as from the general context of his writings that the state is to be regarded as a perfect community, primarily from the economic standpoint. If one considers the historical period of the thirteenth century in which St. Thomas lived, one might conclude that the city-state of those days - the city with the surrounding area - was capable of providing sufficiently well for the material welfare of its citizens and was therefore entitled to the designation of perfect community. Later it was the province which provided greater protection and security, and was thus in Thomistic terminology the "still more perfect community". A succinct account of this idea is found in St. Thomas's Commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew. In this passage he distinguishes three types of community: family, city and kingdom.

This city (civitas) is the "perfect community" to the extent that it provides for the "mere necessities of life" (quantum ad mere necessaria). However, the kingdom or the province, to the extent that it provides greater security is

⁶ In Politicam, I, 1. Similar references are to be found in De regimine principum, I, 1 also attributed to him.

the "communitas consummationis".⁷

When St. Thomas speaks of the "perfect community" he apparently has in mind primarily its economic self-sufficiency as a means for the development of the higher "good life". He also considers the political power of the state to govern its subjects as a necessary condition for the "perfect community". This is used expressly by him as he discusses the public power of the state to govern and legislate for the families and citizens under its jurisdiction. He writes:

As one man is part of the household, so a household is a part of the state: and the state is a perfect community, according to Polit., I, 1. And therefore, as the good of one man is not the last end, but is ordained to the common good; so too the good of one household is ordained to the good of a single state, which is a perfect community. Consequently, he that governs a family, can indeed make certain commands or ordinances, but not such as to have properly the force of law.⁸

One might say there appears to be in the writings of St. Thomas a difference between a perfect community and a community of consummation. The city is called perfect in

⁷ Triples est communitas: domus sive familiae, civitas, et regni. Domus consistens ex his per quos fiunt communes actus: ideo consistit ex triplici conjugatione: ex patre et filio; ex marito et uxore; ex domino et servo. Communitas civitatis omnia continet quae ad vitam homines necessaria: unde est perfecta communitas quantum ad mere necessaria. Tertia communitas est regni, quae est communitas consummationis. Expositio in Evangelii S. Matthaei, cap. 12.

⁸ Summa Theologica, I, II, q. 90, a. 3, ad 3.

reference to those things merely necessary for man's life. But it can likewise be said that the city cannot subsist by itself in peace and thus it is necessary for there to be a community of many cities, which make one kingdom. The word consummate or consummation can refer to something in excess of perfect only if peace is regarded as a luxury and not as a necessity. While neither Aristotle nor St. Thomas in their writings envision the community of the whole world, the differences in the sizes of the communities they hold up as "perfect" namely, city and kingdom, is to be explained by the difference in the political situation of the fourth century B. C. and that of the thirteenth century after Christ. In each case they set down the basic principles which can and must be applied to a community as large as the world, because of the fast growing interdependence of nations.

From the economic standpoint, the notions of both Aristotle and St. Thomas on the state as a self-sufficing or perfect society do accord well enough with the conditions of their own times. But today has seen some radical changes. The economic interdependence alone, which began in perhaps the later medieval times, is now increasing at a fantastic rate, and has reached proportions almost unthinkable to Aristotle and even to St. Thomas. Closed economies, while still extant in some places, are fast disappearing. Even by the time of the late Scholastic, Francisco Suarez (1548-1617) it was becoming evident that some form of world community

and not simply the then growing national states, could be economically self-sufficing. He declares:

Therefore, although a given sovereign state, commonwealth, or kingdom, may constitute a perfect community in itself, consisting of its own members, nevertheless, each one of these states is also, in a certain sense, and viewed in relation to the human race, a member of that universal society; for these states when standing alone are never so self-sufficient that they do not require some mutual assistance, association, and intercourse, at times for their own greater welfare and advantage, but at other times because also of some moral necessity or need.⁹ This fact is made manifest by actual usage.

Thus even between the period of two prominent Scholastics the concept of the state as a perfect society has undergone a change without a change of basic idea. Francisco de Vitoria (1480-1549) on this same subject regards the state as a perfect society in the Scholastic sense. His more precise formulation of the concept is that found in Scholastic textbooks today. He writes:

Now the whole difficulty is . . . What is a state? . . . I will briefly reply to them by saying that a state is properly called a perfect community. But the essence of the difficulty is in saying what a perfect community is. By way of solution be it noted that a thing is called perfect when it is a completed whole, for that is imperfect in which there is something wanting, and on the other hand, that is perfect from which nothing is wanting. A perfect state or community, therefore, is one which is complete in itself, that is, which is not a part of another community, but has its own laws, and its own council, and

⁹ De legibus ac Deo legislatore, II, 19, 9. English translation from James B. Scott, Law, The State and The International Community, Vol. II, New York, Columbia University Press, 1939, p. 257.

its own magistrates. . . . For there is no obstacle to many principalities and perfect states being under one prince.¹⁰

Therefore, in the philosophy of Francisco de Vitoria the juridical self-sufficiency of a state does not mean that the state has absolute autonomy or independence. He sees the necessity of distinguishing the two aspects of the state: internal organization and external relations. Internally, it is not a part of some other organization. It is not necessary to be independent of all outside authority in order to be a perfect community internally.

Since the time of Vitoria the distinction between the organization and external relations of most if not all states has become rather nebulous. Interdependence today plays a far greater role than these "political minded" Scholastics could possibly realize. Hence, it can now safely be said that even, or perhaps especially, when one continues to follow strictly the Scholastic concept of the state as a perfect society, the present day states are no longer perfect societies in as much as they can no longer give to their citizens without outside help the fullest good of human life, such as true internal and external political peace, free or at least liberal access to a rightful share of the intellectual and material goods of this world.

¹⁰ De jure belli, translation found in J.B. Scott, The Spanish Origin of International Law, Part I: Francisco de Vitoria and His Law of Nations, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1934, p. 425f.

In his discussion of the state as a perfect society, Gerald Benkert is insistent on emphasizing the fact that the state is not at all a perfect society in the common use of these words, and especially if they are taken in the sense of being absolutely autonomous. This idea, he says, is "equally at variance with the principles of St. Thomas and those of Vitoria and of all Thomistic political philosophy".¹¹

Thus the Scholastic discussion on the idea of "perfect society" refers essentially to the availability of means for any given society to achieve its end, the idea of "perfect" having nothing to do with how well or how poorly it functions. Perfect societies are complete and independent in themselves; that is, they have self-sufficiency to the extent that they contain within themselves all the resources to achieve their end or at least the power to obtain these resources. Thus a perfect society is a necessary and a natural society and not conventional or artificial by its nature. Scholastic political philosophers list only two classes: Church and State. Perfect societies have two general functions - the negative or protective function and the positive or promotional function.

The procurement of the common temporal welfare in its fullest sense is what is expected of a state as a perfect society. It must be remembered that this whole idea

¹¹ The Thomistic Conception of an International Society, Washington, Catholic University Press, 1942, p. 143.

was developed at a period of history when nations were rather scattered and, in any case, enjoyed far more isolation than any one of them does today. Today things are very different. The Scholastic term "perfect society" can no longer be rightly applied to the modern nation-state. The philosophical dilemma is therefore the following: either the common temporal welfare in its fullest sense is no longer available to the peoples of this world and thus the modern nation-states have lost some of their reason for and their right to their very existence; or a world state must be formed that can undertake, in no matter how incipient a fashion, to procure the common temporal welfare of the peoples of this world, beginning with world peace and thus restore the very concept of the state as a perfect society that can do what is expected of the state in the way of world peace and prosperity.

The dilemma is admittedly a philosophical one, but it becomes more practical as nations become more interdependent each upon the other, and form, whether they like it or not, an incipient world community that is governed by nothing beyond the natural moral law which simply cannot function in the political vacuum of world anarchy.

A final question may be asked about the concept of the state as a perfect society by those citizens residing in a federation. They might ask: which is the perfect society, the local or the national government? And even if the

somewhat obvious answer is that the national or central government is the more perfect society, it must be emphasized that the various levels of governments in any state should be viewed as a totality when considering whether or not the state under consideration is truly a perfect society. In the high Middle Ages there was surely no world community of any sort and existing states came closer to being perfect societies except for the very serious defect of procuring peace. Today there is a world community of sorts, albeit not a political community. Thus we are now in the period of international anarchy where the nation-states have surely ceased to be perfect societies and yet there is still no world state which, now by full definition of state and perfect society, is the only one which gives any promise of doing what is expected of a state - giving its citizens the "good life", especially the blessings of world peace and an opportunity for fair and equitable access to the cultural, spiritual and material goods of this world. This leads us to consider the authority any world state needs - supreme political authority, or as some insist, sovereignty.

B. Philosophical Evaluation of the Modern Sovereignty Concept

Nearly everyone who discusses sovereignty in its historical setting attributes both the word and its concept to Jean Bodin (1530-1596). As a matter of fact Jean Bodin

considers himself to be the first to use this word and to propound this idea. He writes:

Sovereignty is the absolute and perpetual power . . . of commanding in a state. It is necessary to define this term since no political philosopher or jurist has yet defined it, though the presence of sovereignty is the chief property which distinguishes a state from other organizations or societies of men. . . . Now it remains to say exactly what sovereignty is. To begin with then, it is a perpetual power, for if power be held only for a certain time . . . it is not a sovereign power, and he who holds it for that time is not a sovereign prince, but only a trustee or custodian of that power so long as it pleases the real prince. . . . We may go on to the other part of our definition and explain what absolute power is. For the people or the nobles . . . can give this power simply and completely to dispose of their good, their lives, and the whole state at the sovereign's pleasure. . . . This power is given to the prince without any charges or conditions attached (except, of course, those set by the law of God or nature), for power given with restrictions is neither absolute power nor properly speaking, sovereignty . . .¹²

Maritain feels that Bodin may rightly be considered as the father of the modern theory of sovereignty. But if sovereignty implies the state's freedom from human law, this is definitely a form of absolutism which is quite alien to medieval thought. "Yet the fact remains that Bodin's sovereign was subject only to Natural Law and to no human law whatsoever, as distinct from Natural Law, and that is the core of political absolutism."¹³

¹² Six Books Concerning the State, I, 1, translation by W.T. Jones in Masters of Political Thought, Vol. II, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., no date given, p. 57.

¹³ Jacques Maritain, "The Concept of Sovereignty", American Political Science Review, June, 1950, p. 344.

The foundation for the sovereignty position taken by Bodin can perhaps be traced back to the Middle Ages by the time of the prolonged controversy of the "two swords". This controversy is of no special importance here except insofar as Marsilius of Padua (1278-1343), in taking the extreme regal position, limits the jurisdiction of the clergy to purely sacramental functions and confines the Church to the sacristy. He would hold that any authority actually wielded by the hierarchy has its origin in human law. Thus, there would be a single omniscient authority, that of the state. Like Bodin after him, he would make the state subject to no external authority, except perhaps, nominally subject to the natural law of God. Marsilius is still medieval enough to express his secularistic ideas in scholastic terms. Marsilius's conception of society is a totalitarian one and in no wise anticipates religious liberty,¹⁴ but his idea of legal sovereignty is rather remarkable, giving us a "notion of the sovereignty of the general will which reminds us even more of Rousseau than of Bodin or of Austin".¹⁵

To the extent then that he is a representative of the extreme regal position on the question of Church and State, Marsilius is definitely a forerunner of Jean Bodin

¹⁴Cf. A. P. d'Entreves, The Medieval Contribution to Political Thought, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1939, p. 79.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 63. A good analysis of the Defensor Pacis may be found in C.W. Prévité-Orton's edition, London,

in his ideas on sovereignty. His aim is to defend an absolute sovereignty for the state, and in so doing he denounces not only the exaggerated claims of the papalists, but also the moderate tenets of the Gelasian doctrine. His invectives and imprecations against both papal and episcopal authority are vigorous. He could be described as a "congregationalist", since the ultimate authority for both Church and State is found in the people. Thus spiritual and temporal power are united in a sort of Church-State. George Sabine says he might rightly be called the first Erastian, an Averroist Aristotelian and certainly a forerunner of the conciliar theory of Church government.¹⁶

The role of Francisco de Vitoria and Francisco Suarez on the question of sovereignty is that of an internationalist. Suarez discusses this problem in the light of his jurisprudence and legal philosophy, which is largely that of St. Thomas, adjusted to his own age. Suarez is a forerunner of Grotius, who leans heavily on the natural law content found in the systematic jurisprudence of the Spaniards. In both Suarez and Grotius it is possible to see the suggestion of a system in which the natural moral law serves as a foundation for both constitutional and international

Cambridge University Press, 1928; also Alan Gerwith, Marsilius of Padua: The Defender of Peace, New York, Columbia University Press, 2 vols., 1951-1956.

16

A History of Political Theory, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961, p. 291.

law. In this way sovereignty is faced with some practical limitations.

The modern twentieth century concepts of sovereignty are spelled out in vigorous detail by all who examine carefully the realities. First of all, international politics or the interplay of states goes on within a system and not really within a true community, because a community is expected to have a number of common goals and the world "community" does not have many, even though all pay at least lip service to the ideal of world peace. Thus the international system can be labeled as semi-organized anarchy, since on the principle of sovereignty every state has the theoretical right to choose any goal it desires and to use means to achieve it. In the international system of sovereign nation-states each state seeks to be self-contained and certainly self-justifying, and these attitudes generally control the interests of the state. This freedom of decision is regarded as intrinsic to one's sovereign status. With sovereignty as the legally key characteristic of the state, each state uses authority and issues commands from which there is no legal appeal. Thus the essential difficulty with the whole sovereignty concept is the fact that what is needed by way of a final internal authority in any state is internationalized and when possible applied in interstate relations, recognizing no legal superior. This modern attitude renders all states sovereign equals in the international system.

Nationalism demands - and jingoism emphasizes it - that every nation-state must be symbolically free from any responsibility to external authority. It becomes treason to tamper with sovereignty, which is surrounded by overtones of a mystical sanctity. Thus sovereignty in this form is a myth, which has acquired great political significance, in the midst of a laughable disparity which for various reasons has tended to increase instead of decrease as more new and underdeveloped nation-states come into existence. Time, study, and seeking to deal with international political realities as they are, may help to explode the myth and destroy the mystique of equality among the states. A good description of the "sovereign equality" among the members of the United Nations is "compounded fatuity".¹⁷

Jacques Maritain's reaction to these modern concepts of sovereignty is indeed an extreme one, and this reaction is prompted partially by the fact that he advocates the formation of a world state. Maritain would abolish the modern idea of sovereignty because he says: "the two concepts of sovereignty and absolutism have been forged together on the same anvil. They must be scrapped together".¹⁸

¹⁷ Charles O. Lerche and Abdul A. Said, Concept of International Politics, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1963, p. 104.

¹⁸ Man and the State, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1951, p. 53.

Maritain carefully analyzes the modern concept of sovereignty and concludes that it is basically erroneous and therefore wrong. He is not content simply to say that sovereignty belongs to the whole world instead of to the nations or to show what a juridical jungle results from the modern concepts.¹⁹ He insists that the whole concept must be judged in terms of political philosophy.²⁰ After analyzing carefully the concept of sovereignty as propounded by Jean Bodin, he points out the original error of making sovereignty or the sovereign prince into a separate and transcendent whole from which another whole - the body politic or political society - is ruled from above. That is why Bodin could call it an absolute power - not bound and therefore unlimited and unaccountable to anyone on this earth.²¹ All this is deplored by Maritain even though he does admit that, existentially speaking, there should be a certain separateness between ruler and ruled. The modern concept of sovereignty makes this separateness an essential quality and herein lies the basic error. Maritain affirms that those who made the basic error know that the right to govern comes from the people, but "for the consideration of this right they

¹⁹ Cf. Robert Lansing, Notes on Sovereignty, Washington, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1921, Chap. 2.

²⁰ Cf. Sterling E. Edmunds, The Lawless Law of Nations, Washington, Byrne and Company, 1925.

²¹ De la république, Paris, Jacque du Puys, 1583, Book I, Ch. 8, p. 122.

substituted that of the total power of the commonwealth".²²

By making this substitution they forgot the basic medieval concept of vicariousness on the part of the ruler's position in relation to the people. They replaced this concept with the idea of physical transfer and donation. It surely must be admitted that a right can be possessed naturally or by way of participation. "Vicars" as rulers always possess rights by participation and in this case, they only participate in the rights of the people and thus they do not rule by a divine right. Consequently, if one applies rigidly the concepts of medieval scholastic political thought, he will see that a ruler is above all his subjects, but he is not so far above them that he is completely separated from them. Sovereignty with its modern connotation implies this complete separation, unfortunately and puts the ruler therefore so far above the people that he becomes the "Hobbesian mortal god". No wonder that the jurists of the baroque age and later could propound a doctrine of a natural and inalienable right of a king to rule. By the time Louis XIV it was called a divine right - supreme, independent of the body politic, a monadic and supernal power above and separate from the political society. It was for this concept that the word sovereign was coined from the Low Latin word superanus.²³

22

Man and the State, p. 35.

23

Ibid., p. 38 footnote.

For mankind and for his right to have a world state sovereignty has come to mean two things: first, the natural and inalienable right to supreme independence and to supreme power; secondly, a right which is not simply the topmost right in the body politic, but one which is regarded as an absolute and transcendent right to independence. In view of this surely exaggerated claim, sovereignty is a property which is absolute, indivisible, admitting of no degrees, belonging to the sovereign, be it a monarch, a dictator, or even the body politic. It is hard to improve, when dealing with the modern concept of sovereignty, upon that unforgettable page in the Leviathan of Thomas Hobbes. He writes:

The only way to erect such a Common Power . . . is confer all their power and strength upon one Man, or upon one Assembly of men, that they may reduce all their Wills, by plurality of voices, unto one will: which is as much to say, to appoint one Man, or Assembly of men, to beare their Person . . . and therein to submit their Wills, everyone to his Will, and their Judgments, to his Judgments. This is more than Consent or Concord; it is a real Unitie of them all, in one and the same person, made by Covenant of every man with every man. . . . This done, the Multitude so united in one Person, is called a Common-Wealth, in Latin civitas. This is the Generation of the great Leviathan, or rather (to speak more reverently) of that Mortall God, to which we owe under the Immortall God, our peace and defence. . . . He hath the use of so much Power and Strength conferred on him, that by terror thereof, he is unable to forme the wills of them all . . . And in him consisteth the Essence of the Common-wealth. . . . And he that carryeth this Person is called Sovereigne, and is said to have Sovereigne Power; and every-one besides, his Subjects.²⁴

²⁴ Edited by R.A. Waller, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1904, Part, III, Chapter xvii.

In view of this concept of sovereignty, Maritain concludes that neither the body politic, nor the state nor the people are sovereign, because the concept connotes absolutism. The body politic however does have an internal autonomy, deriving from its nature as a perfect society, in order to achieve the common good; it has also an external autonomy with relation to other states in the international system or community, as long as this community does not exist as a political society, like a world federation, or a world federal state; until such time as the world state does exist the body politic does have external authority.

In no case is the state sovereign, even when exercising the power and authority of the body politic, for it would be nonsensical to conceive of the people as governing themselves separately from themselves and from above themselves. Yet into this maze does Jean Jacques Rousseau immerse himself when he propounds his myth of the general will, which is not a simple majority will, but a monadic superior and indivisible will emanating from the people as a single unit, becoming one single, absolute, sovereign and transcendent power.²⁵

Maritain obviously admits God is sovereign, since He is absolute, independent and of His own right rules from above. The Pope, too, with power from God directly is a

²⁵ Cf. The Social Contract, translated by Henry J. Tozer, London, Allen and Unwin, 1920, Book II, pp. 123-126.

vicarious sovereign over the Church. Since all other rulers are morally and often practically accountable to others besides God, they are not sovereign. Insofar as we insist on this accountability to others in this world, we can dispense with both the word sovereignty and the implications that it carries.

With this new and more humanistic concept of supreme political authority (instead of sovereignty) the approach to the world state becomes more reasonable. When the body politic reaches the state of being unable to provide for the common welfare of its membership, it has an obligation to seek ways and means to do this by uniting with other bodies politic so as to form a society that is sufficient to achieve this purpose. Maritain warns against the tragic inconsistency of setting aside the modern myths connected with the state only to find them again in the creation of a sovereign world state. In that case, he insists that

All the consequences involved in the Hegelian conception of the State could then spread over humanity with irresistible power. . . . The pursuit, in the modern age of an absolute world superstate would be the pursuit of a democratic multinational Empire, which would be no better than the others.²⁶

26

Man and the State, p. 204.

C. Subsidiarity and the World State

Just as within each political community the relations between individuals, families, intermediate associations and public authority are governed by the principles of subsidiarity, so too the relations between the public authority of each political community and the public authority of the world community must be regulated by the same principle. This means that the public authority of the world community must tackle and solve problems of an economic, social, political or cultural character which are posed by the universal common good. For because of the vastness, complexity and urgency of those problems, the public authorities of the individual states are not in a position to tackle them with any hope of positive solution.

The public authority of the world community is not intended to limit the sphere of action of the public authority of the individual political community, much less to take its place. On the contrary, its purpose is to create, on a world basis, an environment in which the public authorities of each political community, its citizens and intermediate associations, can carry out their tasks, fulfill their duties and exercise their rights with greater security.²⁷

It would be difficult to find a more accurate or a more succinct statement about the role of the principle of subsidiarity in the formation of the world state than the above cited one of Pope John XXIII. World federal government would in no wise mean the destruction of the present national states, just as the establishment of a national state should in no wise destroy or eliminate the autonomy of its lesser political and social groups. The principle of subsidiarity must apply to the world state problem as

²⁷ Pope John XXIII, Pacem In Terris, America Press edition, New York, 1963, p. 44.

fully as it does to other societal institutions. Only those affairs which transcend national boundaries and/or which cannot be adequately cared for at the national level should be put into the care of the world government jurisdiction. In this way a self-sufficient universal state can be established on a federal basis, while the constituent member national states as well as all the lesser groups within these states retain their authority and autonomy respectively over matters within their proper spheres. In this way, unity in diversity on a world-wide scale is attained with no political or even social unit being wrongly deprived of its own individuality nor fused with others. Instead, there would be coordination among states²⁸ within the universal federal state in the pursuit of their common purpose of world-wide peace and prosperity.²⁹

Of course the principle of subsidiarity has a much wider area of application than that of the formation and maintenance of a world state, but it can safely be said that there is at present no other area of political endeavor that this application is of greater social importance. Prior to the time of Pope John XXIII authors on the subject of Catholic

²⁸ Political scientists will rightly insist that there is no such thing as a state within a state. Thus in the U.S. there are not fifty states, but only one state. The member units within this state called the United States might rightly be called commonwealths. At most, the word state would be an honorary title.

²⁹ Cf. Thomas Corbett, People or Masses, Washington, Catholic University Press, 1950, p. 216.

social doctrine leave largely untouched this area of application of the principle of subsidiarity.³⁰

The word itself is of comparatively recent origin. It is obviously derived from the Latin word subsidium that has also the meaning of help, assistance and protection, although the original meaning is auxiliary troops. It seems that the first prominent writer to employ the word subsidiarity is Pope Pius XI, who uses it as early as 1931 in his Quadragesimo Anno (section 80). The concept of subsidiarity is previously explained by Pope Leo XIII in his Rerum Novarum, when he, against both the Socialist and laissez-faire Liberal elements of his day, carefully explains the rights and duties of states towards the autonomous social, cultural and religious organizations and groups of his own day. Apparently, Pope Leo XIII nowhere employs the term subsidiarity. Both Pope Leo XIII and Pope Pius XI ran the risk of hurting whatever popularity they enjoyed by their delineation of the Church's social teaching concerning the state and societies within it.³¹

The world had to wait for a man of prominence like Pope John XXIII to take and use the idea and principle of

³⁰For example: J.F. Kenney, "The Principle of Subsidiarity", American Catholic Sociological Review, March, 1955, pp. 31-36; Franz Mueller, "The Principle of Subsidiarity in Christian Tradition", American Catholic Sociological Review, October, 1943, pp. 144-157.

³¹Jean-Yves Calvez and Jacques Perrin, The Church and Social Justice, Chicago, Henry Regnery, 1961, pp. 328-337.

subsidiarity and apply it to the world state concept. This basic principle of Christian social philosophy and life is often referred to as the principle of "subsidiarity of association". Its basic aim is to guide us from falling into the extremes of collectivism and individualism. The principle itself is as basic and fundamental as the discussion of the common good, the perfect society concept, distributive justice, etc. "Traditionally" however, the subsidiarity principle has referred to the state's relationship to other societies within the state and not to the nature of the state as it is in itself nor in regard to its relations to other states. Due to changed conditions there is no reason why Pope John XXIII should not have applied the principle of subsidiarity to the needs of the world community.³²

Pope John sees the intimate relationship existing between the principle of subsidiarity and the broadened or universalized idea of the common good - to include as much of the world as possible. It is on this basis that Pope John applies the subsidiarity principle to the needs of the world community. The application is surely novel and indeed truly appropriate, because the world community is not yet (1965) politically organized. It is in view of this principle and

³² Some authors may insist that there is not yet a world community because there are not enough interests handled in common to warrant the use of these terms. This is the thesis of Charles Lerche and Abdul Said in their Concepts of International Politics, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1963, pp. 96f.

its relation to the common good that Pope John says that the world community should be politically organized and that the new political organization for the whole world, again in view of the selfsame principle of subsidiarity, should leave as intact as reasonably possible the present governmental types and structures and functions now existing in the world. This would mean that the new world state should seek to "tackle and solve those problems of an economic, social, political and cultural character which are posed by the universal common good".³³ Those problems are so universal, complex and urgent that the public authorities of the individual states are not in a position to undertake these problems with any positive hope of solution.

The traditional application of the principle of subsidiarity has usually been that of the negative role and interpretation.³⁴ It is often suggested that the social or political level or area that can best handle a function should be allowed to do so. Thus if private endeavor or even a lower level of government, when the federal structure of government is involved, can better perform a function, it should be left at this level.³⁵ But if the higher level of

³³Pope John XXIII, op.cit., p. 44.

³⁴For example: Anton Rauscher, Subsidiaritätsprinzip und Berufsständische Ordnung in "Quadragesimo Anno", Münster, Aeschendorff, 1958 and Sr. M. Fredericus Niemeyer, The One and the Many in the Social Order According to St. Thomas Aquinas, Washington, Catholic U. Press, 1951. Both of these are doctoral theses.

³⁵Another doctoral thesis discusses subsidiarity, this

endeavor is needed, be it political or social, this function or service should be taken over by the higher level.³⁶ Thus if the federal government of Canada and the federal government of the United States can handle school problems better than they can be handled on the lower or local level, provincial or state, then the federal governments should undertake this educational function. The factors that aid in judging this application of the needs of the universal common good are the complexity, vastness and urgency of the case involved and then the capability of the governmental or social agency which is to undertake the task.

On this same question, it is interesting to see how this one principle of subsidiarity will be differently applied by those of a liberal and those of a conservative turn of mind. The liberals will seek to move services and functions upward to a broader area of application, while the conservatives will seek ways and means of allowing many of the political and social services of the national government to be transferred to a local level of government, or better still in their minds, to some level of private enterprise³⁷

one on the federal system of Switzerland: Hans Stadler, Subsidiaritätsprinzip und Föderalismus, Freiburg in der Schweiz, Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1951.

36

Cf. Franz H. Mueller, op.cit., pp. 144-157.

37

Even in industrial spheres questions have been treated by Heinz Lauer in his Das Subsidiaritätsprinzip in Betrieb, Düsseldorf, Zentral-Verlag für Dissertationen Triltsch, 1955.

or of private endeavor.³⁸ Thus the conservative mind would find it very hard to arrive at even the theoretical need for a world state in view of the principle of subsidiarity.

In their suggested application of the principle of subsidiarity the popes have all insisted that this principle is not one of substitution or replacement of any political agency or level of local government that is rendering good services.³⁹ It is only those things which can no longer, or perhaps never could, be handled by, say, private enterprise or local government that the popes have suggested should be handled by a national government, and now in this last case of an expanded common good, by a world government. Seeing the situation therefore in this new light the scholastic principle of subsidiarity should lead inexorably to the establishment of a world state, unless it can be conclusively proven that the universal common good can be adequately handled by an agency other than a world state.

Closely allied to the concept of subsidiarity is that of solidarity, so often mentioned by the popes who have undertaken to speak upon social and political matters. Upon this broadened concept of the solidarity of the human race

³⁸ Cf. D.A. Livingston, "Medico and Subsidiarity", Social Justice, October, 1961, p. 198.

³⁹ Yves Simon in his Nature and Function of Authority, Milwaukee, Marquette University Press, 1940, pp. 46-48, treats of this principle under the heading of the principle of autonomy.

is founded the more universalized idea of the common good to include more and more of the entire world. On this question Heinrich Pesch declares that

Solidarism, generally speaking, is the social system which makes valid the amalgamation of men as such, and as members of the natural communities of family and state, and advocates at the same time the free development of a legally well arranged, cooperative, representative and corporate association according to rank and vocation that suits the historical requirements.⁴⁰

This principle of solidarity emphasizes the oneness of the human race, despite the many overemphasized differences one is made aware of. This oneness of the human race obliges the more fortunate nations and groups of people to assist the less fortunate ones within their own nation, within their area, or perhaps, hemisphere of the world, and finally throughout the entire world. The human race has always been theoretically one; now it is practically so, especially since rapid transit has enabled all of the world's knowledgeable to be aware of the problems of the less developed regions and peoples. And this mutual help program for and within the whole world can be best carried out under the aegis of universal government, unless, to repeat, another system can be devised to care for the common temporal welfare

⁴⁰ Textbook of National Economy, Freiburg im B., 1924, p. 432. Cf. also Oswald von Nell-Breuning, Reorganization of the Social Economy, trans. B.W. Dempsey, Milwaukee, Bruce, 1936, pp. 206-209; Gustav Grundelach, "Solidarismus", Staatslexikon der Goerresgesellschaft, Vol. IV, pp. 1613-1616; Franz Kluber, Grundlagen der Katholischen Gesellschaftslehre, Osnabrück, A. Fromm, 1960, pp. 122-157.

on any social or political level whatsoever. Thus any extended discussion of the principle of solidarity likewise leads inexorably to the need for the establishment and/or maintenance of a world state.⁴¹

In the realm of practical politics this development of the world community, to be followed by the establishment of a world state, should provide for adequate and guaranteed freedoms under just laws, a true equality of basic social and political rights, and an integration that provides for true unity in diversity and diversity in unity. This means that the solidarity of the human race demands a balance among personalism, individualism and collectivism. The principle of solidarity like the principle of subsidiarity is one of our greatest didactic principles.⁴² Both call for an adequate consideration of both the temporal and spiritual order and neither one without the other.

This fundamental principle of subsidiarity, whose ontological basis is rooted in man's social nature, calls for a consideration of the whole man in his whole environment in the development of the world community and then in

⁴¹The teachings on the principle of solidarity are as vast as those of subsidiarity. This is not the prime concern of this thesis, but the following authors are worth noting among many important ones: Oswald von Nell-Breuning, "Solidarismus", Gesellschaftliche Ordnungssysteme, Freiburg im B., Herderverlag, pp. 358-376; Josef Oberhauser, Das Christliche Prinzip der Solidarität und de Generosenschaftsbewegung des Mittelstandes, Paderborn, F. Schöningh, 1910.

⁴²Cf. Heinz Maiworm, "Subsidiarität als pedagogisches Prinzip", Ordo Socialis, July, 1957, pp. 57-66.

the world state. The three chief prosperity-centered factors are: the family, which develops man as a moral being in society; the school, which in the realm of culture directs man in his intellectual progress; and the state, which enables man to develop as a physical being, taking his rightful place in the universe.⁴³

Therefore the monumental task of achieving the common temporal welfare of the whole world must be seen in relation to a world public authority, to be established on a world-wide basis as soon as this is practicable, and by the common consent of the governed, and therefore not by force.

In concluding the discussion of the application of the principle of subsidiarity, it must be said that the term, like perfect society, distributive justice, etc., is confined to Scholastic circles or those associated with Scholasticism. The idea itself has been used and applied by such men as President Lincoln and President Eisenhower in public addresses in the United States, but no mention is made of the somewhat clumsy word, subsidiarity. Professor Eugene Golof of Wesleyan University suggests that the possible substitution of the word "proportionality" might help, but finally admits that the word subsidiarity is probably here to stay.⁴⁴

⁴³ Cf. Edward Link, Das Subsidiaritätsprinzip: Sein Wesen und seine Bedeutung für die Sozialethik, Freiburg im B., 1955.

⁴⁴ Cf. J. F. Kenney, op.cit., pp. 31f.

In either case, we can apply the concept to the need for a world state.

D. Resume of World Federalist Argumentation

"Every generation has its own problems; ours is transcending the limits of the nation state."⁴⁵ Of the numerous authors who seek to popularize the idea of a world federation relatively few approach the problem from the standpoint of Scholastic philosophy. It cannot be said that there is no philosophical value or basis for their arguments; they simply aim at practicality as they see it. The majority of the arguments can be classified under the three headings that are in no wise mutually exclusive; the need of government for the general world good; the fear of common destruction; and the approach from the standpoint of world law. Of the hundreds of people who have written on world federal government, it will be necessary in this resume to consider only the more prominent ones.

Under the general classification of the common good of the world there is the somewhat typical argument of Stringfellow Barr, who insists that world problems must be handled by the people of this world and not simply by isolated groups. He writes:

⁴⁵H. Brugman, "The Battle for Peace", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 228, July, 1943, p. 196.

The people of the world are alone able to take what is the main economic problem of every single national group: the problem of rebuilding their common world economy. They can hope to do it only by the massive use of public funds. America cannot do it for them. It might, of course, be done under Communist leadership, but that would come only through a Communist revolution. . . . A common government would be the proper agency, just as the common government of the forty-eight (1954) American states is the proper agency for the American people when they have to construct irrigation systems, or take flood control measures that cross state boundaries, or cost too much for a single state to tackle. There are Americans who get angry whenever government is used that way, but most Americans agree with that well-known Republican, Abraham Lincoln, who said: 'The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do for themselves.'⁴⁶

Thus on a world level Stringfellow Barr spells out the Scholastic principle of subsidiarity.

Grenville Clark and Louis Sohn propose to solve the basic economic problems of the world by means of a World Development Authority whose purpose would be to aid in the social and economic evolution of the lesser developed areas of the world chiefly through grants-in-aid and interest free loans. It is expected that those nations with the highest gross national incomes would furnish a goodly portion of the funds besides those of the general revenues of a United Nations strengthened into a world federation.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Let's Join the Human Race, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1950, pp. 18f. Cf. also Carleton Washburn, The World's Good, New York, John Day Co., 1954.

⁴⁷ World Peace Through World Law, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1958, pp. xxiiif. Cf. S. Barr, supra, pp. 24-28.

These authors have as the aim of this proposed revision of the United Nations Charter a greater fulfillment of the "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom" found in the preamble of the present United Nations Charter. In this way the new U.N. could "deal with the vast problem of mitigating the differences in economic status between various regions of the world".⁴⁸

Another prominent advocate of world federalism, Vernon Nash, looks a bit beyond the economic order and sees how our economies are vitally affected by the absence of political machinery to integrate them properly. He writes:

The proper organizing of such a world authority is essentially a political problem; no matter how high the degree of economic content in the issues handled by it. Many are blinded to the significance of this consideration by their prejudices against government as such. . . . We can no longer expect to have even a tolerable order in our village world without all the essentials of a fully organized community. The poison of international anarchy - the absence of enforced law in the relations among peoples - seeps down into national regimes and impairs the vigor of all our separate economic orders.⁴⁹

Thus Nash sees political authority as being essential for the establishment of any equitable and lasting

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 131.

⁴⁹ The World Must be Governed, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1949, pp. 124f. T.D. Weldon continues the idea of Nash when he stresses the moral aspects of the world state. Cf. his States and Morals, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1947, p. 297: "The superstate, we have said, must govern. It can do so only if one set of moral standards is generally accepted and therefore it must see to it that this condition is fulfilled." Cf. also Martin O. Olson, World Peace Ideology, New York, The William-Frederick Press, 1951, p. 26.

economic order. Basil Muller-Murphy also insists that a world political order is a prerequisite for a stable world economic order. He writes in the same train of thought:

Our aim is not negative, but positive, the establishment of world order by means of world government. So we do not seek the employment of any abnormal means of ending war in anarchy, but the employment of the normal means of ending that abnormal state of things, the substitution of order under government for disorder under anarchy - and not merely order and the peace of order, but all the manifold benefits which follow in its train. The insane disorder of world anarchy will naturally cease on the institution of world government. In a properly regulated community order is taken for granted and government is looked to for more than that.⁵⁰

Taken from a negative standpoint, some advocates of a world state deplore the waste of manpower used in the production of armaments, which bring even more disastrous economic results if they are used. Such are the sentiments of World Parliamentarians:

If so much of the world's resources are diverted each year to the sterile, unproductive and inflationary purpose of armaments, the results even without war will be social revolt and economic exhaustion. If these new weapons are used, then it is the physical destruction of the world which faces us. We call upon peoples and governments throughout the world to recognize that the choice is now between some form of world government or world ruin.⁵¹ It is a matter of the arms race or the human race.

50

Safety of Our Future, World Federation, Melbourne, Robertson and Mullens, Ltd., 1957, pp. 66f.

51

Frank Beswick, M.P., Elmore Philpot, M.P., Abbé Pierre, Proposal for a London Manifesto, 1954, World Association of Parliamentarians for World Government, Committee 3, Paper No. 54499 E 13, London, 1954. Cf. also A.L. Guerard, "Reality of World Government", Modern Political Thought,

Jacques Maritain deals with this question of the economic solidarity of the human race by noting that this economic union was brought about by technical procedures which have forged far ahead of any corresponding moral or political planning. This new and unplanned interdependence can increase the world's woes as well as bring it closer to a world state. Economic interdependence and political fragmentation are in constant confrontation.⁵²

In his appeal for world justice according to the "mind of St. Thomas", Robert Hutchins stresses the purity of appeal in the world state concept. He writes:

The motion towards world government is that motion in our time which carries with most purity an appeal to the aspirations of men for peace and justice. It is the best means by which the divinely sanctioned institutions of law and government can be used to improve the temporal lot of mankind. According to the mind of St. Thomas,⁵³ only the world state can be a perfect community.

W. Ebenstein, editor, New York, Rinehart, 1954, pp. 748-752. Henry Wallace also shows the folly of the big nations of the world spending so much money on armaments which could be used to help the lesser developed nations. Cf. his "Towards World Federation", New Republic, Vol. 118, February 23, 1948, pp. 1-10.

⁵² Man and the State, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1951, pp. 189f. On this same subject of the interrelation of economic progress with the expectation of war and peace John Nef has produced an entire volume, La Route de la guerre total, Paris, Armand Colin, 1949. For a further elaboration of this concept cf. also Maritain, France My Country, New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1941, p. 108.

⁵³ St. Thomas and the World State, Milwaukee, Marquette University Press, 1949, pp. 43f. The spirituality of the appeal of the world state is stress also by Laszlo Ledermann, Fédération Internationale, Neuchâtel, Baconnière, 1950.

Hutchins is one who regards the world state as a necessary condition for a lasting world peace. Thus in a true Scholastic fashion he considers the world state as the only "modern" state that can be a perfect society, since in these days no national state is any longer in a position to achieve with surety world peace either for itself or for its neighbors.

From a former colonial area of the earth, an Indian world federalist voices a fear that might not occur to a westerner. He refers to those colonial peoples, or at least, to those discriminated-against colored minorities of many states who might be forced to suffer social indignities in the name of "non-interference" in the internal matters of any nation in a future world federation. Thus his fear is that a world state might confirm perpetually the inferior position of minorities in member states.⁵⁴

World federalists never seem to tire of citing the classical statement of Alexander Hamilton concerning "unconnected sovereignties" in the same neighborhood. Today, this citation takes on an a fortiori aspect since it was written for the stagecoach era.

To look for a continuation of harmony between a number of independent, unconnected sovereignties

54

N.G. Ranga, "Statement of the K.L.P. of India submitted to the Conference of Parliamentarians on World Government to be held in London in 1945", New Delhi, Bharat Krishihar Lok Party, 1954, pp. 1f. See also another Indian, S. Radhakrishnan, Is This Peace?, Bombay, Hind Kitabs, 1945.

in the same neighborhood would be to disregard the uniform course of human events and to set at defiance the accumulated experience of ages.⁵⁵

The modern geographical implications of Hamilton's unconnected sovereignties is stressed by Leland Goodrich, who writes:

It seems evident a world which can be circumnavigated by a jet-propelled plane in two days . . . and which according to scientists has in the atomic bomb an instrument of destruction against which there is no defense, should be subject to one common government possessing the authority to deal effectively with the one common good . . .⁵⁶

Actually mind-twentieth century technological changes in transportation and communication "have transformed the world from relatively independent, discrete localities into a congeries of interacting regional communities and a single world community".⁵⁷ Each new edition of the world-serving airlines' timetables puts further emphasis on the fact that we are living in at least a world transportation community and each few months gives indication of a greater closeness

Fremont Rider voices on the contrary a fear of interference in national affairs, yet making allowances for freedom from colonialism. Cf. his The Great Dilemma of World Organization, New York, Reynal & Hitchcock, 1946, p. 77.

⁵⁵ Federalist Papers, No. 6, New York, Modern Library, 1941, p. 27.

⁵⁶ "Amount of World Organization Necessary", Yale Law Journal, LV, 1945-46, p. 413. Educational stress is also made by George Glasgow, "Towards World Government", Contemporary Review, Vol. 169, June, 1944, p. 181.

⁵⁷ Quincy Wright, "Accomplishments and Expectations of World Organization", Yale Law Journal, LV, 1945-46, p. 413.

of any one part of the world with the rest of the world. Yet despite this new "geographic" solidarity men continue to try to get along without any one law to cover this "newly resulted" world neighborhood. One can call it a "newly resulted" community for little if anything has been done deliberately to create a world community. It has been simply the outgrowth of technical progress in the fields of communication and transportation and not a designedly planned procedure. This fact prevents some people from recognizing its existence and continuing to talk and act as though the world were truly a community of sovereign and independent states in practice as well as in theory.⁵⁸

Emery Reves, an ardent advocate of a world state, literally attacks the idea of what he calls the nation--feudalism of modern times. He insists that the world in which we now live is Copernican, but the political and social systems according to which we live are Ptolemaic. He rails against the "narrow-minded nationalism" whereby each separate area of the world regards itself in practice as the geographical center of the entire earth, with all the vicious social implications of reducing the world as a whole to a sort of hopelessness and helplessness.⁵⁹ Reves writes with such

⁵⁸

Cf. Vernon Nash, *op.cit.*, pp. 21-35, or Maurice Parmelee, Geo-Economic Regionalism and World Federation, New York, Exposition Press, 1949, *passim*; Carl Van Doren also directs attention to the growing oneness of the world in his The Great Rehearsal, New York, The Viking Press, pp. vii-x.

⁵⁹

The Anatomy of Peace, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1946

vigor that he is impatient with those who fail to agree with him. His own words of condemnation of the nation-centric concept of the world are as follows:

There is not the slightest hope that we can possibly solve any of the vital problems of our generation until we rise above dogmatic nation-centric conceptions and realize that, in order to understand the political, economic, and social problems of this highly integrated and industrialized world, we have to shift our standpoint and see all the nations and national matters in motion, in their interrelated functions, rotating according to the same laws without any fixed points created by our own imagination for our own convenience.⁶⁰

With far more patience, but with no less vigor, Norman Cousins addresses himself to the "geographical problem of the shrinking world". He writes:

One might have supposed that the sudden liberation of the greatest and potentially most cataclysmic force known on earth would have touched off a great awakening of the human will and conscience in the cause of survival. One might have supposed that the need for a world federation would have risen over the earth like the sun itself for nothing short of a world federation could have kept expanding nations from colliding inside a shrinking world.⁶¹

Mr. Cousins is among those who regard a world federation as a necessary condition for a safe and lasting world peace. He regards the federal plan as the one which should make the world "safe for diversity".

pp. 1-29. Cf. also H.R. Isaacs, "One Planet: a Federation of the World", Comparative Essays Present and Past, Warren W. Read, ed., New York, Noble and Noble, 1933, pp. 134-141.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 29. Cf. also Alfred C. Ewing, The Individual, the State and World Government, New York, Macmillan, 1947.

⁶¹ Who Speaks for Man?, New York, Macmillan, 1953, p. 286.

Political union with a neighboring state is rarely discussed even when the desire for peace is an ardent one. Instead, the limited dealings with a neighboring state are often viewed with deep pride and sense of major achievement, when in reality the accomplishment is all too little. In the economic field this is often popular. Wynner and Lloyd comment:

One assumption of the present period is that the world does not need political organization, but merely economic bureaus or controls. This is the economic approach to peace, advanced by many because it looks easier of accomplishment. Economic unions, bureaus and agreements, negotiated through international conventions, adhered to by various groups of nations, are already functioning. The most successful of these is the Universal Postal Union. These international bodies, however, are not coordinated . . . Those who oppose the exclusively economic approach to peace insist that popular consent is necessary to set up even these economic unions or controls. The exercise of ⁶²such popular control requires political machinery.

Many political thinkers, however, are convinced that economic union and controls will in very many instances lead to political union and political controls.

Prophets of doom were saying at the conclusion of World War I that the next war would most likely be the one that would end the then-known western civilization due to the ever increasing destructiveness of the weapons. This was said even though most of them had not even dreams of

⁶²Searchlight on Peace Plans, New York, E.P. Dutton and Co., 1949, p. 12f. Cf. also Clyde Eagleton, "Demands for World Government", American Journal of International Law, Vol. 40, No. 2, April, 1946, pp. 390-394.

an absolute weapon such as the hydrogen bomb or whatever worse weapon the ensuing generation is able to produce. Many world federalists are repeating the same scare tactics today, with perhaps more success, and certainly with more reasonableness. In fact, the fear tactics have become one of the most usual procedures for federalists to alert people to the impending and almost certain danger that lies before us all.

Since at the present writing (1965) only one nation has suffered the tremendous horrors with all the aftermath of nuclear destruction, it is fair to let speak first a representative of that nation, a Japanese advocate of world federation. He writes:

Could we prohibit practically certain kinds of arms only through inter-state or inter-national agreements? Could we assure that no nation-state will take out of the shelves all the destructive arms even if we could agree to use only less destructive weapons? The only way to abolish certain arms is to abolish wars themselves. The status of world anarchy should be abolished at this historical moment when weapons have reached their utmost degree of development: the use thereof must also cause self-destruction. The question is not a mere declaration against war or destructive arms but to find the means and carry it out.⁶³

It is interesting to note Inagaki's stress on the historical moment for the abolition of war by abolishing international anarchy.

From the September 8, 1959 meeting of the Parliamentarians at Royan, France we have the Charter of Versailles

⁶³ Morikatsu Inagaki, How To Achieve Peace, Tokyo, Privately printed leaflet, 1954, p. 1. Cf. also Morton Gerber, ed., Primer for Peace, Oak Ridge, World Gov't Comm., 1947.

which is reported in The World Federalist and begins as follows:

The point has been reached in human history when the peoples, parliaments, and governments of the world, must abolish the evil of war, fraught as that evil is with the possibility of the total extinction of the human race. The peoples, parliaments and governments of the world must decide to set up a World Authority charged with the responsibility of maintaining permanent peace.⁶⁴

Of course, to these parliamentarians world authority simply means world government and all the things implied in this concept which should prevent thermonuclear World War III, that promises to exterminate most human beings and annihilate civilization as we know it. Many world federalists feel that this limitless disaster is almost upon us and that the clock of human destiny stands near the zero hour.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ World Federalist, Vol. 5, No. 3, November, 1958, p. 77. Cf. also R. Chaput, "Vers les Etats Unis du Monde", L'Action Universitaire, 16, April, 1950, pp. 3-18.

⁶⁵ Cf. Jerome Nathanson, World Peace in the Atomic Age, New York, New York Society for Ethical Culture, 1945; C.C. Price, "The Scientist's Stake in World Government", Chemical Engineering News, Vol. 26, April 19, 1948; p. 1144. Still another scientist voices his opinion on the dangers of world destruction unless there is a world state: cf. Louis H. Rideour, "The Scientist's Fight for Peace", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 179, May, 1947, pp. 80-83, or Oliver L. Reiser, World Sensorium: the Social Embryology of World Federation, New York, Avalon Press, 1946; Glen H. Taylor, "Is There Hope for World Government", Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Vol. 3, October, 1947, pp. 289-304; Paul A. Schlipp, "Millions Now Living Will Die-Unless", Motive, Vol. 8, March, 1948, pp. 4-7; Arnold J. Toynbee, "Men Must Choose", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 191, Jan., 1953, pp. 27-30; Harold C. Urey, I Am a Frightened Man, Washington, National Committee on Atomic Information, 1947, pp. 1-8; R. H. Smith, "One World or None: the Need for World Law", American Bar Association Journal, Vol. 32, No. 5, May, 1946, pp. 292-294; Summer Welles, "The Atomic Bomb and World Government", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 177, Jan., 1946,

The political scientist and philosopher par excellence of world government, Mortimer J. Adler, holds that a world state is a sine qua non for true and lasting world peace.

'Living to together at war!' That strange and wonderful phrase tells the whole of the tensions and frustrations which anarchy and sovereignty have bestowed upon man's corporate life. It also reveals anarchy - and with it sovereignty - to be the only cause⁶⁶ of war among men who must try to live together.

Of course, when referring to anarchy as the only cause of war, Adler means the only negative cause of war - negative insofar as anarchy means the absence of a government including under itself all of a given area desirous of being at peace with all other portions of the same given area. This, of course, makes world government to be a cause at least, if not the cause of peace for the world.

Not all however who are truly convinced of the tremendous danger in which the world lives are at every moment crusaders for a world government. Pope Pius XII who speaks calmly and philosophically to the Rome assembly of the World Movement for World Federal Government on April 6, 1951 in favor of a world federation to maintain peace, does not in his Easter message of 1954 call for the formation of a world

pp. 39-42; C. Maxwell Stanley, Waging Peace, New York, Macmillan Co., 1956, pp. 29ff; Thomas K. Finletter, Power and Policy, New York, Harcourt, Brace Co., 1954, pp. 390ff.

⁶⁶ How To Think About War and Peace, op.cit., p.70. Cf. also Frederick Schuman, Towards a World State in Politics of Atomic Energy, New York, Woodrow Wilson Foundation, 1946, pp. 111f.

state. To the Rome assembly delegates he says:

The Church desires peace, and thus applies herself to the promotion of everything which within the framework of the divine order, both natural and supernatural, contributes to the securing of peace. Your movement, gentlemen, dedicates itself to realizing an effective political organization of the world. Nothing is more in conformity with the traditional doctrines of the Church, nor better adapted to her teaching concerning legitimate and illegitimate war, above all, in the present circumstances.⁶⁷

In most world federalist literature dealing with the question of world law, the third approach we are considering, there is the persistent concept that world law must be directly applicable and enforceable upon individuals. This may be due in part to the thesis that states are intrinsically uncoercible.⁶⁸ Of course, if the world state or even an international organization needs to enforce its laws or decrees only against individuals instead of against states, the enforcement problem certainly becomes less. This overall task is gigantic, but the advocates of world government see no escape, especially in view of the thesis that the world state is a necessary condition for a lasting world

⁶⁷"Address to the Delegates of the World Movement for World Federal Government", L'Osservatore Romano, Ar. 91, Num. 80, April 7, 1951, p. 1. Translation mine from the original French. For Catholic endorsement, rejoicing and commentaries on Pius XII's stand cf. Edward J. Conway, "Pius XII and World Federation", America, April 28, 1951, pp. 93-95.

⁶⁸Cf. Inis Claude, Jr. "Individuals and World Law", Harvard Studies in International Affairs, June, 1952, pp. 10-12; also J. W. Briggs, "International Law: World Government, and the Role of World Law", American Bar Association Journal, Vol. 33, July, 1947, pp. 680-683.

peace enforced by world law.

Vernon Nash, an organizational pioneer in the world federalist movement in the United States, writes:

The logical brief for world government can be summed up in the length of a night-letter telegram: our need for government on the world level is exactly the same as our need for government in cities, counties, states and nations . . . The two words, law and order, are commonly tied together so closely in one phrase as almost to constitute a single compound word. Without enforced law anarchy prevails, and anarchy chronically produces mass violence. We have ended general lawlessness in human relationships except at the international level.⁶⁹

Like other world federalists, Nash sees world law as being necessary for world peace and order.

The "final word" among world federalists (1965) on the question of obtaining world peace by means of world law has been prepared by two prominent and dedicated attorneys in the movement, Grenville Clark and Louis Sohn, who take the United Nations Charter paragraph by paragraph and with parallel columns show how it would have to be revised, if at all, to read as a world constitution with commentaries on the legal implications of the given section of the Charter as well as the legal implications of their proposed revision.

⁶⁹Op.cit., p. 1. Cf. also P.M. Brown, "International Federal Government", Canadian Forum, 24, November, 1944, pp. 175f; John LaFarge, "Perspective for World Government", America, Vol. 79, May 8, 1948; pp. 105-107; D. McDonald, "Need for World Federation", Catholic Mind, 50, August, 1952, pp. 456-458; J. L. Duncan, "World Federation As a Basis for Enduring Peace", Saturday Night, 59, Nov. 13, 1943, p. 16f; I. Beverly Lake, "World Peace and World Government", Congressional Record, 93, November 20, 1947, A4583-4586.

In the section on "underlying principles" Grenville Clark writes:

It is futile to expect genuine peace until there is put into effect an effective system of enforceable world law in the limited field of war prevention, this implies the adoption of a world-wide basis of the measures and institutions which the experience of centuries has shown to be essential for the maintenance of law and order, namely, clearly stated law against violence, courts to interpret and apply that law and police to enforce it. All else, we conceive, depends upon the acceptance of this approach . . . world law against international violence must be explicitly stated in constitutional and statutory form and must, under appropriate penalties, forbid the use of force by any nation against any other for any cause whatever, save only in self defense . . . World law . . . should apply to all individual persons in the world as well as to all the nations to the end that in case of violations by individuals the world law could be invoked directly against them without the necessity of indicting a whole nation or group of nations.⁷⁰

Clark continues to speak of the world legislature and a world executive authority to enforce and administer the world law. He regards his whole program as moderately realistic and not in any case as being futile. But Emery Reves, the impatient logician of world government, seeks to emphasize the dynamic aspect of world law. He writes:

Human society and human evolution, a dynamic phenomenon par excellence, can never be mastered by static means. Threats are essentially static instruments. Law is essentially a dynamic instrument. Whenever we have applied the method of law⁷¹ to human relationships, it has resulted in peace.

⁷⁰ Op.cit., pp. xif; a very similar volume has been prepared by John MacLaurin, The United Nations and Power Politics New York, Harper and Brothers, 1952.

⁷¹ Op.cit., p. 148.

Jacques Maritain probably more noted as a philosopher than as a political writer, yet a strong advocate of the world state, shows the ontological necessity of an organized world political society. He declares:

As concerns the second main obstacle to the establishment of a lasting peace, namely the present state of inorganization of the world, well, here we are getting to the core of the problem we have to discuss. If we place ourselves in the perspective of national necessities, neglecting for a moment the factual entanglements of history, and if we transfer ourselves to the final conclusions made clear by the logical requirements of the issue, then we shall see how cogently the advocates of World Government, or of a one world politically organized, make out their case. Suffice it briefly to recall the arguments they⁷² have developed to substantiate their contention.

Like other political philosophers, Maritain stresses the danger of not having law; he labels this "inorganization".

Stringfellow Barr continues in the same vein of thought:

. . . clearly the oldest political problem of all: how to find government for a community that lacked it, even if each fraction of the community already lived under a government of its own . . . Now it was nation-states, not villages, that were governed fractions of an ungoverned community. What was terribly new about the problem was that this time the community was world-wide, bound together for weal or woe by modern science, modern technology, and the clamoring needs of modern industry.⁷³

⁷² Man and the State, p. 196. Cf. S.J. Kornhuaser, "World Government under Law: American Experience with Federal Union" American Bar Association Journal, Vol. 33, Jan., 1947, pp. 563-566; J.H. Wigmore, "Constitutional Problems in the Coming World Federation", American Bar Association Journal, Vol. 28, August, 1942, pp. 526-528.

⁷³ The Pilgrimage of Western Man, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1949, p. 341. Cf. also Robert Strausz-Hupé, The Balance of Tomorrow, New York, Putnam's, 1945.

Barr puts an interesting and necessary stress on the "governed fractions of an ungoverned community" for often people will retort that the world is full of law and we certainly have so many unkept ones now that it is useless to add new laws.

In the same trend of thought and emphasizing the distinction made by Stringfellow Barr, Sir Adrian Boult writes:

It is inconceivable to me that people who accept quite naturally the rule of law within their own national frontiers and who would not dream of disobeying it, should offer so much derision to the idea that this world is one and indivisible and that a rule of law is just as essential between nations as within it. The world has known the law of the jungle far too long. This has always been a blot on the human race, but today when science has the power to send our great globe itself into total ruin, the situation is fantastic, deplorable, and cries aloud for a remedy. Unfortunately, science has not only outstripped man's moral sense, but also man's political thinking . . .⁷⁴

Sir Adrian blames the shortsightedness of governments for preventing a world government from coming into existence.

Again, on the inadequacy of the divine and natural law, which of course is more universal than any other law, Robert Hutchins stresses the necessity of positive law:

Political organization requires positive law.
The political organization of the world community would require legislative, judicial, and executive

⁷⁴"No Greater Cause", World Federalist, Vol. 6, No. 4, November, 1959, p. 55. Emery Reves, op.cit., p. 121 puts this same idea very succinctly: there exists potential war whenever non-integrated social units of equal sovereignty come into contact.

organs to adopt, declare and enforce the positive law of the world. This law would be necessary to regulate and control the sovereigns of extant states, who are exempt from the operation of the positive law of their states and who can not be regulated and controlled by divine and natural law alone. These extant states, in the absence of positive law of the world, may be expected to act toward one another as individuals may be expected to act in the absence of positive law: they may be expected to break the peace.⁷⁵

Thus from all walks of life we can find advocates of a world state, usually a world federal state, who approach the question from the aspect of the world's need to be governed by a law universal and comprehensive enough to maintain world peace and prevent, at least, wholesale atomic war.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Op.cit., p. 14. For a further study of the inadequacy of the naked moral law and the need for the enactment of this law into civil codes by the creation of positive law, cf. Joseph Dooley, "Morality in a Political Vacuum", American Ecclesiastical Review, Vol. 128, No. 1, January, 1953, pp. 27-32; Morikatsu Inagaki, op.cit., p. 3.

⁷⁶ Cf. H. O. Eaton, Federation: The Coming Structure of World Government, Norman, Okla., University of Oklahoma Press, 1944. Cf. also Bernard Malan, La Cité de Demain, Paris, L'Union federaliste mondiale, 1955; J. E. Nordskog, "Functions of Federalism in National and World Organization", World Affairs Interpreter, Vol. 19, No. 2, July, 1948, pp. 194-207; Hugh J. Schonfield, By What Authority, London, Herbert Joseph Company, 1945.

"Purity of appeal" is the most laudatory and inspiring remark that can be made concerning the democratic world state movement. Fortunately, this designation appears to be a very true one since the motion towards world government inspires men to the highest and broadest ideals of justice and peace. World government is proposed as the best and only adequate way by which the universal and divinely sanctioned means of law and government can in this, and future periods of history, be used to maintain and improve the temporal lot of mankind by securing world peace. St. Thomas declares that peace is the work of both justice and charity, directly the work of charity, and indirectly the work of justice.¹

The appeal for the world state is not a self-seeking one, the factor so characteristic of the nation-state, which can no longer procure peace due to the growth and complexity of the international situation. The modern concepts of national sovereignty prevent the application of the natural cycle of "life, death, and resurrection" from being applied to the nation-state so as to make it possible for its inhabitants to live the good life of Aristotle.

The writings of antiquity favoring the concept of universal state are minimal but one does find prominent names like Zeno, Cicero, Seneca, Marcus Aurelius and Saint

¹Summa Theologica, II-II, q. 29, a. 3, ad. 3.

Augustine. Medieval times show us one man of prominence - Dante Alighieri, who by his clarity and depth easily excels the work, certainly of all his predecessors, and even of all his successors like Henry IV of France, Emeric Crucé and Commenius, right up until very modern times, when most of the proposals and disquisitions for the world state are connected with some period of world wars. The story of the world state movement in the twentieth century is characterized by two concerted efforts - the first to convert the League of Nations into a world state, the second and presently continuing (1965) effort to convert by way of charter revision the United Nations into a world federal state.

The opposition to these world state protagonists can be easily divided into the following three categories: first, the eager nationalist who sees his myth-laden sovereign nation-state as the best, highest and most perfect possible development of all governmental forms; he thus logically and vigorously opposes the world state idea as traitorous. Secondly, the Communist with his grandiose plans for a "world state of no state" vitriolically resists all universalist programs from the "degenerate capitalist nations", especially America. Lastly, there are those of the functionalist approach who feel sure that a more strategically developed diplomatic service together with a more highly perfected international organization of sovereign states is the only practical answer to the problem of world peace.

Often hard to distinguish from the various types of opposition to the world state concept are those authors who propose various and sundry necessary conditions for a world state to come into existence. Most of this form of "opposition" - and only sometimes is it truly opposition - can be treated under one of six headings: firstly, nearly all writers who discuss the world state insist that it must be preceded by a relatively stable world community developed by numerous human bonds bringing peoples together. In the minds of many this type of world community is almost impossible to achieve. Secondly, but not necessarily mentioned by most authors, is the need for certain universal moral standards coupled with democratic ideals. Nothing else seems acceptable to the free world. Thirdly, still fewer propose a sufficient educational level for the peoples of the world as a necessary preliminary for a world state. Determining what this level should be, is of course, most difficult. Fourthly, the thinking elements in the democratic world state insist that sentiments of peaceful and loyal opposition within any state, including a future world state, as well as the peaceful interchange of political administration, for the formation as well as for the lasting perdurance of any world state, are both essential. Fifthly, the proposals of nearly all of the free-world advocates of a universal state logically insist that it will have to be federal. They admit that it could not be less and still be a state, and the

likelihood that it will be more is nil. Lastly, some few call for a world state myth, the intermingling of the rational and the irrational or the poetic and the romantic in the whole concept. They insist that all other state forms have used these means of self-popularization and the world state can in no wise be an exception to this. Historical events are thus immortalized by romantic and patriotic writings, celebrations and holidays. An appeal is made to fascinate and stir up sentiments in favor of a cause and in this case it would be the world state.

The philosophical argument favoring the world state is rooted in a careful analysis of the concept of world peace. Once the full meaning of world peace is clearly seen, the full necessity of a world state becomes quite obvious. This presumes, of course, that the contemplated world state should be truly a state and not a league, perpetual alliance, or even a confederation. The word "peace" is commonly and rightly used to indicate civil or internal peace within a nation. The violation of this peace is called a civil disturbance, because it is against the laws of the realm. The confusion arises, however, when this same term "peace" is employed to describe the idea of international peace. This use of the word is really an abuse, because it creates the false impression that "international peace", which is in no wise the product of law and government, is of the same nature as civil peace which is the product of carefully made and

established law and government. "International peace" is usually no more than the absence of war among nations, which may be all potentially at war, but for the present, not shooting at one another. Therefore the common idea of "international peace" is surely an unacceptable use of the term "peace" as far as our definition will be concerned. This type of peace is only a truce, leaving the nations in potential even if not in an actual state of war. Thus to maintain a philosophical consistency it will be necessary to refrain from the use of the term "peace" to indicate that the shooting has stopped, since this form of peace is usually no more than an armed truce between wars. Unless this confusion about the concept of peace can be cleared up, there is no further reason to pursue the thesis that a world state is a necessary condition for world peace.

It is none other than St. Augustine who gives the philosophical solution to the problem of peace, government and order, a solution that is eminently valid today. In his City of God he tells us that the peace of man is the "ordered concord" of commanding and obeying among those living together, the "ordered concord" of commanding and obeying among citizens. "The peace of all things is the tranquility of order. Order is the disposition of equal and unequal things attributing to each its place."² This peace here spoken of by St. Augustine is social peace, a peace primarily of political

²Book 19, Chap. 13, 413-26.

institutions, justice and of law. This peace implies nothing less than a concord in a multitude of things and persons, and order among them that establishes harmony. For human beings this peace consists in a group, no matter how great, living together in at least minimal concord and enjoying the tranquility of order.

Order thus becomes the key word in any discussion of peace, for it both establishes a harmony in the multitude and bestows a tranquility upon those who live together. When people live together by rules, even of their own making, there is ever a question of commanding and obeying a "disposing of equal and unequal things attributing to each its place". This, in the case of political and social matters, is the order that results from the reign of law or the proper functioning of government, and in the case of the whole world, it would have to be the reign of world law and the proper function of a world government. This world order, the only type that can help produce world peace, is the result, as St. Augustine says, of the proper "disposition of equal and unequal" or the proper arrangement between ruler and ruled. The many, in this case the whole world, are not a true community, no matter how often this word is applied, or better, misapplied to them, unless there is some true order and organization among them. Thus, the cause of peace in any multitude is the order found in that same multitude. The political and social peace of all the peoples of this world is

the political tranquility of order of all peoples in the world, in other words, a world state. No other organization is adequate for world peace in this sense.

This does not mean that the world community, when correctly organized by a world state, will have perfect peace and harmony, for such exists only in the next life. To stay within the realm of realism, the political community must distinguish itself by the peace it provides. The world community, organized by a world state, must distinguish itself by the world peace it furnishes all the citizens.

The careful political philosopher must here guard against the fault of idealizing government as such and thinking that the peace and prosperity of any given nation or state is exclusively, or nearly so, the product of government, and in our case, of world government. Any good government if it is not supported as it should be by the people will fail to do its share in providing for the expected peace and prosperity. All civil wars, which are usually costly in numbers of lives lost, are a stark testimony of this. This consideration in no wise invalidates the thesis of this dissertation, but it does issue a warning that one cannot think of the world state as a sufficient condition for world peace, but only a necessary one. Forgetting this important distinction opens the door to mass confusion in thinking. Thus one does not say that world government produces world order, even though it is a most vital factor, but that it is a necessary

condition for world order. World order, the type producing world peace, will come when all the factors needed to produce it are present, and this includes the world state. World government advocates will thus finally conclude that internationalism is too small a price to pay for true world peace while world federalism is the limited but "adequate" price that must be paid to begin to achieve world order and peace. Rightly, they warn against the use of concepts that belong to world federation for a discussion of international organization. This leads where one might expect - down the road of hopeless confusion.

The political philosopher's initial concern for the world state is certainly theoretical, for only when one has his thinking clearly planned can he proceed to practical implementation of his ideas with at least a modest hope of success. Therefore it cannot be rightly said that the world state is the sufficient condition for world order and peace, but rather that it is only one of the necessary conditions, and surely among the most important of these, and therefore, also an important and indispensable cause of world peace.

- Adler, Mortimer J., How To Think About War and Peace, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1944, xxiii + 307p.
- , G.A. Borgese, Rexford Tugwell, The Making of World Government, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1946, 62p.
- Agar, Herbert et al., The City of Man, New York, Viking, 1940, 113p.
- Aly, Bower, editor, Resolved: That the United Nations Now Be Revised into a Federal World Government, Columbia, Missouri, Lucas Brothers, National University Extension Association Debate Handbook, 1948, 2 volumes, 440p.
- Amrine, Michael et al., Is World Government An Illusion?, Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern University Radio Department, 1947, 12p.
- Angell, Sir Norman, "UN or World State," Rotarian, Vol. 68, June, 1946, pp. 1-12.
- Armstrong, Patrick, "British Parliamentary Group for World Government", Bulletin of Atomic Science, June, 1958, 14:232-42.
- Ascoli, Max et al., "World Government vs. the United Nations" Free World, Vol. 11-12, June-July, 1946, pp. 22-29.
- Babcock, Robert S., Limitations to International Federalism, (Doctoral Thesis) Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern University, 1949, 371p.
- Bain, Leslie Balogh, Chaos or Peace, New York, M.S. Mill Co., Inc., 1943, x + 150p.
- Barr, Stringfellow, Citizens of the World, New York, Doubleday and Company, 1952, vii + 285p.
- , Let's Join the Human Race, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1950, 30p.
- , The Pilgrimage of Western Man, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949, 369p.
- Benoit-Smullyan, Emile, "Why Minimal World Government?", Common Cause, Vol. 1, No. 12, July, 1948, pp. 461-463.

- Benkert, Gerald F., The Thomistic Conception of An International Society, (Doctoral Thesis) Washington, Catholic University Press, 1942, xii + 193p.
- Berns, Walter F., "The Case Against World Government", in Readings in World Politics, edited by Robert A. Goldwin et al., New York, Oxford University Press, 1959, pp. 425-438.
- Bernstein, G.A., "World Government - Progressive Report", Nation, June 5-12, 1948, No. 166, pp. 628-30 and 660-62.
- Beswick, Frank, Elmore Philpott, Abbé Pierre, Proposal For a London Manifesto 1954, London, World Association of Parliamentarians for World Government, Committee 3, Paper No. 5499/E13, 1954.
- Beveridge, Sir William, The Price of Peace, New York, Norton, 1954, 160p.
- Bevin, Ernest et al., "World Government", The Round Table, Vol. 142, March, 1946, pp. 1-21.
- Bonnet, Henri, The United Nations: What They Are, What They May Become, Chicago, World Citizens Association, 1942, 100p.
- Borchard, Edwin, "The Impracticability of 'Enforcing' Peace", Yale Law Journal, Vol. 55, No. 5, August, 1946, pp. 966-973.
- Borden, William Liscum, There Will Be No Time: The Revolution in Strategy, New York, Macmillan, 1946, 225p.
- Borgese, Elisabeth Mann, "Luxembourg Balance Sheet", Common Cause, Vol. 2, No. 5, December, 1948, pp. 175-180.
- Bowles, Chester, "World Government-Yes, But", Harpers, March, 1949, pp. 21-27.
- Briggs, Herbert W., "International Law: World Government and the Role of Law", American Bar Association Journal, Vol. 33, July, 1947, pp. 680-83.
- , "The Problem of World Government", American Journal of International Law, Vol. 41, No. 1, January, 1947, pp. 108-111.
- , "World Government and the Control of Atomic Energy", Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science Vol. 249, January, 1947, pp. 42-53.

- Brinton, Clarence C., From Many One: The Process of Political Integration, The Problem of World Government, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948, 126p.
- Brown, C.W., "Constitution of a World Government", Food for Thought, 9, November, 1948, pp. 23-27.
- Brown, Harrison Scott, Must Destruction Be Our Destiny?, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1946, xiii + 158p.
- , "The World Government Movement in the United States", Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Vol. 3, June, 1947, pp. 156-157, 166.
- Brown, P.M., "International Federal Government", Canadian Forum, 24, November, 1944, pp. 175-177.
- Buchanan, Scott, "Plato and Universal Government", Common Cause, September, 1948, Vol. 2, pp. 42-47.
- Buck, Pearl, "Does World Government Mean More Government", United Nations World, Vol. 1, February, 1947, 22p.
- Buller-Murphy, Basil, Safety of Our Future: World Federation, Melbourne, Robertson and Mullens, Ltd., 1957, 184p.
- Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, "Scientists and World Government", editorial, Vol. 3, December, 1947 pp. 345-6.
- Burgess, John W., Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law, 2 volumes, New York, Ginn and Company, 1890, xx + 337p, xx + 404p.
- Burham, James, The Struggle for the World, New York, Day, 1947, 248p.
- Burns, Edward McN., "The Movement for World Government", Social Science, Vol. 23, January, 1948, pp. 5-13.
- Butler, Nicholas Murray, Family of Nations, New York, Scribner's Sons, 1938, xiii + 400p.
- Byng, Edward J., A Five-Year Peace Plan, New York, Coward-McCann, Inc., 1943, vii + 184p.
- Cadogan, Alexander, "Disarmament and Security", The Annals, Vol. 252, July, 1947, pp. 84-92.
- Canadian Forum, "World Government", editorial, Vol. 25, January, 1946, p. 227.

- Carleton, William G., "What Our World Federalists Neglect", Antioch Review, Vol. 8, March, 1948, pp. 3-16.
- Carlston, Kenneth, Law and Organization in World Society, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1962, 356p.
- Chaput, R., "Vers les Etats Unis du monde", L'Action Universitaire, 16, April, 1950, pp. 3-18.
- Chase, Stuart, Tomorrow's Trade, New York, The Twentieth Century Fund, 1945 x + 156p.
- Chaudhuri, Sanjib, A Constitution for the World Government, Calcutta, the author, 1949, vi + 246p.
- Chevalier, Stuart, "World Community or a World State", Vital Speeches, Vol. 13, March 1, 1947, pp. 309-318.
- Clark, Grenville and Louis B. Sohn, World Peace Through World Law, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1958, xxxvi + 540p.
- Claude, Inis, Jr., Power and International Relations, New York, Random House, 1962, x + 310p.
- , Swords Into Plowshares, New York, Random House, 1964, 3rd edition, xiv + 458p.
- Corbett, Percy Elwood, The Individual and World Society, Princeton, N.J., Center for Research on World Political Institutions, 1953, 59p.
- , Post-War Worlds, New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1942, ix + 208p.
- Corbett, Thomas, People or Masses, Washington, Catholic University Press, 1950, xiii + 241p.
- Corliss, John B., Jr., The Greatest Project of All Time, Detroit, the author, 1944, 20p.
- Corwin, Edward, Constitution and World Organization, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1944, 64p.
- Cousins, Norman, "Don't Resign From the Human Race", Saturday Review of Literature, Vol. 31, August 7, 1948, pp. 6-12.
- , Modern Man is Obsolete, New York, Viking Press, 1945, 59p.

- Cousins, Norman, Who Speaks for Man, New York, Macmillan, 1953, 319p.
- Cranston, Alan, "The Strengthening of the U.N. Charter", Political Quarterly, Vol. 18, July-Sept., 1946, pp. 187-201.
- Crosser, Robert, "World Government", Congressional Record, 94, April 21, 1948, A2552f.
- Crozier, Alfred Owen, A Nation of Nations, Cincinnati, Stewart and Kidd Co., 1915, 117p.
- Culbertson, Ely, Our Fight for Total Peace, New York, Fight for Total Peace, Inc., 1945, 60p.
- , Summary of World Federation Plans, New York, Garden City Publishers, 1943, i + 64p.
- Dante Alighieri, On World Government, translated by Herbert W. Schneider, New York, Liberal Arts, Press, 1957, xvi + 80p.
- Davenport, Russell W. and M. Thomas Tchou, World Citizenship, Washington, National Education Association, 1948, 15 p.
- Davis, Elmer, "Objections to a World Government", New Republic, No. 122, May 22, 1950, pp. 16-18.
- Deutsch, Karl W., World State or World Disarmament, Cambridge, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1946, 240p.
- Dexter, Lewis A., "Implications of Supranational Federation", American Sociological Review, Vol. 7, June, 1942, pp. 400-406.
- Doman, Nicholas, The Coming Age of World Control, New York, Harper, 1942, 301p.
- Dooley, William Joseph, "Morality in a Political Vacuum", American Ecclesiastical Review, Vol. 128, No. 1, January, 1953, pp. 27-32.
- Douglas, William O., Being An American, New York, John Day, 1948, 214p.
- Duncan, J.L., "World Federation as a Basis for Enduring Peace", Saturday Night, 59, November 13, 1943, pp. 16-17.
- Eagleton, Clyde, "Demands for World Government", American

- Journal of International Law, Vol. 40, No. 2, April, 1946, pp. 390-94.
- Eaton, Howard Ormsby, Federation: the Coming Structure of World Government, Norman, Okla., University of Oklahoma Press, 1944, xii + 234p.
- Edmunds, Sterling E., The Lawless Law of Nations, Washington, Byrne and Company, 1925, 173p.
- Eichelberger, Clark M., Letter to the Chapters on World Government, New York, American Association for the United Nations, no date given, 8p.
- , "World Government via the United Nations", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, July, 1949, pp. 18-33.
- Einstein, Albert, "Open Letter to the General Assembly of the United Nations", United Nations World, Vol. 1, October, 1947, pp. 13-14.
- Elliott, G.M., "World State Fallacy", National Review, Vol. 130, March, 1948, pp. 237-241.
- Evatt, Herbert V., "United Nations Organization Versus World Government", Free World, Vol. 10, January, 1946, pp. 27-29.
- Ewing, Alfred C., The Individual, the State, and World Government, New York, Macmillan, 1947, 332p.
- Fawcett, Charles B., The Bases of a World Commonwealth, London, Watts, 1941, 167p.
- Ferrand, Max, editor, The Records of the Federal Convention Of 1787, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1911.
- Fichte, Johann G., Addresses to the German Nation, translators, R. F. Jones and G. H. Turnbull, Chicago, Open Court Publishing Co., 1923.
- Finch, George, director, Future International Law, Washington, Studies in the Administration of International Law and Organization, 1944, xxi + 196p.
- Finer, Herman, America's Destiny, New York, Macmillan, 1947, 407p.
- Finletter, Thomas K. and Elmer Davis, "Is World Government Practical Now?", Modern Industry, Vol. 12, Sept. 15,

1946, pp. 124-126.

- Finletter, Thomas K., "Timetable for World Government", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 177, March, 1946, pp. 53-60.
- Fisher, William H., "Error of World Government Perfectionists", Social Studies, January, 1947, pp. 3-5.
- French, Raleigh L., Plans for a World Republic, Boston, Christopher Publishing, 1947, 116p.
- Fuchs, Lawrence and H.B. Lord, "Security or Justice: Which Is the Basis for World Government?", Freedom and Union, Vol. 3, May, 1948, pp. 20-21.
- Gerber, Norton, editor, Primer for Peace, Oak Ridge, Tenn., World Government Committee, 1947, xii + 62p.
- Gerwith, Alan, Masilius of Padua: The Defender of Peace, New York, Columbia University Press, 2 vol., 1951-1956.
- Ghetia, George, editor, One World or None, Washington, United World Federalists, 1960, 41p.
- Gilson, Etienne, Dante the Philosopher, New York, Sheed and Ward, 1949, 338p.
- Glasgow, George, "Towards World Government", Contemporary Review, Vol. 169, June, 1944, p. 181.
- Goetz, Herman, Commonwealth of Tomorrow, Allahabad, Indian Periodicals, 1944, 181p.
- Gonella, Guido, The Papacy and World Peace, London, William Clowes and Sons, Ltd., 1945, xxi + 214p.
- Gooch, R. K., "Federation and World Peace", Virginia Quarterly Review, Vol. 24, No. 3, July, 1948, pp. 435-38.
- Goodman, Elliot R., The Soviet Design for a World State, New York, Columbia University Press, 1957, 686p; also Ann Arbor, University Microfilms No. 57-1783.
- Goodrich, Leland M., "The Amount of World Organization Necessary and Possible", Yale Law Journal, Vol. 55, No. 5, August, 1946, pp. 950-65.
- Graeff, W.B. de, "The World State Maneuver", The Protestant, Vol. 8, June-July, 1946, pp. 62-66.

- Graham, Lloyd, The Desperate People, Buffalo, Foster and Stewart, 1945, 195p.
- Griessemer, T.D., "World Movement for World Federal Government", One World, London, May, 1948, pp. 133-35.
- Griffin, Eldon, Clinching the Victory, Seattle, Washington, Wilberlilla Publishers, 1943, 365p.
- Grotius, Hugo, Prolegamena to the Law of War and Peace, translator, Francis W. Kelsey, New York, The Liberal Arts Press, 1957, xx + 43p.
- Guerard, A. L., Reality of World Government, in Modern Political Thought, W. Ebenstein, editor, New York, Rinehart, 1954, 806p.
- Guerry, Emile, The Popes and World Government, Baltimore, Helicon, 1963, xvi + 254p.
- Gurian, Waldemar, "World Government", Commonweal, Vol. 42, September 28, 1945, p. 573.
- Hacker, Myra C., "Should the United States Support a Federal Union Of All Nations?", Congressional Digest, Vol. 31, August-September, 1952, pp. 213-215.
- Hammond, Mason, City-State and World State in Greek and Roman Political Thought until Augustine, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1951, x + 217p.
- Hancock, John Russell, Plan for Action, Christchurch, New Zealand, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1944, 144p.
- Harris, Theodore, A Proposed Constitution for the United Nations of the World, New York, C.F. Ruckstuhl, Inc., 1918.
- Hawtrey, R.G., "Help Between Nations", International Affairs, Vol. 25, April, 1948, pp. 159-169.
- Hayes, Carlton, Essays on Nationalism, New York, Macmillan Co., 1926, 279p.
- Hegedus, Adam de, The State of the World, London, Jonathan Cape, 1946, 264p.
- Hemleben, Sylvester J., Plans for World Peace Through Six Centuries, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1943, xiv + 227p.

- Hershey, John, "The Attacks on World Government", U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings, Vol. lxxvii, No. 11, November, 1951, pp. 31-38.
- Hickerson, J.D., "U.S.A. and World Federation, the Story in Congress", Congressional Digest, Vol. 31, No. 8-9, August-September, 1952, p. 197.
- Hobson, John Atkinson, Towards International Government, New York, Macmillan Co., 1961, pp. 260-278.
- Holliday, Wallace T., Clarence K. Streit and Norman Angell, "World State", Rotarian, Vol. 72, June, 1948, pp. 11-13.
- Holman, Frank E., "World Government No Answer to America's Desire for Peace", American Bar Association Journal, Vol. 32, October, 1946, pp. 642-44.
- Hooker, Gertrude S., Outline of a Basic Bibliography on a World Government, Document #110, Chicago, Committee to Frame a World Constitution, 1946, 17p.
- Hoyland, John S., "End of the World", Contemporary, Vol. 174, September, 1948, pp. 170-74.
- Humber, Robert L., Order or Anarchy: Which Do You Want?, St. Louis, Plaza Bank, 1944.
- Hutchins, Robert M., The Atomic Bomb Versus Civilization, Chicago, Human Events, Inc., 1945, 14p.
- , et al., Preliminary Draft of a World Constitution, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1947, xi + 92p.
- , St. Thomas and the World State, Milwaukee, Marquette University Press, 1949, xi + 52p.
- Huxley, Aldous, "Bridges to One World", Tomorrow, Vol. 6, November, 1947, pp. 12-15.
- Inagaki, Morikatsu, How To Achieve Peace, Tokyo, private publication, 1954, 4p.
- Isaacs, H.R., "One Planet: A Federation of the World, in Comparative Essays, Present and Past", Warren W. Read, editor, New York, Noble and Noble, 1933, xvii + 442p.
- Jessup, Philip C., The International Problem of Governing

- Mankind, Claremont, California, Claremont College, 1947, 63p.
- John XXIII, Pope, Pacem In Terris, New York America Press, edition, 1963, 6lp.
- Johnson, Julia E., Federal World Government, New York, H.W. Wilson Company, 1948, 280p.
- , United Nations or World Government, The Reference Shelf, Vol. 19, No. 5, New York, H.W. Wilson Company, 1947, 285p.
- , compiler, World Peace Plans, The Reference Shelf, Vol. 16, No. 5, New York, H.W. Wilson Company, 1943, 192p.
- Johnson, Richard Burton, Armistice Terms, Seattle, Washington, privately mimeographed, 1943.
- Kahler, Erich, "The Question of a 'Minimum Constitution'", Common Cause, Vol. 1, No. 11, June, 1948, pp. 421-23.
- Kamp, W.W., "World Government or Else", Christian Century, Vol. 65, February, 1948, p. 147.
- King-Hall, Stephen, "World Government or World Destruction", Reader's Digest, Vol. 47, November, 1945, pp. 14-16.
- Kling, Merle, "World Government - A World of False Premises", Social Education, April, 1950, pp. 21-24.
- Koo, V. K. Wellington, "Basic Problems of the U.N.", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 252, July, 1947, pp. 81-85.
- Kornhauser, Arthur W., Editor, "Is World Government Possible", American Magazine, Vol. 141, April, 1946, pp. 42-43.
- Kornhauser, S.J., "World Government Under Law: American Experience with Federal Union", American Bar Association Journal, Vol. 33, January, 1947, pp. 563-66.
- LaFarge, John, "Perspective for World Government", America, Vol. 79, May 8, 1948, pp. 105-107.
- Lake, I. Beverly, "World Peace and World Government", Congressional Record, 93, No. 20, 1947, A4583-6.
- Ledermann, Laszlo, Fédération internationale, Neuchâtel, Baconnière, 1950, 71p.

- Lerch, Charles O. and Abdul Said, Concept of International Politics, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1963, 361p.
- Levi, Werner, Fundamentals of World Organization, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1950, ix + 233p.
- Lewis, Edward R., "Are We Ready for a World State?", The Yale Review, Vol. 35, No. 3, March, 1946, pp. 491-501.
- Lilienthal, Alfred, Which Way to World Government, New York, Foreign Policy Association, Inc., 1950, 94p.
- Lloyd, Lola Maverick and Rosika Schwimmer, Chaos, War or a New World Order, Chicago, Campaign for World Government, 1942.
- MacLaurin, John, The United Nations and Power Politics, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1952, 458p.
- McAllister, Glibert, "Towards World Government", The Fortnightly, Vol. 176, September, 1951, pp. 605-612.
- McClure, Wallace, World Legal Order: Possible Contributions by the People of the United States, Chapel Hill, N.C., University of North Carolina, 1960, 366p.
- McDonald, D., "Need for World Federation", Catholic Mind, Vol. 50, August, 1952, pp. 456-458.
- McGuire, Paul, Experiment in World Order, New York, Morrow, 1948, 412p.
- Madariaga, Salvador de, "World Government a Dream or a Necessity", Americans, London, Oxford University Press, 1930, 148p.
- Malan, Bernard, La Cité de Demain, Paris, L'union fédéraliste mondial, 1955, 83p.
- Mangone, Gerard, The Idea and Practice of World Government, New York, Columbia University Press, 1951, xi + 278p.
- Maritain, Jacques, Man and the State, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1951, vi + 219p.
- Mayer, Joseph E., "Geneva - 1950: A People's World Constituent Assembly", Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, Vol. 3, December, 1947, pp. 361-62.

- Mayer, Milton, Pacifism and World Government, New York, Fellowship Publications, 1950, 18p.
- Meulen, Jacob Ter, Der Gedanke Der Internationalen Organisation in Seiner Entwicklung, I, 1300-1800, Haag, Martinus Nijhoff, 1917.
- Meyer, Cord, Jr., "Law of War: A Time to Choose", New Republic, Vol. 16, January 27, 1947, pp. 20-21.
- , "Peace is Still Possible", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 180, October, 1947, pp. 27-33.
- , Peace or Anarchy, Boston, Little, Brown and Co., 1947, 137p.
- , "Stopping the Atomic Armaments Race", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 178, July, 1946, pp. 42-45.
- , "We Must Have World Government Now", Scholastic, Volume 53, Oct. 20, 1948, pp. 10-11.
- Minor, Raleigh Colston, A Republic of Nations, New York, Oxford University Press, 1918.
- Mitrany, David, "The Functional Approach to World Government", International Affairs, Vol. 24, July, 1948, pp. 321-328.
- , The Progress of International Government, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1933, 176p.
- , A Working Peace System, London, National Peace Council, 1943, 56p.
- Morgenthau, Hans J., Politics Among Nations, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1948, 489p.
- Mowrer, Edgar Ansel, The Nightmare of American Foreign Policy, New York, Knopf, 1948, 256p.
- , "Unite or Else", Nation, Vol. 161, Dec. 22, 1945, p. 712.
- Myrdal, Gunnar, Realities and Illusions in Regard to Inter-Governmental Organization, London, Oxford University Press, 1955, 28p.
- Nabuco, Mauricio, "World Government as a Goal", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 264, July, 1949, pp. 1-5.

- Nash, Vernon, "Utopia or Cataclysm", Christian Century, Vol. 64, November 26, 1947, pp. 453-55.
- , The World Must be Governed, New York, Harper, 1949, 206p.
- Nathanson, Jerome, World Peace in the Atomic Age, New York, Society for Ethical Culture, 1945.
- Neill, Thomas P., Weapons For Peace, Milwaukee, Bruce Publishing Co., 1945, 234p.
- Newfang, Oscar, World Federation, translated by Pierre Gault, New York, Barnes and Noble, 1939, xii + 121p.
- , World Government, New York, Barnes and Noble, 1942, xv + 227p.
- Niebuhr, Reinhold, The Illusion of World Government, White-stone, N.Y., The Graphic Group, 1949, 25p.
- , "The Myth of World Government", The Nation, Vol. 162, No. 11, March 16, 1946, pp. 312-14.
- Nizer, Louis, We Have No Alternative, Cleveland, United World Federalists, 1957, 36p.
- Nobre, F., The Demophile Government for Universal Peace, South Bend, Indiana, Fides, 1947, 172p.
- Nordskog, J.E., "Functions of Federalism in National and World Organization", World Affairs Interpreter, Vol. 19, No. 2, July, 1948, pp. 194-207.
- Owen, Ruth Bryan, Look Forward, Warrior, New York, Dodd, Mead and Co., 1942.
- Page, Kirby, Now Is the Time to Prevent a Third World War, LaHabra, California, the author, 1946, 123p.
- Paintin, H.J., The League of Nations at the Bar of Public Opinion, Paintin and Simpson, no city given, 1926.
- Park, No-Yong, The White Man's Peace, Boston, Meader, 1948, 252p.
- Parmelee, Maurice, Blockade and Sea Power, New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1924, x + 449p.
- , Geo-Economic Regionalism and World Federation, New York, Exposition Press, 1949.

- Patterson, Ernest M., editor, "Looking Toward One World", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 258, July, 1948, pp. 1-123.
- , World Government, Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1949, vii + 200p.
- Patton, Mrs. Joseph, "U.S.A. and World Federation, the Story in Congress", Congressional Digest, Vol. 31, Nos. 8-9, August-Sept., 1952, pp. 193-224.
- Pei, Mario, American Road to Peace, New York, S.F. Vanni, 1945, 168p.
- Pelcovits, N.A., "World Government Now?", Harpers, Vol. 193, No. 1156, November, 1946, pp. 396-403.
- Pendleton, Hobart L., "Another Look at World Federation", American Mercury, Vol. 64, June, 1952, pp. 56-64.
- Perry, Ralph Barton, One World in the Making, New York, Current Books, 1945, 275p.
- Pinheiro, Henrique de, The World State, Rio de Janeiro, Grafico Olimpica, 1944, 243p.
- Pius XII, Pope, "Address to the Delegates of the World Movement for World Federal Government", L'Osservatore Romano, An. 91, Num. 80, April 7, 1951, p. 1.
- duPlessis, Jean, The Human Caravan, New York, Sheed and Ward, 1939, 280p.
- Price, Charles C., "The Scientists' Stake in World Government", Chemical Engineering News, Vol. 26, April 19, 1948, p. 1144.
- Quarles, James, "E Pluribus Unum: 1946 Model", World Affairs, Vol. 109, September, 1946, pp. 181-85.
- Radhakrishnan, S., Is This Peace, Bombay, India, Hind Kitabs, 1945, 70p.
- Ralston, Jackson H., A Quest for International Order, Washington, John Byrne & Co., 1941, vi + 205p.
- Ranga, N.G., Statement of the K.L.P. of India Submitted to the Conference of Parliamentarians on World Government to be Held in London in 1954, London, World Association of Parliamentarians for World Government, 1954, Paper No. 54910/E16.

- Ranney, John C., "World Federalism", American Bar Association Journal, Vol. 33, June, 1947, pp. 567-570, 641-642.
- Reimann, Gunther, The Myth of a Total State, New York, Morrow and Co., 1941, ix + 284p.
- Reiser, Oliver L., World Sensorium: The Social Embryology of World Federation, New York, Avalon Press, 1946, 253p.
- Reves, Emery, Anatomy of Peace, 7th edition, New York, Harper, 1946, 293p.
- Ridenour, Louis H., "The Scientists' Fight for Peace", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 179, May, 1947, pp. 80-83.
- Rider, Fremont, The Great Dilemma of World Organization, New York, The Hadham Press, 1946, 85p.
- Roberts, Owen J., and Norman Angell, "U.N. or World State?", Rotarian, Vol. 68, June, 1946, pp. 14-15.
- , "Real World Parliament to Keep Peace", Vital Speeches, Vol. 12, May 1, 1946, pp. 426-28.
- Rogers, Horatio R., and Sheldon Z. Kaplan, Toward a Law-Governed World, Washington, American Peace Society, 1948.
- Rogow, Abe, A Plan for Immediate and Lasting Peace, Bayonne, New Jersey, the author, 1943, 16p.
- Rolbiecki, John J., The Political Philosophy of Dante Alighieri, Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1922, xi + 210p.
- Rommen, Heinrich, The Natural Law, St. Louis, B. Herder, 1947, xi + 290p.
- , The State in Catholic Thought, St. Louis, B. Herder, 1945, viii + 747p.
- Roncalli, Guiseppa Angelo, "Catholics and UNESCO", Catholic Mind, June, 1953, pp. 321-323.
- Rosenburg, Alfred, Der Mythos des XX Jahrhunderts, Munich, Hoheneichen Verlag, 1936.
- Rosser, John H., World Charter, Brisbane, Australia, Forcoms Pty., 1943, 58p.
- Roucek, Joseph S., "One World Versus An Iron Curtain World",

- Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 258, July, 1948, pp. 59-65.
- Russell, Bertrand, "How World Government Can Be Achieved", New Leader, Vol. 31, March 6, 1948, pp. 8-9.
- Sabine, George, A History of Political Theory, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961, 763p.
- Schlipp, Paul A., "Millions Now Living Will Die-Unless", Motive, Vol. 8, March, 1948, pp. 5-7.
- Schonfield, Hugh J., By What Authority, London, Herbert J. Joseph, 1945, 175p.
- Schücking, Walther, Die Organisation Der Welt, Leipzig, Alfred Kroner, 1909, xii + 280p.
- Schuman, Frederick L., The Commonwealth of Man, New York, Alfred Knopf, 1952, xvi + 494p.
- Scott, James Brown, The Spanish Origin of International Law: Francisco de Vitoria and His Law of Nations, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1934, clviii + 288p.
- Shea, A. A., "Are We Getting Nearer World Government?", Saturday Night, 63, April, 1948, pp. 16-17.
- Shook, Glenn A., "Elements of a World Commonwealth", World Order, Vol. 12, August, 1946, pp. 147-151.
- Smith, Lawrence H., "U.S.A. and World Federation", Congressional Digest, Vol. 31, Nos. 8-9, August-September, 1952, pp. 193-224.
- Sohn, Louis B., "Weighting of Votes in an International Assembly", American Political Science Review, Vol. 38, 1944, pp. 1192-1203.
- Sorokin, Pitirim A., The Reconstruction of Humanity, Boston, Beacon Press, 1948, 247p.
- Speers, Wallace C., Coorder Nations, privately published, 1943.
- Spinka, Matthew, John Amos Comenius, That Incomparable Moravian, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1943, ix + 177p.
- Sprading, Charles J., The World State Craze, Los Angeles, Wetzel Publishing Co., 1954, 190p.

- Stanley, C. Maxwell, Waging Peace, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1956, 256p.
- Stratton, George M., International Delusions, New York, Houghton Mifflin, 1936, 232p.
- Strausz-Hupé, Robert, The Balance of Tomorrow, New York, Putnam's, 1945, 302p.
- Streit, Clarence and Pierce Butler, "Is World Government a Realistic Goal", Town Meeting, Vol. 18, No. 44, March 24, 1953.
- , Union Now, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1949, xiv + 324p.
- , World Government or Anarchy, Chicago, World Citizens Association, 1939, 57p.
- Taylor, Glen H., "Is There Hope for World Government?", Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Vol. 3, October, 1 1947, pp. 289-304.
- , et al., "Is World Government an Illusion", Reviewing Stand, December 7, 1947, p. 12.
- Thomas, Norman, World Federation: What are the Difficulties?, New York, Post War World Council, 1942, 23p.
- Town Meeting, Does the Atomic Bomb Make the World Government Essential Now? New York, Town Hall Bulletin, Vol. 11, No. 31, November 29, 1945, 24p.
- Toynbee, Arnold J., Civilization on Trial, New York, Oxford University Press, 1948, 263p.
- , "Men Must Choose", Atlantic, Vol. 191, 1953, pp.27-30.
- Urey, Harold C., I Am a Frightened Man, Washington, National Committee on Atomic Information, 1947, 8p.
- Usborne, Henry C., "The Crusade for World Government", Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Vol. 3, December, 1947, pp. 359-360.
- , Towards World Government, London, National Peace Council, 1946, 12p.
- Van Doren, Carl, The Great Rehearsal, New York, Viking, 1948, 336p.

- Van Doren, Mark and Walter Lippmann, "World Federation: Is It a Practicable Goal?", American Scholar, Vol. 17, No. 3, July, 1948, pp. 347-352.
- Van Slyck, Philip, Peace: The Control of National Power, New York, Fund for Education concerning World Peace through World Law, 1963, x + 126p.
- Von Mises, Ludwig, Omnipotent Government: The Rise of the Total State, and Total War, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1944, ix + 261p.
- Wallace, Henry, "Toward World Federation", New Republic, Vol. 118, February 23, 1948, pp. 1-10.
- Warburg, James P., Agenda For Action, White Plains, N.Y., Academy Books, Inc., xi + 211p.
- , The West in Crisis, New York, Doubleday, 1959, 192p.
- Welles, Sumner, "The Atomic Bomb and World Government", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 177, January, 1946, pp. 39-42.
- Wells, H.G., The New World Order, New York, Knopf, 1940, 145p.
- White, E.B., The Wild Flag, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1946, 159p.
- Whitton, John B., editor, The Second Chance: America and Peace, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1944, 235p.
- Whyte, Lancelot Law, Everyman Looks Forward, New York, Holt, 1948, 78p.
- Wigmore, J.H., "Constitutional Problems in the Coming World Federation", American Bar Association Journal, 28, August, 1942, pp. 526-28.
- Wofford, Harris, Jr., It's Up to Us, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1946, 146p.
- Wright, John J., National Patriotism in Papal Teaching, Westminster, Newman, 1955, liii + 358p.
- Wright, Quincy, "Accomplishments and Expectations of World Organization", Yale Law Journal, Vol. 55, No. 5, August, 1946, pp. 870-888.
- Wynner, Edith and Georgia Lloyd, Searchlight on Peace Plans,

New York, E. P. Dutton, 1949, xi + 607p.

Young, Michael, A World Settlement from the Trial of Adolph Hitler, New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1944, vii + 221p.

Ziff, William B., Two Worlds, New York, Harper, 1946, 335p.

ABSTRACT

THE WORLD STATE: A NECESSARY CONDITION FOR WORLD PEACE

by

Wm. Joseph Dooley

The overall plan of this study first describes such essential terms as "World State", necessary condition, and particularly the concepts of order and peace, with a clearly drawn distinction between international peace and world peace.

An historical survey shows that the ancient formal writings favoring the concept of universal state are minimal even if one does find names like Zeno, Cicero, Marcus Aurelius, Seneca, and St. Augustine. Coming to the Middle Ages one sees an author and philosopher that towers over all others - Dante Alighieri, who by his clarity and depth easily excels even the works of his successors in time, such as Henry IV of France, Emeric Crucé and Commenius, up until very modern times, when writers are nearly all a part of some wartime tradition. The account of the world state movement in the twentieth century is characterized by efforts to convert the League of Nations into a world state and now similar efforts are directed towards the United Nations.

The opposition to the world state movement has finally crystalized into three general categories: nationalism with its myth-laden sovereign states as the best possible

ABSTRACT

state form; Communism with its own plans for a Marxist dominated world; and internationalism, whose adherents stress an intensification of the functionalist approach to world peace among sovereign states.

In the same fashion that the world state is considered as necessary for world peace, so certain conditions must be fulfilled before a world state can successfully come into and remain in being. These necessary conditions, often so overstressed by some authors that they sound really like objections, can be divided into six groups: firstly, the relatively stable pre-existing world community; then, certain universal moral standards even if minimal in number; thirdly, a certain educational level to be reached by a sufficient number of people; fourthly, an attitude of loyal opposition and the peaceful interchange of rule; fifthly, a world state federal in form; and lastly, the world state myth with all its rational, poetic and romantic elements properly intermingled so as to fascinate peoples of this world into its favor.

The philosophical arguments favoring a world state are rooted in a careful analysis of the concept of world peace. Once the full import of the concept is clarified, the full necessity of a world state, whether it is obtainable or not, becomes quite obvious. The peace discussed in connection with world peace is the peace that is the product of order, specifically, political order that results from a

ABSTRACT

well managed government with true political authority. This peace consists in the harmonious living together of groups enjoying at least minimal concord and the tranquility of order, to borrow the Augustinian terminology. Order thus becomes the key word in the discussion of peace, and this order is the result of the proper disposition of things equal and unequal, that is, the rulers and the ruled. This type of order is possible only in what Scholastic philosophers call a perfect society, the society that has within itself the power and right to achieve truly the common temporal welfare, both in its negative and promotional aspects - which includes not least of all peace - for those in the geographical area of this society. World peace therefore postulates a political society with sufficient geographical inclusiveness to cover all the areas of the earth in need of peace. Again, our confrontation is with the world state.

An evaluation of the concept of sovereignty in its historical origins as well as in its practical effects, causes some Scholastics, chiefly Jacques Maritain, to reject the concept vigorously, since it was conceived with and provides the way for absolutism. Modern non-Scholastics see the present day use of the concept of sovereignty as largely mythical. As a philosophical concept held tenaciously by nation-states it is of no help to the formation of a world state. Nor should it be of any service to the world state either if it paves the way for world state despotism.

ABSTRACT

Multiple sovereignties in the same - now one world - neighborhood spell anarchy. A world state possessing all the implications of the modern concept of sovereignty could easily be an absolutistic world state in many ways offensive to the world common good of human rights.

Lastly, the Scholastic concept of subsidiarity, closely allied to the idea of the common good, also leads just as inexorably to the necessity of a world political order which in practice can be achieved only by a world state. The first prominent Scholastic to demonstrate this is Pope John XXIII, who, upon analyzing and extending the very idea of subsidiarity, shows how the very vastness and complexity and urgency of modern day problems can be handled only by a new public authority world wide, or nearly so, in its scope, simply because individual states can no longer tackle these problems with any hope of positive solution. This principle simply states that the private or the social or political agency or level that can best handle a function of common interest should be allowed to do so; and there should be no hesitation in shifting the handling of functions or services from a lower level of private enterprise or perhaps local government, to the higher level of national government or even world government, and vice-versa, when the common good calls for this shift or change. Thus the principle of subsidiarity, like the concept of the world common good, also brings us into confrontation with the world state concept.

ABSTRACT

The arguments of recent writers advocating world federation repeat the arguments connected with the Scholastic concept of subsidiarity, without of course, using that somewhat clumsy word. They likewise stress the need for world law, and the fear of common destruction from future nuclear warfare. Economic interdependence and the chaos of international anarchy with the attendant world inorganization are shown by Jacques Maritain and others to be at the very core of the problem of world order, world peace, and the world state.