

# REPORT ON WORLD GOVERNMENT

A Collection of Opinion

compiled by

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*David B. Wehmeyer*

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Oak Ridge, Tennessee  
November - December '45

Dear Sir:

Several of us who have been working for some time on the atomic bomb project have been meeting to discuss the problems accentuated by the harnessing of atomic energy. Realizing that another war could mean the destruction of the present civilization, we are trying to learn how war can be prevented.

Thus far we have concluded that lasting peace cannot be achieved by any system of confederation but only by a world government. But for it to be a true world government rather than a confederation, all nations must turn over to it all of their external sovereignty, including power to declare war and keep armies, to negotiate military and economic treaties, and to create tariffs and immigration laws. There would also have to be a world court backed by a world police force.

But we realize there are obstacles to be overcome. Differences in economic structure and lack of education in some countries preclude the necessary unified economy and social structure. Because of this we do not see how world government can now be established. Yet, we feel that this world government must be set up soon if another war is to be averted.

Thus we have reached a dilemma. Should an attempt be made to establish a true world government now, despite these differences? Should a compromise be made on the amount of sovereignty to be transferred? The latter automatically brings into being a confederation, which, if it is called a world government, may deceive and disillusion people. Should the United Nations Organization be utilized now, with the hope of turning this confederation into a world government later? This "later" may then be too late.

Because of your position and experience you are keenly aware of these problems. We would greatly value your opinion and advice concerning them. If you wish, we shall treat your reply as confidential.

Sincerely yours,

John L. Balderston, Jr.

Dieter M. Gruen

W.J. McLean

David B. Wickman



## INTRODUCTION

This report on the subject of World Organization is based on the answers we received to the above letter sent to 154 well-known people.

The letter was written as a result of considerable discussion among the four of us, who, because of our work with the Manhattan Project, felt especially apprehensive of allowing another war to take place. In our technical capacity we had decided that control of atomic bombs alone was impossible, unless war was at the same time abolished. We could imagine no control that would not break down upon the occurrence of war or the threat of it. Hence we had concluded that the problem should be attacked from the political standpoint--the abolition of war.

The report represents the current thought of at least 90 influential people on this topic. They expressed ideas about the basis for world order, the obstacles involved in working toward it, and a variety of means for reaching the desired goal. We thought that the suggestions offered were of such value that a compilation and comparison of many of them would be of general interest. Since we are not disinterested bystanders, some evidence of editing, small though we hope it be, is inherent in whatever manner we have treated this material.

We have taken the liberty of extracting from some of this matter a "Common Denominator" from which, we hope, the movement toward the formation of world order will be generated.

## The Atomic Bomb

"The mind resists this conclusion (the possibility of the destruction of world civilization), partly because of its horrible import, partly because of the many prophecies of doom that this generation has seen disproved. But this time there does not seem to be any very great degree of exaggeration. Before, it was not the scientists and the technicians who were doing the scaremongering, but the novelists and the publicists; now it is those who have the technical knowledge who are most alarmed and most alarming. Indeed the known facts prove the case. We know that gigantic rockets can be fired over considerable distances with considerable accuracy. We know that immense destructive power can be compressed into very small space. The two facts have only to be put together."

Geoffrey Crowther - The London Economist - Nov. 10, 1945

"...the atomic bomb finally upsets the balance between offense and defense. In the old days, the time needed for the victim of an attack to mobilize for defense was not significantly longer than the time the aggressor needed to win. The balance began to shift as soon as war was industrialized; in 1940 the defense required three years while the attack very nearly did the job in three weeks. Now the period for winning is to be measured in hours."

Geoffrey Crowther - The London Economist - Nov. 10, 1945

"The best defense the other nations have against the atomic bomb lies not in them, but in us. It lies in our form of government, in the character of our political institutions and our moral concepts, in the fact that civil liberty is supreme in the American Federal Union. Why is civil liberty the surest guarantee against aggressions? Mainly because the philosophy that gears government to liberty puts the highest value on the life, the dignity and the happiness of every person equally. It requires the most publicity in all public affairs, and the more publicity there is the more slowly the government can act and the less danger there is of its launching a surprise aggression."

Clarence Streit - address at Pittsburgh, Nov. 16, 1945

"I think the odds are about two to one that civilization will be wiped out in the next thirty years. To improve the chances, we have to work to make governments and populations realize the situation."

Bertrand Russell

".....We cannot wait even 50 years, much less 500, to set up world government."

Mortimer J. Adler

"Our best hope of beginning to build an international structure that can actually maintain peace lies in centering it around an increasing realization of the terrible danger inherent in the atomic bomb and the insistent necessity of finding an answer to that danger. It therefore becomes at least possible to take the first steps toward an effective world sovereignty to maintain peace by dealing with this outstanding present problem."

Jerry Voorhis



Report - Report on World Government

"The scientists can point out the danger, but we need statesmen with experience to devise appropriate action." *Irving Langmuir*

"The men of science, to whom politics is an alien art, find themselves suddenly faced with great responsibilities which they do not know how to fulfill. By their discoveries they have put immense powers, for good or evil, into the hand of ordinary men who have not the training required for a rapid change in age-old mental habits. The same intelligence which has enabled physicists to understand nuclei will enable them to understand politics, provided they realize that the problems are complex and that slap-dash solutions will not work." *Bertrand Russell*

"...atomic energy now supplies for the first time weapons which make it possible for a centralized world government to prevent wars between nations."

A. H. Compton - speech, Nov. 16, 1945

"But whatever the final plan for control, I do not see how any scheme could be made to work without inspection by a technical corps of experts."

James B. Conant - address before Foreign Policy Assoc., Pittsburgh, Nov. 21, 1945

"It is going to be relatively easy with modern means of airplane inspection to control the atomic bomb, as it is only necessary to keep an eye on the sources of uranium and thorium, which are very limited. So far as uranium is concerned, there are only two places in the world where any appreciable amount of it can be obtained. It is going to be very easy for international authority, with the aid of reconnaissance planes, to keep track of those spots."

*Robert A. Millikan*

"Certainly atomic bombs can be dealt with by UNO."

*Peter Edson*

"Under the auspices of the United Nations Organization, a corps of inspectors could be as embled, I believe, whose loyalty would be to the United Nations and whose honesty would be above reproach. These men, given free access to all plants of every industrialized country, would be public accountants, so to speak, to guarantee to the world the status of the plants concerned with atomic energy in each nation. These inspectors would have the right to go anywhere and see anything, but would be under oath to reveal to no one industrial secrets other than those connected with the development and use of atomic energy or the production of atomic bombs."

James B. Conant - address before Foreign Policy Assoc., Pittsburgh, Nov. 21, 1945

"....if we can get the corps of inspectors set up under the United Nations Organization, I believe that the subsequent development of the organization would not be too difficult, for to have the corps of inspectors function would require quite a new scheme of international relationships."

*James B. Conant.*

1947

Report - Report on World Government

"International control of atomic research or of the production of atomic bombs is impractical because:

- a. In capitalist countries such control is contrary to the practices and habits of competitive enterprise.
- b. In totalitarian countries such control would be unreliable.
- c. Only if nation-states grant each other complete freedom of industrial and military espionage (which is hardly conceivable) could such control be effective.
- d. So long as the danger of war between nation-states exists, some if not all governments will try to prevent international bodies on which potential enemy states are represented, from inspecting and supervising their laboratories and industries. Each great power will always do its utmost to lead in military science. Atom bomb production in remote parts of the American West, in Siberia, in the Sahara, in Patagonia, in underground factories anywhere, can never be effectively controlled, if, in spite of pledges, the governments of the respective nation-states decide on secrecy."

Emery Reves - Postscript to the Anatomy of Peace - Harpers

"We must admit that these agreements (renouncing the use of the A-bomb and providing inspection of mines, laboratories, and plants) are ineffectual in a world full of fear and mistrust. If the world is determined to have a war, these agreements will be violated and the system of inspection evaded. If the world is determined not to have a war, these agreements are unnecessary.

Robert M. Hutchins - The Atomic Bomb vs. Civilization - Human Events, Pamphlet No. 1

"Any effective control or inspection of armaments and research pre-supposes the sincere and wholehearted collaboration of the governments of the nation-states. If this were possible, there would be no danger of war and no need for any control."

Emery Reves - Postscript to the Anatomy of Peace - Harpers

"The prevention of an atomic war means the prevention of war, no more, no less."

Emery Reves

"No system of safeguards that can be devised will of itself provide an effective guarantee against production of atomic weapons by a nation bent on aggression."

Declaration by Truman, Atlee, King, Nov. 15, 1945

"It will be impossible to control (atomic energy) without inspection answerable to a central federal power. Inspection requires the existence of a super-sovereignty."

Raymond Swing, ABC Broadcast of August 24, 1945

1945



"The most important strongholds which national sovereignty must give up are military preparations, acts of war, and, above all, atomic research for war. The creation of a World Atomic Authority, whose competence must extend into all three of these fields, is of vital importance and can be easily achieved within the United Nations framework if the people of the world make it clear to their governments that this is their overwhelming desire. Once such central international authority exists, the danger of immediate misuse of atomic energy can be prevented, and humanity will have respite to develop the present United Nations concept into an effective system of world government."

Louis Dolivet - Free World - November, 1945

"Public opinion, it has so often and so rightly been said, would not tolerate it (a world state). But perhaps the public, after it has brooded on the atomic bomb for a little longer, and has realized how sharp the choice is between the world state and destruction, will change its mind. The only way of knowing is to find out, to ask the people to stand up and be counted. Herewith, for what it is worth, one vote is cast for the world state."

Geoffrey Crowther - The London Economist, November 10, 1945



NEED FOR WORLD GOVERNMENT

"....the general assembly of Tennessee does hereby solemnly declare that all peoples of the earth should now be united in a commonwealth of nations to be known as the Federation of the World."

Senate Joint Resolution #21 State of Tenn. passed 2-23-45

"The task is overwhelmingly and the chance of success is slight. We must take the chance or die."

Robert M. Hutchins - The Atomic Bomb vs Civilization - Human Events Pamphlet #1

"If we keep on with a series of total wars, we shall all become alike, dead or alive. Peace, paradoxically, would keep us apart, tending to our respective lives."

Mark Van Doren

"World peace is no more to be found in an anarchy of sovereign nations than domestic peace is to be found in an anarchy of sovereign individuals who recognize no law but their own desires."

Norman Thomas - A Socialist Looks at the United Nations, Syracuse Univ. Press

"One principle that has stood every test is that of federalism." Fyke Farmer, statement with resolution to the Am. Bar Assoc.

"History has revealed but one principle by which free people, inhabiting extensive territories, can unite under one government without impairing their local autonomy. That principle is federation...."

Senate Joint Resolution #21 State of Tenn. passed 2-23-45

"There is no alternative to the federation of all nations except endless war."

Senate Joint Resolution #21 State of Tenn. passed 2-23-45

"It will be just as easy for nations to get along in a republic of the world as it is for you to get along in the republic of the United States."

Harry S. Truman, speech at Kansas City June 28, 1945

"....we therefore urge that every possible effort of our delegates to the United Nations Organization be directed towards the ultimate goal of establishing a world republic...."

Senate Resolution 138 (now in Committee) introduced by Senator Glenn Taylor

"We must eventually have a World Government and surrender the sovereignty of individual nations. That is an ideal to work towards!"

Rufus Jones

Report - Report on World Government

"World government is not an 'ultimate goal' but an immediate necessity....The ultimate goal of our efforts must be the solution of our economic and social problems. What two thousand million men and women really want on this wretched earth is enough food, better housing, clothing, medical care and education, more enjoyment of culture and a little leisure. These are the real goals of human society, the aspiration of ordinary men and women everywhere. All of us could have these things. But we cannot have any of them if every ten or twenty years we allow ourselves to be driven by our institutions to slaughter each other and to destroy each other's wealth. A world-wide system of government is merely the primary condition to achieving these practical and essential social and economic aims. It is in no way a remote goal."

Emery Reves - Postscript to The Anatomy of Peace - Harpers

"Civil war may come within a world state if it is organized before there is a world community to support it. But such a war cannot be worse than the international war we shall have if we do not organize a world state."

Robert M. Hutchins - The Atomic Bomb vs Civilization - Human Events Pamphlet #1

"Differences in education are not greater between countries than they are within each country. Metropolitan men living in New York, Paris and Rio de Janeiro are much closer to each other and much more like-minded than are the sharecroppers of the South and the inhabitants of Manhattan, the Breton fishermen and the Parisians, the illiterates of Para and the highly cultured citizens of Rio. Also, standards of living, wage levels, methods of production, are as fundamentally different within individual nation-states as they are between them. But even if we admit the difficulties dividing the nations today, this is in no way an argument against, but for world government. Law and government do not represent a luxury for the like-minded who love each other. They are a necessity for people who are different and who dislike each other."

Emery Reves

"....a public opinion poll taken in Youngstown, Ohio, on the question of world government. People were asked if they favored a world government with relations between nations similar to the relationship between States in the United States. And they were also asked if they favored a limited world government now, to which all nations submit the complete control of aggressive weapons so that war can be abolished. To the first question -- an all-out world federation -- those with an opinion divided almost exactly two to one in favor of it. To the second question -- on a limited world government now, for the abolition of war -- eighty-eight and eight-tenths percent voted yes. For a typical midwestern industrial city the result is almost breath-taking."

Raymond Swing - Broadcast over ABC Jan. 25, 1946.



"pious resolutions by well-minded groups of impractical idealists cannot abolish drinking, crime, or war."

*H. V. Kaltenborn.*

"A world government is the ideal but it has the weakness of all ideals in the domain of human relations. Even if the people of the United States were in a frame of mind to submerge their sovereignty in a world government, are the other people of the earth prepared to do likewise? I doubt it."

*Eric Johnston.*

"If we have to start all over again to get a 'world government', it would delay matters and might prove an impossible project under present circumstances. You do not seem to realize that we are absolutely committed to the United Nations at present."

*Virginia Gildersleeve*

"A world government is today, in my opinion, altogether out of the question. Nations are antagonistic to each other; standards of living vary; standards of culture vary. As a matter of fact, the whole trend in both Europe and Asia is towards intensive isolation..."

*George Sokolsky*

"It is not a world government that we require; it is rather that man needs to restore a moral way of life. If morality were the guide of the principal nations, there would be no war. More or less, the peace was kept for a hundred years, from Waterloo to Sarajevo, certainly on the international scale, and that was because men were guided by moral ideas. As long as countries are not guided by any general principle but improvise from moment to moment and permit, even in their own thinking, the materialistic conception of Marxism to guide them, as Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin have done, there can be very little hope for world peace. Because when there is no respect for the dignity of Man, there is no reason why the strong should not destroy the weak." Our problem is to think in terms of the dignity and the worth of the individual man rather than in terms of a world government further to oppress Man."

*James T. Shotwell George Sokolsky*

"But to call for a world revolution in government, creating a world state with power to declare war and keep armies, to negotiate military and economic treaties and to create tariffs and immigration laws, and to back up a world court by world police force reaching to into the individual lives of citizens -- all of this is not constructive but reactionary. Where would the safeguards of individuals lie which we have worked out under the Bill of Rights, and which other nations have similarly developed?"

*James T. Shotwell*

"If we are to be obliged to admit all oriental peoples without any limitation whatever we cannot hope to maintain our institutions. They would be orientalized very soon."

*James T. Shotwell*

"At the present time Communist and Colonial Imperialism are vigorously dividing up the world and the nations so engaged certainly are not disposed to accept anything in the nature of a world government."

*Herbert Hoover*

"....there is no use in something which is called 'world government' if it does not achieve political unity and if the only result is that historians can call the next war a 'civil' war."

*John F. Dulles*

"Nor do I believe that it (true world government) is necessary."

*Irving Langmuir*

BASIS OF WORLD GOVERNMENT

"He (Mr. Eden) said there must be established a rule of law, but law must derive its power and observance from a definite source, and in studying this problem I am driven to ask, will law be observed if it is arrived at only by treaty and promises and decisions by governments as at present arranged? In all the years this has broken down so often..."

Ernest Bevin - House of Commons, November 23, 1945

"We all of us see the needs, I think, without any doubt. Just what distance we could go towards a World State might occasion many differences among us, but that is not the point. I think we all feel that the world has come to a time when it must create a centralized world organization of some sort which has real power and authority and which can maintain the peace." *Vannevar Bush*

"The steps taken must always be those which can be taken successfully. It would be catastrophic indeed to overload a central organization with responsibility before it has acquired that stability and prestige and acceptance which alone will enable it to carry responsibility." *Vannevar Bush*

"The first duty of government is to protect life and property, and when governments cease to perform this function, they capitulate on the fundamental principle of their *raison d'etre*."

Senate Joint Resolution #21, State of Tennessee, passed February 23, 1945

"The organic life of the human race is at last indissolubly unified and can never be severed, but it must be politically ordained and made subject to law. Only a government capable of discharging all the functions of sovereignty in the executive, legislative, and judicial spheres can accomplish such a task."

Senate Joint Resolution #21, State of Tennessee, passed February 23, 1945

"Either the community must succumb to anarchy or submit to the restraints of law and order." #21

Senate Joint Resolution, State of Tennessee, passed February 23, 1945.

"It is almost axiomatic that there can be no peace without order and no order without law."

Report on Dublin Conferences - New York Times, October 17, 1945

"It should not require an extended argument to persuade anyone that something is seriously wrong with our world order. Two wars within a quarter century should be sufficient proof. Likewise, it should be clear that the trouble is lack of law or rules of conduct, agreed upon and binding, upon all nations..... Peace and order have rarely, if ever, been achieved by good will alone."

Senator J. Fulbright - speech to Foreign Policy Association, New York, October 20, 1945



"What is idealism? And what is realism? Is it realistic to believe that treaties - which have been tried again and again and have always failed - will now miraculously work? And is it idealistic to believe that law - which has always succeeded wherever and whenever it was applied - will continue to work?"

Emery Reves - Postscript to *The Anatomy of Peace* - Harpers

"...we must have a legislative body to make laws - it may not be a full-fledged legislature but it must have that function. We must have an executive function in our police and inspection service and we must have a judiciary function in order to try offenders. We must recognize also that the sovereignty of the world government must reside in the people and that world government must make laws for its citizens, not for the states."

*Harold C. Urey*

"Neither courts nor policemen can do much without an adequate body of law behind them. A police force ought to work automatically, as previously instructed by law. With no laws, and with no body to make them, an international force cannot perform in the manner of a police force. No act of violence, however flagrant, will enable the military contingents of the World Organization to go into action immediately. In every case they must await the decision of the Security Council."

John F. Dulles - Foreign Affairs, October, 1945

"One mandatory task of the General Assembly is to encourage the development and codification of international law. This is of extreme importance, since, as we have seen, lack of law is a principal weakness of the present situation. However, to achieve a body of written law enforceable against the states as such is a most difficult project. 'The Federalist' said that thinking men would at once dismiss it as idle and visionary, and added, 'The principle of legislation for Sovereign States, supported by military coercion, has never been found effectual. It has rarely been attempted to be employed, but against the weaker members.' There is however an alternative to legislation for states, namely, the adoption of laws to operate upon individuals. This avenue of development is being explored today, when considerations of justice have brought the United Nations to postulate the existence of an international law enforceable against individual Germans..."

If an effort were made to develop international law for individuals rather than for states, then the criteria we have mentioned could largely be met."

John F. Dulles - Foreign Affairs, October, 1945

"Individual criminal responsibility under world law is not only feasible, but its employment is absolutely essential for the prevention of war."

Fyke Farmer, Statement with resolution to the American Bar Association.

"...law, law which impinges not upon aggregates called nation-states, but upon the individuals composing those states, is the answer to the problem of world peace."

*Owen J. Roberts*

"Plans for world government which call for a world legislature and a world executive take hold of the problem at the hardest and least hopeful and probably also the least desirable end. The right end at which to begin is, I believe, to establish the principle that there are crimes for which an individual anywhere can be tried and punished under international law, crimes for which his own government cannot give him immunity, crimes which no government can order him to commit without the members of that government becoming themselves international criminals."

Walter Lippmann - New York Herald-Tribune, November 17, 1945

"The use of force against a state would look more like a declaration of war than an infliction of punishment, and would probably be considered by the party attacked as a dissolution of all previous compacts by which it might be bound."

James Madison - quoted by Walter Lippmann - New York Herald Tribune, November 24, 1945

"The great advantage in making a violation an individual crime is that the violation of the law by a state planning aggression will then be much more difficult. Every scientist, engineer, staff officer, and official who participates in that violation will be on notice that, if caught, he will have no immunity. That is an impressive risk, which would exist for each one of them not only in the event that his country was defeated, but also during the period when his government was preparing for aggression. Furthermore, the fact that the crime had been made personal would mean that the opposition in any country.... could count upon a high degree of protection from the law-abiding states."

Walter Lippmann - New York Herald Tribune, November 24, 1945

"If we are to have world government, even of the most limited kind, it would have to operate against individuals. In the field of inspection alone - in controlling the making of weapons - it would have to have the power not only to enter factories and laboratories everywhere; it would have to have the power, too, to make arrests and prosecute those who violate the law of world organization. That is the test to measure proposals for turning over the atomic bomb to the Security Council, with power to inspect and control it. If the inspection and control are not against individuals, the proposals are not coming to grips with the problem. If they are against individuals, they're the beginning of world government and hence of the abolition of war."

Raymond Swing - broadcast over ABC, September 14, 1945

"However, there is a way, I believe, by which the (atomic energy) commission can deal with its task which opens up immense possibilities for good. That is to invoke the principle that rules and regulations agreed to by the government shall become binding upon individuals.... This is not an unprecedented proposal. In Article III of the Washington Treaty of 1922 dealing with submarine warfare and poison gas, it is set down that, "any person in the service of any power who shall violate any of those rules, whether or not such person is under orders of a governmental superior, shall be deemed to have violated the laws of war and shall be liable to trial and punishment..."

Walter Lippmann - New York Herald Tribune, November 17, 1945



"Do I fear the tyranny of a world government? Of course I do. But I fear still more the coming of another war of wars."  
Einstein-Swing - Atlantic Monthly - Readers Digest, December, 1945

"... I would also put more stress on individual freedom. Throughout our history Americans have always stressed freedom as the purpose for which they made government. To organize government otherwise is to organize tyranny. I am appalled at the present tendency, particularly among the rising generation, to treat this truth lightly, or disregard it, in considering the problem of world government. I think it needs to be kept in mind as No. 1 in organizing world government, because individual freedom is not only a great good in itself, but it provides the surest guarantee against aggressive war."

Clarence Streit

"That is why free press and free news can be a most effective engine for peace. The freer the press is in any country, the less possible it is for that country or its government to launch or to prepare to launch war against any other country, least of all the only kind of aggressive war that needs to be feared in these modern times - surprise attack."

Clarence Streit - address quoted in the Congressional Record, December 14, 1944

"But it is the people whom we can trust. It is their national governments in the hands of irresponsible and power-crazed leaders, that we cannot trust."

Fyke Farmer, statement sent with resolution of American Bar Association.

"I feel certain that no international government will work unless its formation is at the behest, because believed to be for the benefit of, the individual citizens of the nations comprising the Union. I say that the parties in interest are the individuals themselves and that when they determine to create a higher form of agency to take care of interests common to all of them, no matter to what nation each belongs, there is no surrender of sovereignty by any nation."  
Owen J. Roberts

\* \* \* \* \*

"...a government whose laws deal with individuals and not with states cannot survive unless it has the support of the majority of the people who live under it.... If the views of one man are to be determinative as to whether 180 million people in Russia come under the realm of an international statute, then the views of that one man can render enforcement of the statute within his nation abortive."  
Owen J. Roberts

\* \* \* \* \*

"The danger of international breakdown is far too great to discuss in generalities such as "world government""

Michael Straight.

BASIS FOR LIMITED WORLD GOVERNMENT

"In the light.... of the implications of the development of atomic energy, the harder it is to see a solution in anything short of some surrender of national sovereignty. With a limited surrender of national sovereignty there must be instituted some form of world government restricted, at least at the outset, to matter pertaining to the prevention of war..."

P.M. Mackenzie King - House of Commons

"I believe the ideal of world government can be approached in stages. In the first instance governments should give up in favor of a central world organization all rights to possess weapons of large scale destruction.... This body, elected directly by the people,...."

*M. L. Oliphant*

"More progress will be made by proceeding a little way on the right road than by trying to make a long jump and failing to advance at all."

*Harold Burton*

"With reference to a world government, I believe that this will be a matter of gradual evolution and slow growth. If we can secure it within fifty or a hundred years it would be extraordinary. In the present state of the world and the mentality of mankind, I do not believe that such a government can be projected at one "fell swoop".... My personal opinion is that there is sufficient intelligence and altruism among the Big Three to keep us from committing suicide, for a period of at least fifty years. Within that time enormous strides in the world will be made. The standard of intelligence and education of the vast sections of our world population, who are not yet capable of making a world government work, will have increased tremendously..."

*Joseph E. Davies.*

"In my view the world-state need only be the sole repository of military power, so that no single state shall be in a position de facto to use on its own motion the military resources and troops stationed in its territory; this could be secured with reasonable certainty by a thoroughgoing international exchange of officers and men. In order that the world state may not overstep its mandate, which at first has reference only to the avoidance of war and to such developments inside single states as indicate a danger of war, there must be a permanent world court. .... Each single state must have the right to summon the court.... The basis for the decisions of this court of justice must be a carefully framed constitution accepted by the participating states which lays down as precisely as possible the duties and powers of the administration of the world-state."

*Albert Einstein*

"It is entirely clear that there is only one way in which great wars can be prevented, and that is the establishment of an international government with a monopoly of serious armed force. When I speak of an international government, I mean one that really governs, not an amiable facade like the League of Nations, or a pretentious sham like the United Nations as under its present constitution. An international government, if it is to

*Bertrand Russell*



be able to preserve peace, must have ..... whatever is necessary to make it irresistible. The monopoly of armed force is the most necessary attribute of the international government, but it will, of course, have to exercise various governmental functions. It will have to decide all disputes between different nations, and will have to possess the right to revise treaties. It will have to be bound by its constitution to intervene by force of arms against any nation that refuses to submit to its arbitration. Given its monopoly of armed force, such intervention will be seldom necessary and quickly successful. It will not stay to consider what further powers the international government might profitably possess, since those that I have mentioned would suffice to prevent serious wars."

"This world government would have power over all military matters, and only one further power, that is to interfere in countries where a minority is oppressing a majority and thus creating the kind of instability that leads to war. Conditions that exist in Argentina and Spain should be dealt with."

Einstein-Swing-Atlantic Monthly - Readers Digest - December

"While it is true that in the Soviet Union the minority rules, I do not consider that internal conditions there are of themselves a threat to world peace. One must bear in mind that the people in Russia did not have a long political education, and changes to improve Russian conditions had to be carried through by a minority for the reason that there was no majority capable of doing it."

Einstein-Swing - Atlantic Monthly - Readers Digest - December 45

"I appreciate that there are persons who approve of world government as the ultimate objective, but favor a gradual approach to it. The trouble with taking little steps, one at a time, is that while they are being taken, we continue to keep the bomb without making our reason convincing to those who do not have it. That itself creates fear and suspicion, with the consequence that the relation of rival sovereignties deteriorate dangerously. So while persons who take only a step at a time may think they are approaching world peace, they are actually contributing to the coming of war."

Einstein-Swing - Atlantic Monthly - Readers Digest December 45

"A certain minimum of powers is necessary to a federation, but whether immediate and complete control of tariffs and immigration is among them is debatable. In federating, Australia wrestled with these problems and provided a period of several years for adjustment of tariff barriers between states. Switzerland has many interesting provisions concerning division of jurisdiction between the member cantons and the federal government. Cantons are allowed to carry on foreign relations to some extent, and the cantons do not permit the federal government to maintain a standing army. Under the Constitution of the German Empire of 1870 all adult males could vote in federal elections, although some states were republics and some autocracies which allowed no franchise themselves. Some workable compromise about the amount of jurisdiction to give the



world government is within the realm of possibility I sincerely believe -- a compromise which would not endanger federal structure. The beauty of the federal system is that it is so flexible, and in the unity permits so much diversity."

Georgia Lloyd

"Maybe I should have explained that in saying we have only a few years to get started on world government, I had no thought that world government can be achieved fully in that time. It will come but much more slowly. I was thinking of a limited government, dealing only with those matters which cannot be left to the individual states without danger that they will destroy each other and civilization. It would be a world government vested with the power to control the making of atomic bombs and rocket bombs. That is how it must start. From there it can grow into something more -- and I think that it will -- and so bring only more and more happiness and solidarity to the human family. But it cannot be launched for these ultimate aims and achieved soon, since lasting social institutions have to grow slowly. But in a great emergency, when states or civilization are in peril, emergency action must be taken."

*Raymond Swing*  
Broadcast over ABC Aug. 31, 1945

"As a practical proposition, a world government which would have complete control of all international relations, extending not only to military preparations but also to such things as tariffs, currency, immigration laws, and numerous other fields, is impossible at the moment. On the other hand, I do not believe that such a full fledged government is essential to prevent war. I think that if we confined ourselves to seeking the minimum grant of power to a world organization necessary to control preparations for war and war making and within these strictly limited fields give the UNO Assembly law making power, we would meet the immediate challenge. Then through such agencies as the Bretton Woods proposal and through the Economic and Social Council we could move gradually in the other fields."

*Joseph Ball*

"To be the only one with authority to use the bomb is no guarantee that somebody without authority will not use it. So that is no security. And if the World Security Council is the only authority to make as well as use the bomb, then it is something much, much more than the existing World Security Council. It is what I advocated, the beginning of world government. For to be the only one to make the bomb requires power. The Supreme Security Council would have to be the only sovereign in this domain, and would have to clip the sovereignty of all otherwise sovereign states. And that would be a super-sovereignty and the start of world government."

Raymond Gran Swing - broadcast over ABC August 31 1945

"I am willing to sit with anybody, of any party, of any nation, to try and devise a franchise or a constitution - just as other great countries have done - for a world assembly, as the Right Honorable Gentleman (Mr. Edon) said, with a limited objective - the objective of peace. Once we can get to that stage I believe we have taken a progressive step. In the meantime, there must be no weakening of the institution which my Right Honorable Friends built in San Francisco. It must be the prelude to further development.

This must not be considered a substitute for it, but rather a completion or a development of it so that the benefit of the experience and administration derived in that institution may be carried to its final end. From the moment you accept that, one phrase goes, and that is 'international law'. That phrase presupposes conflict between nations. It would be replaced by 'world law'.....with a world judiciary to interpret it, with a world police to enforce it, with the decision of the people with their own votes resting in their own hands, irrespective of race or creed, as the great world sovereign elected authority which would hold in its care the destinies of the people of the world."

Ernest Bevin - House of Commons - Nov. 23 1945

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....."But any intervention, such as that which Professor Einstein proposes, upon the part of his world government, in the internal affairs of independent peoples, for the sole purpose of imposing upon them a standardized form of government or a particular brand of political philosophy, would subject the nations of the world to a dictatorship exercised by the Big Three, with all other peoples as abject serfs. No free world can be founded upon such a concept. It was precisely in order to prevent the establishment of such a world that the vast majority of the United Nations fought through to final victory over the Axis powers.

Sumner Welles

*Atlantic Monthly, Jan. 1946*

....."What Professor Einstein seems to me to overlook, in his insistence that moving slowly means war, is that from the standpoint of existing facts it is an utter impossibility to do anything else than move slowly until the mutual fears and suspicions existing between so many nations of the world have been ended. How can these fears and suspicions be ended until and unless all nations, and particularly the Big Three, work together within the United Nations Organization and thus little by little discover by actual proof that there exist no valid reasons and no basic causes for their mutual fears and suspicions?"

Sumner Welles

*Atlantic Monthly, Jan. 1946*



OBSTACLES

"I see no possibility of getting very large groups of people scattered all over the world to agree on anything."

*C.F. Kettering*

"All propositions concerning a world state flounder on the problem of what sort of world state. Capitalist? Cooperative? Communist? Parliamentary?"

Dorothy Thompson - On the Record - December

"Inequalities of living standards, natural resources, productive capacity, etc., make it so difficult to establish an international order that we ought to be patient with the slow and cautious moves of the nations towards such a development. There are a thousand jealousies to be considered. I believe that our government is moving as fast as conditions will allow."

*Will Durant*

"But I do not agree that economic and educational differences in the present world make world government impossible now. They simply make it necessary. If there were the unified economy and social structure....we should not be talking about the need of government. Government is what makes different peoples able to live together."

Mark Van Doren

"The thirteen original Colonies had to overcome difficulties to achieve federation. Their success was a great glory to our forefathers, but the differences in culture, religion, and economic status between the colonies were as nothing compared to the differences between the peoples of America and Africa or Asia in a world where the majority are illiterate and less than 20% have had even elementary experience with popular suffrage."

Norman Thomas - A Socialist Looks at the United Nations,  
Syracuse Univ. Press

"Underneath the surface the nations are still playing the old game of power politics; and I find no evidence that they displease their citizens by anything but failure in the game." *Will Durant*

"Once I was inclined to think that the economic motive, the desire for profit or gain or deliverance from exploitation for other's gain was the tap root of war. Now I think love of power is almost equally important. Power is something that strong rulers desire intensely. Plain people, themselves without power, find a curious vicarious satisfaction in contemplating the power of their nation. Sometimes they rationalize it as a condition of their own security...."

"Another motive that drives nations to war is the urge to defend or to advance their own prejudices.... Now these motives which lead to war are found within nations as well as between nations.... Within these nations there is law which can be enforced to which men can appeal, and there are ways of changing laws. When conditions are felt to be unjust, orderly processes are employed without the horrible violence of war."

Government as a guarantee of domestic peace is so important that the wisest students who seek the cause and cure of war believe that the first requisite for abiding peace is to establish a government of law over nations; a law that can be enforced and which provides for adaptation to changing conditions in an orderly fashion."

Norman Thomas - A Socialist looks at the United Nations -  
Syracuse University Press

"The greatest danger is that we are already going back to the old road of power politics, and that power politics by its very nature must produce the same results as in the past." *Lin Yutang*

"I find, after much sampling of opinion in many states, that few Americans are prepared to let an international government determine their foreign policy, their military conscription and allocation and direction, etc.; and weak though Britain is, I doubt if her proud Foreign Office would yield an inch of self-determination to any UFO not dominated by Anglo-Saxon votes. Russia has apparently no faith in collective security as a substitute for national self-protection."

*Will Durant*

"The obstacles to world government, or even to a modest system of federation demanding a partial waiving of sovereign rights, are numerous; but the most serious of them consists of the fact that there exists at the present time many fanatical religions of patriotism as there are nations or would-be nations. In every country the local religion of patriotism is deliberately taught in the state schools and has its preachers and prophets among men of letters, orators, journalists, business men, etc. Patriotism is of two kinds - that natural and, so to say, animal attachment of a man to the place of his birth, to the familiar surroundings of childhood, the familiar ways of life; and, second, the artificial patriotism towards a national unit, towards which no instinctive or animal feeling is possible. - Hence the necessity of teaching patriotism on the national scale. - But because national patriotism has to be taught, it does not follow that it is not a powerful and compelling sentiment. That there can be any form of world government or even of federation, while nationalistic patriotism is taught in every school throughout the planet, seems to me quite impossible. And unfortunately the stopping of such teaching would not automatically change the thought patterns of the adults who underwent that indoctrination in the past. Meanwhile, I continue to hammer away at the ancient theme that idolatry, or the worship of parts as though they were supreme values, is a bad thing and can only lead to catastrophes that must become progressively worse as applied science becomes progressively more efficient. A little monotheism might be a good thing for a change."

*Aldous Huxley*

"... the whole problem of the future is in the first place a problem of American domestic politics. Important as it may be to the the materialization of a better world that Russian socialism develop in the direction of democracy, - it seems even more important to me that American democracy develop in the direction of socialism, as she had started to do under Roosevelt. The trouble is that a tenacious and stubborn resistance which today has even become vicious and menacing is being offered on the part of a social strata which,



when speaking of liberty, thinks of its own privileges and profits and which will stop at nothing ~~to~~ to prevent a development which alone can place this country at the head of the movement for a social revival of the world."

*Thomas Mann*

"...difference in economic systems between Russia and the United States is a major obstacle."

*Mortimer Adler*

"The great falacies of western economic thinking have lain in the idea that any system of economics is an end in itself. Marx, who after all came out of the west, tended to this mistake, but so too did the proponents of Economic Man and the conception of the immutable market system. We can now see better that the market system, that capitalism, is but a servant. It exists by no divine right. Its Charter papers are not in heaven... But if a means rather than an end, capitalism is not the monster so dear to the oratory of the leftward looking intelligentzia... There are worse ways of organizing the work of the world than the free market.... The day when the profit system is anachronism may well come. Perhaps it has already arrived in Europe, as Christian Socialists so eagerly insist. But for the U.S. that day is not yet..."

Not Peace but a Sword - Fortune - January 1946

"...it seems to me that it is possible to create a firm organization which can preserve peace without giving it jurisdiction over these two fields (tariffs and immigration), although they certainly would be advisable."

*William L. White*

"1. Can the member states in a federal union be essentially diverse from one another in political constitution, and some of them, therefore, be diverse from the federal constitution itself? - Let us call this the problem of diverse constitutions.

2. Can there be a radical diversity of economics within a single polity? Can the member states in a federal union have diverse and antagonistic economic systems? - Let us call this the problem of diverse economics.

3. Is there a political device which stands to representative government, as representative government stands to direct participation in government? - Note: The Federalists argued that representative institutions made it possible to establish a government competent for a much larger territory and population than direct government could manage. As they used representation to solve the problems of federal union arising from size, can we find X -- the third term in the proportion -- to solve the problems of federal union arising from diversity of conditions, notably the two mentioned above?

4. If we fail at solving problem 3, then we must solve the problem of representation, which is: What shall be the principles by which a world legislature shall be constituted -- a bicameral or monistic legislature, representation by states, by populations, by power, etc.?

5. Since the world includes both states and tribes - or in Aristotles's terminology villages and states, non-political and political communities - how shall the 'primatives' -- the non-political communities -- be treated? Shall the constitution of a world government make a distinction between states and territories? Shall some people be initially excluded from citizenship, treated as wards of the world government, and subsequently become qualified for admission as a political unit?



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6. Are there religious obstacles to world federal government? For example, if some of the great religions of the world involve a hieratical or caste system, would this conflict with a principle of human equality and universal suffrage; and if so, would the principle have to be surrendered?

7. Since we have had the experience of the conflict between state's rights and federal authority, and the experience of a civil war involving the question of secession, can we formulate a world federal constitution which will legally anticipate such issues and provide due process of law for the solution of such probable conflicts, thus avoiding the need for recourse to civil violence?

8. How many levels of sovereignty shall be recognized by a world federal constitution, i.e., shall the same individual be a citizen relative to two, three, or more sovereign governments? Or, in other words, into how many partial jurisdictions shall the whole of internal sovereignty be divided, and how shall these jurisdictions be hierarchically ordered to one another? (Note: This problem arises from the analogy of world union and the American union; but perhaps it is a false problem because the analogy fails).

9. How shall popular sovereignty be recognized as the source of all the derivative sovereignty of political institutions at every level of government—local and federal? That is, what shall be the processes of ratification for a world federal constitution: by states or by men; and if by states, how shall it ultimately be the expression of the popular will and consent? (In this connection we ought to consider the Dublin proposal that the people of the United States be asked to vote on an amendment to our own Constitution, making it constitutional for the United States to join a world federal union as a subordinate member state, with explicit recognition of the consequences of such an act: e.g., the abolition of the State Department, of diplomats, of army and navy, of immigrations restrictions, of tariff restrictions, etc.)

10. The creation of a world state by world federation not only abolishes the external sovereignty of all the member states, but also, and more radically, abolishes all external sovereignty whatsoever; for the world state can have no external sovereignty since there are no states external to it. This last fact raises our most difficult problem. Does not the very meaning of "state" change when a state stands in no relation to other independent states, when it is not a one among a many, but only a one made up of a many? In this critical fact lies the greatest difference between world federal union and historical federations of restricted extent (such as the Swiss, Soviet or American unions). Must we not check every inference by consideration of the main point of negative analogy—that world federation will be a union of unrestricted extent? (Note: The tremendous significance of this can be readily seen by observing that it has always been a principle of politics that the cohesion of a political group depends on two sets of factors: internal unifying factors and external oppositions. If all external oppositions are removed, what effect will this have on the cohesiveness of a world union? And what steps can be taken to compensate for this defect?)

11. How does the bi-polarity of the power situation in the world today affect world union. All, or most, of the great historical examples of federation or union, embody the principle of e pluribus unum. Though nominally a world federal union would also be e pluribus, it would be actually e duo (U.S. and Russia). How does this fact affect our thinking?"

Mortimer Adler

\* \* \* \*

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"In practice, the doctrine of national sovereignty has amounted merely to this: A nation is entitled to anything it can get away with. Only the strong have been able to realize sovereignty even relatively....The sovereignty of the weak is a joke when it is in conflict with the power of the strong."

Norman Thomas - A Socialist Looks at the United Nations - Syracuse Univ. Press.

"There never can be any government of nation-states, by nation-states, and for nation-states. The very nature of national governments prohibits their submission to any independent sovereignty. When international law comes in conflict with national law, it gives ground."

Fyke Farmer - statement with a resolution pending before the American Bar Assoc.

"Has any citizen of an American state, say New York State, lost anything of his sovereignty that is worth keeping, by being a citizen of the United States? Mark you, he is outvoted in our federal union. Quite definitely he can't make war on his neighbors Pennsylvania or Vermont. But isn't he, in fact still more sovereign, in being a citizen of the United States than if he were only a citizen of New York?"

Raymond Swing - broadcast over ABC - Nov. 30, 1945

"We....can, if we choose,....establish a central authority charged with the responsibility of preventing outbreaks of violence. In doing this we will not be surrendering but will be exercising sovereignty."

Fyke Farmer - statement sent with resolution to the American Bar Assoc.

"And this world (living in perpetual fear) is particularly explosive, because it seems destined to be a bi-polar world. Only the United States and Russia will be major powers; there will be no question of who is the enemy of whom, if there are enmities. This fact limits the possibility of world government, which would require both these powers to sink their individual urge toward dominance and their individual sovereignty in a world state."

Robert M. Hutchins - The Atomic Bomb vs Civilization - Human Events Pamphlet #1.

"Our country should be prepared to offer great concessions of sovereignty in order to secure an effective working organization. I, personally, would put no limits whatever to the concessions we could afford to make--provided of course that other nations (and to me, this means the Soviet Union) also agree to make the same ones...."

William L. White.

"The fact is, no one ever surrenders sovereignty; they merge it into a greater sovereignty."

Ernest Bevin - House of Commons - Nov. 23, 1945

"I think it is a misstatement to speak of nations relinquishing, surrendering, or turning over all or any part of 'Their' sovereignty. In my view a nation such as our own--call it a Republic or a Democracy as you please--has no power to surrender any of its sovereignty or its functions....Just as the people of the various states were at liberty to withdraw certain functions from their own states and confer those functions on another agency superior to their states, so the people

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of the world...are competent to transfer to, or confer on, a government of higher order than their particular nations, such powers as they choose. It will be for the peoples of the world to determine the extent of the grant."

Owen J. Roberts

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"Although people speak of the "Big Three" or the "Big Five", there are in fact two powers, the United States and the U.S.S.R., which far surpass all others in strength. All other important Powers, including Great Britain, are I think, prepared to acquiesce in the limitations of national sovereignty that are called for by the atomic bomb. This is not owing to any superior wisdom, but because their national sovereignty is already at the mercy of the Big Two. The problem of establishing an international authority is therefore a problem of which the solution rests with America and Russia."

Bertrand Russell

"The enigma at the moment is Russia, which is certainly a dictatorship with little regard for the human rights which we think essential....Let the erosion go on! The desertions from the Red Army in Czechoslovakia and the reluctance of thousands of Russian ex-slaves of the Axis to return to Russia suggest that Stalin, like other dictators, will someday have to make concessions to the democratic upsurge. When that time comes, and we can deal with the Russian people as we now deal with other peoples, the world will be ready for the degree of federation called for by the new facts of life."

Editorial SatEvePost, Oct. 20, 1945

"I should like to say, however, that I don't consider the Soviet economic system (if this can be separated from its political system) as an obstacle to a properly functioning world organization. The prices they set and the wages they pay within their own borders need be no great concern to the outside world. If they were an important factor in world trade, it is true that their somewhat arbitrary system of price-fixing and dumping in world markets might create a certain amount of disorganization from time to time. The fact of the matter is, however, that they never will be an important factor in world markets, largely for the reason that they are a self-contained unit and will increasingly devote more and more of their production to their domestic needs."

William L. White

"Today we have so many differences in viewpoint with the Soviet Union that we can't even arrive at a mutually satisfactory definition of our ultimate objectives."

William L. White

"Compared with what wars can do to us, the difference between Russia's economy and ours seems to me a trifling matter. As a matter of fact it is not a trifling matter, but why not let it be discussed in a convention to which Russia had been invited? Why assume that discussion is impossible? Let it break down there, not here in Oak Ridge and New York. Let this first step be taken at any rate--the invitation to a world constitutional convention. If certain nations decline, that will be that. But why is anybody assuming beforehand that one or another of them will decline?"

Mark Van Doren

1945

"The question of Russia is a real one. There again, however, we can only discover if she will join by getting this country to the point where it is willing to present the Soviet with the opportunity."

*Cord Meyer, Jr.*

"Russia, since it is a dictatorship in which public opinion has no free means of expression, can only be dealt with on the governmental level. Stalin and Molotov, or their successors, will have to be persuaded that it is to the national interest of Russia to permit the creation of an effective international government. I do not think the necessary persuasion can be effected except by governments, especially the government of the United States. Nor do I think that the persuasion can be effected by arguments of principle. The only possible way, in my opinion, is by a mixture of cajolery and threat, making it plain to the Soviet authorities that refusal will entail disaster, while acceptance will not.

The policy most likely to lead to peace is not one of unadulterated pacifism. A complete pacifist might say: 'Peace with Russia can always be preserved by yielding to every Russian demand'. This is the policy of appeasement pursued with disastrous results, by the British and French governments in the years before the war that is now ended. I myself supported this policy on pacifist grounds, but I now hold that I was mistaken. Such a policy encourages continually greater demands on the part of the Power to be appeased, until at last some demand is made which is felt to be intolerable, and the whole trend is suddenly reversed. It is not by giving the appearance of cowardice or unworthy submission that the peace of the world can be secured.

In dealing with the Soviet Government, what is most needed is definiteness. The American and British governments should state what issues they consider vital, and on other issues they should allow Russia a free hand. Within this framework they should be as conciliatory as possible. They should make it clear that genuine international cooperation is what they most desire. But although peace should be their goal, they should not let it appear that they are for peace at any price. At a certain stage, when their plans for an international government are ripe, they should offer them to the world, and enlist the greatest possible amount of support. I think they should offer them through the medium of the United Nations. If Russia acquiesced willingly, all would be well. If not, it would be necessary to bring pressure to bear, even to the extent of risking war, for in that case it is pretty certain that Russia would agree. If Russia does not agree to join in forming an international government, there will be war sooner or later; it is therefore wise to use any degree of pressure that may be necessary. But pressure should not be applied until every possible conciliatory approach has been tried and has failed.

If any of the things we value are to survive, the problem must be solved. How it can be solved is clear; the difficulty is to persuade the human race to acquiesce in its own survival. I cannot believe that this task is impossible."

*Bertrand Russell*

"However, if I were Truman and Attlee, I think I would do this: I would point out to Stalin the unworkableness of all this and say that the atomic bomb had made obsolete the structure set up at San Francisco. Then I would say frankly to him that if he refused to consent to amendments which would abolish this veto power and in its place set up an organization with real power, including a world court to settle disputes and a world police force to enforce the decisions of this court, the Western democracies would then be forced to set up their own organization of this kind."



"As the situation now stands, they (the USSR) are rather smugly content with the present situation. They are the largest land-power in Europe and in Asia and why should they be interested in a new organization which would curb that power. I think, being realists, they would put every possible obstacle in the way of its formation, and when they saw they could not prevent this, they would quickly join it."

*William L. White*

"And in this whole situation, its most important secret weapon is the certainty that the democracies will never use the atomic bomb in a surprise attack. It is in fact impossible for a democracy to undertake a surprise attack .... Now, in your weapon, the element of surprise is the essence of the whole thing.... The Soviet people study our public opinion and the machinery of our democratic processes thoroughly, and they know that such an attack on them would be impossible. This is why they don't consider the atomic bomb a threat to them."

*William L. White*

"We cannot know what Russia will accept unless and until we propose something."

Joseph H. Ball -- speech at Cincinnati - Nov. 9, 1945.

## GENERAL

"It is too probable that no plan we propose will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained. If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterwards defend our work."

George Washington

"Everything should be done to remove or diminish fear among nations and nothing should be done to cause or increase it."

Robert M. Hutchins - The Atomic Bomb vs Civilization - Human Events pamphlet #1.

"One of the measures best calculated to allay mistrust would be to disclose the so-called secret of the atomic bomb. This would show that we have no intention of using it."

Robert M. Hutchins - The Atomic Bomb vs Civilization - Human Events pamphlet #1.

"I consider that it would be very dangerous to participate in a weak international agreement. I believe that this country would be better off with no agreement than with one that could be violated easily by some of its participants."

*Enrico Fermi*

"And it seems to me that both those who take the legal, and those who take the ideal road to glory might find a common ground.... It is precisely this lack of agreement which closes doors equally to world government and to development of a united nations organization."

Samuel Grafton - NY Post - Nov. 29, 1945.

"At certain moments in history one must regard not only the course which should be taken if one were alone responsible for the action, but rather the course we are likely to get as a resultant of all the forces, including our own."

*Anonymous Marine quoted by Gardner Cowles*

"By and large, in this democracy, we get just about the kind of leadership from our public officials that we want and deserve. If we are so confused that we don't know what we want, or too lazy to think things through and decide what we want, then we get no leadership at all and the nation drifts, as it is drifting today, towards chaos."

Joseph H. Ball - speech before Foreign Policy Institute Cincinnati - Nov. 9

"Politicians and diplomats are trained in evasion and ambiguity; they will offer a sham which can be obtained with little effort rather than an effective measure that is sure to encounter strenuous opposition, but they will dress up the sham so skilfully that many people will be deceived. Nevertheless, those to whom the survival of mankind is more important than victory in the next election must strive to enlighten the public while there is still time, and perhaps we can succeed."

*Bertrand Russell*

"We must persuade as many newspapers as possible to adopt the federal outlook as their editorial policy. This principle must also be constantly disseminated on the radio and in films. We must get this problem discussed in groups, meetings and on platforms--Universalism and the imperative need for universal law must resound in all houses of God. The universal outlook of political and social thought must be taught in all schools. We should

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elect nobody to public office who has not pledged himself in advance to work wholeheartedly to prevent the war by the establishment of peace through law and government. An irresistible popular demand must be made articulate in every country as soon as possible. And when in two or more countries the people have clearly expressed their will, the process of federation must start. Naturally the ideal solution would be if all the people of the world were persuaded simultaneously. But such a course is unlikely. The process must start at the earliest possible moment, even with a minimum of two countries, because no argument can compare with the overwhelming persuasive power of events."

Every Reves - Postscript, The Anatomy of Peace - Harpers.

"How can we reach our goal? Five stages are clearly visable on the road from idea to realization.

1. The first step is the conception of the idea, the proclamátion of principles, the formulation of the doctrine.
2. The doctrine must be spread in the same way Christianity, democracy and every other sucessful doctrine have been diffused.
3. Once all of us understand the problem, once we realize what creates peace in human society and know we want it, our next task is to elect representatives, delegating to them the power to put into practice the new principles.
4. It is for these elected delegates -- who by then will have received the mandate from the people to organize world government for preventing wars between the nation-states -- to debate programs, to fight out details, and to arrive at solutions. Such solutions will naturally be compromises; they will be far from perfect, but we cannot expect paradise on this earth.
5. Once this first constitutional step is taken, developments will start in the right direction. But the foundation will by then have been laid, and a great number of solutions will be more or less workable. Passionate debates on programs and details before the will of the people is clearly expressed as to the goal will only create obstacles and they are likely to destroy the ideal before its birth."

Emery Reves - Postscript to The Anatomy of Peace - Harpers.

"What chance have we to create a world government before the next war? Not much. Suppose we do make the problem clear to the democratic peoples -- it is likely that Soviet Russia would accept a suggestion to enter into a common government organization with us? I believe the answer to be no. Is it possible? Perhaps. But the alternative -- another world war resulting in the destruction of all individual liberties and in the rule of a totalitarian state, either ours or Russia's -- is a prospect that leaves no room for hesitation as to the action we must undertake."

Every Reves - Postscript to the Anatomy of Peace - Harpers.

"Even under our own Constitution it is obvious that Congress has no power to transfer or delegate any governmental function to a superior government. An amendment of the Constitution of the United States would be required to give Congress such power."

Owen J. Roberts

1947

MEANS TO WORLD GOVERNMENT --  
Universal Union

"I believe an attempt should be made to establish a world government now, in spite of the many obstacles to be overcome. One cannot expect perfection, but even an imperfect system is better than annihilation."

Norman Corwin

"A constitutional convention might fail, but that does not mean it should not be called."

Mark Van Doren

"No one will be frightened away from the movement towards federation except those who would relax from confederation if we stop there."

*Anonymous Marine quoted by Gardner Cowles*

"I think that the whole position of 'gradualism' must be summarily rejected. The argument that we can gradually build wider area of understanding and agreement between sovereign nations through diplomacy and the UNO bears no relation to the fact that an atomic armaments race has already begun, that every day the nations live in fear of imminent attack, their relation necessarily deteriorates and cannot improve.... So I would propose that the only and first logical step is the creation immediately of a world authority capable of exerting an exclusive monopoly of the weapons of organized war. Until that is done, we have no possible chance of improving the relations between states.

"Certainly it must have the power to inspect governments and individuals, certainly it must prohibit the manufacture of national armaments, certainly it must be able to tax directly.... The immediate creation of such a government is an extraordinarily difficult task, but it is the only possible chance we have."

*Cord Meyer, Jr.*

"If, after a careful consideration of all the alternatives, we conclude that world government alone is the single solution, it is neither honest nor consistent to then work for other alternatives that we know cannot work, but which we think more possible. Personally, I believe that no one can say that world government is impossible until every effort has been made to achieve it. If the people are presented with the alternatives as they truly are in as immediate and dramatic a manner possible, I have hope that we can work the change in time."

*Cord Meyer, Jr.*



"The road to progress is not in trying to destroy the whole of civilization by forcing a dictatorship;....world government cannot possibly mean anything but world dictatorship....now. When one is talking about world affairs the necessity is enormously greater to endow the central world authority with as limited powers as are necessary to accomplish the end in view. In this case the end in view is the elimination of war, and one element in the elimination of war is the international control of the atomic bomb. The road to wisdom is to start with the atomic bomb itself, and nothing more."

*Robert A. Millikan.*

"It is not necessary to found a super-state to abolish war. It is not necessary to found a super-state to abolish smallpox, cholera, or typhus. But it is necessary to form an international sanitary corps, as it were...."

The constitution of every state should be amended to forbid war and all armaments, except those in conformity with provisions of the United Nations Organizations. Planning for war must become illegal within every country, making every citizen responsible before the law."

Dorothy Thompson - On the Record - Dec.

"Once the (U.N.O.) Assembly has been thus modified (direct election of representatives, some sort of weighted representation), a more just and more realistic representation will be achieved. An immediate requirement will be the amendment of the United Nations Charter adopted at San Francisco, eliminating references to sovereignty. These references formally validate the respective national claims to sovereignty and make international controls impossible. Thereafter it will be possible to undertake the third step; the modification of the veto power. The only justification that can be found for the veto lies precisely in the theory that Nicaragua and Saudi Arabia vote equally with the United States and Russia.

"The only alternative to such a procedure would be to toss aside completely the United Nations and to try and obtain, by direct popular action, the calling of a world constitutional convention. But in our opinion, this would take much longer, and be exposed in the present situation to many more hazards, than trying to work through the United Nations Organization, which, after all, has been ratified by the overwhelming majority of the representatives of the peoples of the world."

Louis Dolivet, Free World, Nov. 1945

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## NUCLEAR &amp; REGIONAL UNIONS.

"When we say that the atomic bomb compels world government, we admit confusion as to where to start.... Before we share the secret of the military use of atomic power with anybody, there must be some fundamental agreement on the fundamentals of world organization. At present there isn't much agreement on what these fundamentals should be. One thing, however, seems reasonably clear. Effective world government is hardly conceivable unless the constituent parts of the world organization enjoy full communication among themselves, unless their citizens are free to come and go, and engage in ordinary human intercourse. It is impossible to imagine world government exerting even limited control over areas from which outsiders are barred and from which impartial news and information are rigidly excluded. It is possible that the best we can do at present is to broaden the union which already exists among nations which agree on the fundamentals. Great Britain... France... the Scandinavian countries, Belgium and Holland..."

Editorial The Sat. Eve. Post Oct. 20, 1945.

"Short of actual force, however, the government of the United States, with the support of Great Britain and a number of other Powers, could do a great deal towards the creation of an international government. An alliance could be formed consisting in the first place of all North and South America, the British Commonwealth, France, Belgium, Holland, Scandinavia, and Spain (after dealing with Franco). This alliance should proclaim certain international purposes, and declare its willingness to be joined by any power that subscribed to these purposes. .... There should be a gradual increase in the closeness of the alliance, and a continually greater amalgamation of military resources. Every possible effort should be made to induce Russia to become a member of the alliance. In this way international government might grow up."

*Bertrand Russell*

"In the present state of material preparedness for war and in the present posture of national claims and selfishness, will it not be impossible to organize such a federation (of the whole world) in time to prevent another war? My own tentative view is that it will take too long. What then is the alternative?

There are, however, in the world nation-states whose citizens enjoy individual liberty and the power of self-government through chosen representatives. The United States, Great Britain, France, The Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, and perhaps Turkey and some others are today in that class. I believe it would be immediately possible to form a union of some or all of these countries..."

*Owen J. Roberts*

"...if the Soviet Union or our own government should insist on maintaining the veto power and pushing competitive armament, the sooner lovers of peace denounce the United Nations as organized hypocrisy or stupidity, the better it will be for peace. If the United Nations cannot be changed, we may have to seek a fresh start in the basis of a federation of those nations that do mean to co-operate intelligently for true mutual security, peace, and I should add, the conquest of poverty. I recognize the possibility that if such a federation were started and the Soviet Union, for example, should refuse to come in, the rivalry between the two world blocs which I so greatly fear might be intensified. But I think it probable that the same rivalry somewhat masked by a United Nations Organization which rejects all the essentials of that kind of organized co-operation upon which peace depends, would be even

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more dangerous."

Norman Thomas - A Socialist looks at the United Nations - Syracuse Univ. Press.

"I am quite aware that many object to the program I have outlined, on the ground that Russia will not, and indeed could not, enter into the Union, and that any union which excludes Russia is foredoomed to failure.... I do not see that ... international relations will be made any worse by an outright union.... I am certain that such a union formed for peaceful and not aggressive ends would not precipitate hostilities with Russia in the near future; and given its operation for a decade or two, it can remove entirely any possible threat to Russian security and convince ... Russia of its peaceful aims ... But if I am wrong in thinking that Russia will not resent the formation of such a union and take over action to destroy the peoples who are parties to the Union, then I feel certain that if we go on under the doctrine of national independence - miscalled national sovereignty, Russia's attitude towards the western democracies is going to be exactly what it would be towards a Union of these democracies..."

*Owen J. Roberts*

"...all I have ever written on this subject contests the validity of the assumption that Union of the free would increase the danger of war. I hold that it is our one predictable hope of averting World War 3."

Clarence Streit.

"I can find nothing in the United Nations Charter which either expressly or impliedly prevents any nation-members of the United Nations from forming a Union. Regional defense unions are expressly authorized. Nations forming such a Union as I suggest should still remain members of the United Nations and should still participate in many of its activities. The Union should maintain such relations with non-member nations as to convince them that it is truly a union for defense and for cooperative advantage, and not one which intends to play a power role of national aggrandizement. More ever, the Union should, both by its constitution and its practice, welcome into its membership the people of every nation willing and able to participate in the Union Government."

*Owen J. Roberts*

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"Without Russia there would be no world government, but simply a federation of a number of countries - and this is approximately how the world would look: On one side there would be the Americas, Western Europe and the Dominions, with about 350 million inhabitants. On the other side there would be Russia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, with about 250 million inhabitants. Asia and Africa would look on for a while in malevolent neutrality and try to weaken both sides. Intrigues, revolutionary agitation, espionage and counter-espionage would wreck the world. In the shadows, Germany and Japan would wait for the moment when they could once more become the hyenas of the battlefields and try anew what so miserably failed in World War II. Therefore, whether one likes it or not, the conclusion is that world government must comprise all of humanity, not only some parts, and that evading the Russian issue by a partial federation would merely aggravate the dangers instead of eliminating them."

Louis Dolive t - Free World Nov. 1945.

"I no longer see how a nuclear federal union of the mature democracies could hope to keep the peace long enough for the nucleus to expand and become ultimately world-wide."

*Stringfellow Barr*

"Regionalism will only accelerate the tempo of war. If we organize sovereign nation-states in regional groups, then all nations in a region will be in contact with all nations in the other regions, and if relations between the regions remain on the basis of regional or national sovereignty then we shall have war."

Emery Reves - The Anatomy of Peace - Harpers.



MEANS - STRENGTHEN THE U.N.O.

"...I do, of course, believe that ultimately the surest way to have world peace is to have a real world government much stronger than the present United Nations Organization. On the other hand, I am quite convinced that such a government cannot be attained for many years to come, and I think it is more important at this time to support the UNO than to criticize it. Even those who are proposing to work with the UNO through amendments run a grave danger of destroying the confidence of the people of the country in the UNO just at this time when such confidence may be essential. At the risk of suggesting the obvious, I would urge those who are interested in world peace to put greater emphasis on the need of using all means at our command at present to maintain this peace rather than the necessity of setting up some new organization which theoretically could function better."

*Henry D. Smyth*

"For myself, I'll say that I believe that in the United Nations Organization we have the beginning of an organization for peace. Unless, or until that beginning is washed out, I think the best course for all to pursue is to back that organization."

*Roy Howard*

"I hope you will agree that, no matter what any citizen believes about the ultimate form of international organization, his first task is to assist as far as he can into bringing into full and effective operation the organization projected in the Charter of the United Nations. As you know, organization under the Charter is not intended to be immutable, and it is to be hoped that under it the United Nations Organization will move steadily in the direction of strengthening the authority of its organs."

*Spruille Braden*

"I think it is of primary importance that under no consideration should anything interfere with the encouragement of the United Nations Organization. This is the only going concern of international significance which has been or possibly can be established promptly to deal with the fundamental international issues we face. I believe it represented the furthest step which could have been agreed upon at San Francisco among the fifty nations there represented."

*Harold Burton*

"It is very important, particularly during the first years, that the Assembly choose projects which are likely to succeed. The possibility of preserving unity between the United Nations will depend above all upon a quick practical demonstration that, by staying together, they can accomplish desired results which otherwise would be impossible. A joint success brings co-workers to a generous appreciation of each other, while a failure leads to recrimination and disunity.

John F. Dulles - Foreign Affairs, October, 1945



"A World Government is not practicable now. That is that. Because the nations will not have it. The UNO is a feeble substitute. Our only hope is to strengthen it, or rather to transform it from what it is, to what it is not - a truly democratic organization of all nations equal before the court of international law."

*Lih Yutang*

"If six months after we had induced the world of nations to accept a second League we would back off from it, no other nation would regard us as having any stability of policy or any sense of responsibility for our acts."

*James T. Shotwell*

"There is no way through which international action for the control of atomic weapons can be taken except through the hard-won agreement of all the nations concerned, after patient discussion of every aspect of the problem. The machinery of the United Nations Organization is well suited to such purpose. Its powers are sufficiently broad that it can be readily adapted to any type of action which the member states are prepared to take. In the meantime, it offers a ready instrument for the careful exploration of all possible avenues of approach to this most complex problem."

*Joseph E. Johnson*

"I do not believe that the secret of the atomic bomb should be given to the Soviet Union, nor to the United Nations Organization. I do not believe it should be given to any sovereign state or group of states. Under present anarchic conditions and the danger of friction between competing nations, such a course would only accelerate the armament race which we must halt if we want to prevent another war.

The secret of the bomb should be committed to a world government, and the United States should immediately announce its readiness to give it to a world government. This government should be founded by the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain...

Since the United States and Great Britain have the secret of the atomic bomb and the Soviet Union does not, they should invite the Soviet Union to prepare and present the first draft of a constitution...."

Einstein-Swing - Atlantic Monthly - Readers Digest, December, 1945

"The Organization as now set up lacks the political powers usually relied upon to assure civic order.... Peace, accordingly, will depend primarily upon there being such fellowship among the member nations as will prevent the occurrence of a major war.... Fellowship based on a war coalition usually disintegrates after the enemy's defeat. The way to prevent this from happening to the United Nations is to continue in combat against the material and spiritual enemies of human welfare. To organize that combat is the primary responsibility of the General Assembly..."

John F. Dulles - Foreign Affairs, October, 1945

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"This (the UNO) Charter recognizes that if there is to be peace - a lasting peace - a just peace - then all the peoples of the world must have the hope of gradually improving their conditions while at peace. It recognizes indirectly that peace cannot endure where conditions of political, economic or social tyranny are widespread. Therefore it establishes for the first time in history a worldwide Economic and Social Council of eighteen members, elected by the General Assembly, and gives to them broad objectives and a wide field of activity, even though admittedly, very little direct power. Here will be an instrumentality for a continuing, constructive approach to the underlying causes of economic warfare and injustice which impede the progress and threaten the peace of men."

Harold Stassen, N.B.C speech  
July 5, 1945

"The nations represented at San Francisco had not yet reached the position where they constituted a true community with common judgments about conduct. Also many of them did not want the establishment of any law which would be superior to their own particular will and conscience. Likely, then, the Conference did not attempt to write laws for the Organization to enforce.  
John F. Dulles - Foreign Affairs,  
October, 1945.

.....". No government, and few individuals, will regard the Charter of the United Nations as satisfactory. The vast majority, however, possess the firm hope that if peace can be maintained during the first years of transition after the war, and in particular any major conflict can be prevented, the United Nations Charter can gradually be improved so that the United Nations Organization will become more nearly a federal government of the world and more truly an agency of international democracy.

I myself strongly believe that the objective toward which the nations must move is the ultimate establishment, through the United Nations, of a federal world government founded upon law and representative of the true principles of international democracy. But the way in which that objective can be most surely and most readily attained is to be found, not in the proposals of Professor Einstein, but rather in the counsel of Senator Hatch, when he said recently on the floor of the Senate, "We must use the machinery we now have, improving it as best we can, making every needed amendment and change, as we progress toward the ultimate goal of complete world-wide rule by law instead of rule by force."

Sumner Welles  
*Atlantic Monthly*, Jan. 1946

"It seems, however, that the United States, Great Britain, and Canada have decided on a different course. Instead of trying to create a strong organization which would not at first include Russia, they prefer a weak organization of which Russia is already a member. In view of the danger of Russian suspicions, this may have been the right decision; in any case it has been made, and must be accepted. But it must be supplemented by a vigorous attempt to alter the constitution of the United Nations.

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At present there is machinery for preventing Finland from attacking Russia but none for preventing Russia from attacking Finland. ....The only wars prevented by the organization of the United Nations are those that are not likely to occur. If the United Nations Organization is to serve any useful purpose, three successive reforms are necessary. First, the veto of the Great Powers must be abolished, and majorities must be declared competent to decide on all questions that come before the organization; second, the contingents of the various powers to the armed forces of the organization must be increased until they become collectively stronger than any national armed forces; third, the continents, instead of remaining national blocks, must be distributed so that no considerable unit retains any national feeling or a national cohesion. When all these things have been done, but not before, the United Nations Organization may become a means of averting great wars.

Bertrand Russell

"I hardly think that the UNO, as it is today, can be used advantageously as the machinery for building up a world state."

Albert Einstein

"But the time factor has been shattered. We no longer have a leeway of fifteen or twenty years; whatever must be done must be done with an immediacy which is in keeping with the urgency. Once the basic peace settlements are arranged, the United Nations must meet again for an Atomic Age conference, undertaking an over-all inventory of the revolutionary changes in the world since its conference in San Francisco in the long-ago spring of 1945, and facing squarely the issue of world government."

Norman Cousins - Nat. Review of Literature - August 18, 1945

"Frankly I think it would be a mistake to work now for world government. As a result of the bitter experiences and disappointments at the end of the last war, there seems to be every reason to believe that this time the various nations of the world are going to get together. The whole machinery of U.N.O. has been worked on for years and to scrap it now in order to achieve some "higher" goal, would, to my mind, be a mistake."

Arthur Sulzberger

"We should do everything we can to strengthen the United Nations... (but) since the United Nations is an organization of sovereign states, with the power in the hands of a few large ones, we should recognize that it cannot prevent the next war, that it cannot be the world state which the survival of mankind demands, and that drastic constitutional revisions will be required before a new organization can even be regarded as a serious step forward!"

Robert M. Hutchins - The Atomic Bomb vs. Civilization - Human Events pamphlet #1.

"That organization (the UNO) depends solely on national good faith and good will, on cooperation between existing nation-states as entities. All our past experience goes to prove that this is not enough to prevent war. To attempt to convert that organization,

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with its total nation-state membership into a government with a law-making agency representative of the individuals to be governed, a court to interpret law and denounce violations of it, and a force (call it a police force - to enforce the courts' decrees, seems at the moment an impossibility."

Owen J. Roberts

"The abolition of the veto power makes it possible for the UNO machinery to be used against a great power contrary to its submission... and waging collective war against that country if it refused....abolition of the veto power does not transform the United Nations Organization into a world government. It does not establish a system of law above nations. It does not subordinate sovereignty. It does make it possible for nations to unite against a great power and wage war against it with the prospect of collecting a superior force. And when that war is fought it will be a national war. Maybe, this system would more to prolong peace than the present UNO. But it is idle to discuss it since the Soviet Union certainly, and the United States almost as certainly, will not agree to abolish the veto power."

Raymond Swing - broadcast over ABC January 25, 1946.

"Objections have been raised that the Charter of the United Nations falls short of a constitution for world government. Specifically it is argued that the veto runs the risk of nullifying effective measures for security; that the General Assembly is representative, not of peoples, but only of governments; that it recommends but does not legislate; and that it has not adequate power to enforce its decisions.

Amendments to the Charter to meet these objections, some of which may be ultimately desirable, seem to the Association (for the United Nations) not to be practicable at the present time. Action on the threat of the atomic bomb, or economic cooperation and on the establishment of human rights is called for without delay.....The issue is not between the desirability of some sort of world government not yet crystallized and the Charter, but between protracted delay and immediate delay.

(Some specific recommendations). A rule of law must be recognized as binding upon all nations. This rule of law is embodied in the Charter....

The supremacy of the Assembly must be established. The veto does not operate in the Assembly. Articles 11, 13, and particularly 14, confer broad powers upon the Assembly. No amendment to abolish the veto in the Security Council could be passed now in the present mood of at least two of the Great Powers. The problems can only be met by establishing the supremacy of the General Assembly.....

Immediate establishment of the Commission on Human Rights. One of its first tasks should be the preparation of a declaration of human rights as has been recommended by the Preparatory Commission. There should then be a world campaign for the adoption of an international bill of rights by the member nations.....

Creation of an International Trade Organization and whatever other agencies are necessary to assist the Economic and Social Council to promote full employment, expanding trade, and freedom from want for all peoples.....

Development of the concept of world citizenship.....

Then, when the Organization has had a chance to grow and function and full advantage has been taken of the Flexible Articles of the Charter --- then let a constitutional convention be held to revise it in whatever ways are found necessary to develop further a world organization of peoples based on laws."



How are we to wipe out public war, or even the possible private use of the bomb for banditry and blackmail, before we have established a world society? The necessary minimal changes are these:

1. Reconstruction of the Supreme Council of the UNO so that its decisions are made by majority vote, without the present provisions for absolute veto by any one of the big five.
2. Creation of an Atomic World Authority with the right to control and apportion the raw materials needed for atomic power, to enter into any country and to inspect any part of its territory and equipment, and to license or suppress any technological application of atomic fission.
3. Surrender of existing stockpiles of bombs to the Atomic Authority.

The first provision is necessary to forestall one-sided action by any of the present military powers: its absence makes the UNO not merely a futile organization but a dangerous one, since the only way of obtaining consent on the part of a nation that puts itself above majority rule on the Supreme Council would be by war — a the very process that must now be avoided at all costs. As for the second provision, it is but a temporary expedient to allay anxiety and purely irrational fear. Should atomic fission be proved practicable among the less rare elements, it is plain that the difficulties of supervision would be almost insuperable. Both the second and third provisions demand a specific surrender of national sovereignty — not a wholesale surrender but a critical one, in order to make more positive forms of cooperations possible."

Lewis Mumford

1. The Assembly of the Nations should be open to all nations. The distinction between peace-loving nations and the rest should be abandoned as being unhistorical and devisive.
2. The Assembly should be more than merely an advisory body....should have power to lay down general rules for the conduct of international relations.
3. A Bill of Rights ..... should be incorporated in the Charter....
4. No nations should be above the law, and no nation should be permitted to judge or to prevent judgment in its own case....
5. Regional federations, economic and political, should be encouraged, not discouraged...
6. The Constitution.....amendment should not be subject to a veto right vested in a few great powers.

Mac Iver plan --- (quoted by Norman Thomas in A Socialist Looks at the United Nations - Syracuse)

"It is my conviction that six major changes in that Charter are essential if the essential if the United Nations Organization is to be strong and democratic enough to give us and our children even a hope of peace. Here are the six:

- First, the veto power.... must be eliminated...
- Second, we must create a true international police force, composed of quotas of various nationals thoroughly mixed and under an international command .....
- Third, the international force should have the only legal and authorized stockpile of atomic bombs.... all manufacture of such bombs should be under the strictest supervision of the Security Council.
- Fourth, the Charter should provide for the complete interchange of all scientific knowledge....for free inspection.... of any and all activities in every nation....
- Fifth, the Security Council should be authorized and directed the instant any action violates the agreement....to order the international police force to move in on such a nation and discover and destroy any secret preparations for war being made...
- Sixth and last, we should rewrite the Trusteeship provisions of the

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Charter and place directly under its administration such trouble spots of the world as Java, Indo-China, Korea, Trieste, Palestine, and perhaps even Austria and Bulgaria..."

Joseph H. Ball - speech at Cincinnati - November 9 '45

"We cannot wait ten years, but must immediately see to it that the Charter is made easier of amendment. Then we must work for the following minimum program:

1. The establishment of an organ of the United Nations free from any national veto power to supervise both atomic energy and the process of progressive national disarmament including abolition of peacetime conscription...
2. The repeal of Article 107 and any other provision that will prevent the Assembly from considering treaties and boundary arrangements, which menace peace, and initiating changes in them.
3. The immediate establishment of an effective Economic and Social Council which among other things can supervise relief and rehabilitation...
4. Immediate assurance of early independence within the framework of regional and worldwide organization to all peoples with a national consciousness...

If these things are promptly done, the United Nations may evolve into a truer federation, intelligently and democratically controlled directly by the peoples of the world rather than indirectly through their governments."

Norman Thomas - A Socialist looks at the United Nations -  
Syracuse University Press

"A system of international control of scientific weapons must be both effective and acceptable..."

- A. ...all states, large or small, fairly represented, and which acts by a simple majority vote - no veto power.
  - B. ...must have at least two powers... production of atomic and heavy weapons... use of these or other weapons.
  - C. To support these two delegated powers, the central authority must have at its disposal an adequate armed force independent of the power-politics of the member-states.
- The minimum requirements for an acceptable system are:
- A. The sovereignty of all member-states must be preserved, except for the right of unrestricted production of atomic and heavy arms, and the right to wage aggressive war.
  - B. Each state must retain its ability to defend itself with its own national armed forces and armaments...
  - C. In view of previous commitments, the United Nations Charter must not be abandoned, but extended or improved...
  - D. In the special case of atomic arms, the United States, Britain, and Canada must retain the right to retain their existing superiority in the production of atomic weapons until the United Nations Organization is adequately strengthened. After that all information will be mutually exchangeable among member-states.

Ely Culbertson - How to Control the Atomic Threat

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"There are two historical types of international organization - the federal type - such as our federal union - and the league type - such as the United Nations Charter. The federal type has the necessary requirements to make it effective; but it requires drastic limitation of sovereignty and therefore is unacceptable. The league type, on the other hand, has the minimum requirements to make it acceptable; but it has none of the essential requirements to make it effective..."

Ely Culbertson - How To Control the Atomic Threat

"We must usher in together with the age of atomic energy, the age of organized law to terminate the anarchy of sovereign states. This can be done, and done now, by means of the Quota Force Plan... The Basic Amendments to the United Nations Charter..."

A. Mutual defense of their territories.

B. Renunciation of aggression...defined...as 1) an attack with weapons of violence by a sovereign state or its citizens against the territory of another sovereign state; 2) violation of the agreed controls over scientific weapons.

C. Changes in the structure of the Security Council, elimination of the veto power, and deligation by member states of specific powers to deal with aggression.

D. Limitation and control of the production of atomic and heavy arms in accordance with a specific production quota for each major state and a collective quota for the lesser states...

E. Establishment and maintenance of a World Peace Force with a special International Contingent...

If...the Basic Amendments are not adopted...alternative method... called the Federative Alliance. It can operate within the United Nations Charter as a simple regional arrangement. The Federative Alliance is a new limited federation, implemented by a Federative Authority, or government, with limited, delegated powers."

Ely Culbertson - How to Control the Atomic Threat

"As I see it, in very general terms, we must embark simultaneously on three programs: ... a long-term program, an intermediate program and a short-term program. These three programs, though different, must be mutually consistent. ...the long-term program would be directed toward the establishment of world government, the intermediate program toward the support of the United Nations Organization the short-term program toward the use of diplomacy, public and private, for the reduction of international tensions.

...With regard to the long-term program. I...think that with success in the intermediate and short-term period, we have a margin of twenty years in which to work (for)...the establishment of world government under principles of law, justice, and human freedom. Such a world government cannot be imposed by force. It cannot be successfully negotiated today by the statesmen of the nations of the earth. The plain fact is that world government requires as a foundation a moral and psychological sense of world community, and that foundation does not presently exist. To impose or to negotiate a world government under existing conditions of prejudice and hate would do nothing more than set the stage for world civil war... I feel that with twenty years to spare, the moral and psychological foundation for world peace can be laid... The hope



lies in the fact that it takes only a period of about a dozen years to implant a basic culture in the mind of man - the period between the age of 2 and the age of 14. In a psychological-logical sense, history, tradition and custom are only about twelve years old.

...The intermediate program should be pointed at a period of some three to eight years off, perhaps a little longer. ...The objective is to create through the United Nations Organization the symbolism of world association and the practice of world cooperation. The United Nations Organization is made to order for such practice in world relationships. Anything that today can be done at all can be done through the UNO. At the same time the UNO does not compel things to be done for which we are not as yet prepared. The danger is that the easy protocol of the United Nations Organization will lull the world to sleep. The absence of critical compulsions in the Charter must arouse us to a sense of moral responsibility to go beyond the form and into the substance of world cooperation... It is the open way to world government.

...The short-term program is to strive through the channels of diplomacy, and other day-to-day international contacts, or remove or at least to lessen the tensions that exist in so many parts of the world... We do not need to adopt a policy of appeasement in order to be patient, conciliatory and understanding. We do not need to be intransigent and vain in order to be firm and imaginative in attaining proper and clearly stated objectives. This is a responsibility not of the future but of the immediate and urgent present. ...We must not adopt the attitude that the present international misunderstandings and conflicts are impossible of intelligent solution... If after two years, diplomacy, public and private, and the ordinary contacts of people across frontiers, have failed to prevent a deterioration of world relations, then those nations that can unite should do so, leaving the way open for broader federation later on. But our eyes must be open to the fact that the failure of public and private diplomacy in the short-run program would create an unwelcome and dangerous possibility, namely, that the world might be divided rather than united, and that soon rather than late. It is therefore imperative that the short-term program should succeed, that we should gain the time we need first, for a variety of experiences with world association through the United Nations Organization, and second for the preparation of the necessary psychological and moral foundations for world government.

The promotion and correlation of this three-way triple-decker program can hardly occur even though there be a widespread desire for it by individuals, agencies and associations as long as they work apart from one another. Something new is needed, something that will give the chance for voluntary coordination of effort... We need a set-up that might be perhaps a combination of the kind of thing done by the CED and the OSS -- research, education and action -- an organization working in the open and making more fruitful the independent activities of private business, religious educational and cultural societies, of governmental agencies."

Beardsley Ruml - address at Foreign Trade Convention,  
New York City - November 14 1945

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"There is one other method by which, in theory, the peace of the world could be secured, and that is the supremacy of one nation of one closely allied group of nations. By this method Rome secured the peace of the Mediterranean area for several centuries. America at this moment, if it were bellicose and imperialistic, could compel the rest of the world to disarm, and establish a world-wide monopoly of American armed force. But the country has no wish for such enterprises, and in a few years the opportunity will be gone. Plans for world peace, therefore, must reckon with Russia and America as roughly equal powers, and must aim at an international government established by agreement rather than by force."

*Bertrand Russell*

GOVERNMENT



Since the great aim is a world community, the great task is education. A world community can exist only with world communication, which means something more than exclusive shortwave facilities scattered around the globe. It means common understanding, common ideas, and common ideals."

Robert M. Hutchins - The Atomic Bomb vs Civilization - Human Events pamphlet #1

"Atoms, like all physical things, are perfectly neutral and atomic energy is no menace to anyone. The menace is and always has been man's own disposition."

*John W. Campbell, Jr.*

"What is forgotten is that any government except tyranny depends upon a community of interest among the governed, that even a city police force works only because the citizens are already in overwhelming agreement on the laws to be enforced. If we are to meet the challenge of atomic fission, we must cure the fission that exists in men's minds and in their hearts."

Not Peace but a Sword - Fortune Jan 46.

"The...the only hope is to increase the moral progress tremendously..."

Robert M. Hutchins - The Atomic Bomb vs Civilization - Human Events pamphlet #1.

"We are dealing with deep-seated reactions of human beings, and problems of psychology and sociology are at least as difficult as those of atomic physics. In short, I think we must have a lot of patience."

*James B. Conant*

"My guess is that psychologically--and I am thinking of the psychology of nations as well as of governmental leaders--we are unable to form a world government during this next decade. Even an approach to the world government will take deep and majestic studies, and perhaps the luck of copious evangelism in some of the world's important countries."

*Harlow Shapley*

"The answers are in us together."

Norman Corwin - Set Your Clock at U-235; Henry Holt

"And in starting our great fight for a better world, we must be guided by the wisdom of Sun-Yat-Sen: The difficulty is to know, to understand; with understanding, action is easy."

Emery Reves - Postscript - The Anatomy of Peace - Harpers.

"Political peace and economic warfare cannot long exist together. If we are going to have peace in this world, we must learn to live together and work together. We must be able to do business together."

James F. Byrnes address at Charleston Nov 16.

"Mutual understanding as a first step."

*Hewlett Johnson*

"Mutual understanding as a first step."

is far more significant than the laws and restrictive powers of any institution  
is the spirit which underlies it."

*Eric Johnston*

"Taken together, these moral and cultural factors comprise the spiritual difficulties in the way of world peace. They more than overbalance the physical conditions which promote the coming of a world community. To the extent to which they postpone it, they render world peace improbable in the near future. Its probability within five hundred years amounts to a calculation of the time it will take to bring about the necessary spiritual changes.

From a practical point of view, it is not crucially important whether five hundred years is the maximum or minimum. What is important practically is that we understand the present century as a turning point."

Mortimer Adler - How to Think about War and Peace - *Simon & Schuster*

"Frankly, while I recommend that some sort of organization is necessary, I am convinced that its form is decidedly unimportant; practically any organization, however clumsy and inept, will work if behind it is the will to make it work. The will is practically the only thing that counts; moreover, this will is a matter of individual attitudes and not one of national policy except as such a matter is dictated by a proper public opinion. The duty of us as citizens, it seems to me, is to see to it that our own personal attitudes are sound and that we try to "sell" the same attitudes to our fellow citizens."

*W.K. Lewis*

"all matters of detail should be postponed to the period of actual effort to form a union..... If our people are not convinced of the necessity for a federation of nations it is useless to talk about how we could go about procuring such a federation, or what the obstacles to its procurement might be."

*Owen J. Roberts*

"Whether the change from treaty structure to a legal order takes place independently of the United Nations Organization or within it is irrelevant.... The change has to come about in our minds."

Emery Reves - Postscript to The Anatomy of Peace - Harpers.

"The most vulgar of all objections, of course, is the meaningless assertion made by so many 'public figures': 'The people are not yet ready for world federation'....after having understood the problem, have the people rejected the solution and decided they did not want peace by law and government but preferred war by national sovereignty? Until this happens, no one has the right to pretend he knows what the people are ready for."

Emery Reves - Postscript to The Anatomy of Peace - Harpers.

"...details are apt to take care of themselves once the background of general desire and approval is reached."

*Dorothy Canfield Fisher*

"...we must all put our shoulders to the wheel of changing public opinion."

*Dorothy Canfield Fisher*



important thing now, in my opinion, is to get plain people to think for themselves and convince themselves that basically the solution of the problem is I think it only confuses the issue to discuss details of so-called charters or constitutions and methods of proceeding to get other peoples to join our people in some form of union. Once the principle is accepted and the people exercise their will that it shall be applied, I have faith to believe that the representatives of our people can agree with those of the other nations in forming a union."

Owen J. Roberts

"...if the current peace had been attained by the complete and overwhelming victory of a single country operating under a pretty unified philosophy of government, the whole world could, perhaps, rather easily be unified into one system. But we have four major winners, with at least three different general philosophies of government represented. Heroic adjustments must be made, and large sacrifices; and one wonders if we have leaders with either the vision, or the courage, or the humanity to carry the business through."

Harlow Shapley

"It would seem something more than man-made laws is required to make people behave. The biggest part of the job is up to the Churches."

Bing Crosby

"The changes required are too basic for swift accomplishment and the possibilities inherent in atomic weapons too fast for man's slow adjustment."

John W. Campbell, Jr.

"The problem of furnishing universal liberal education even in this country, let alone Indonesia, is terrific. although it is imperative to work towards that goal. However, I see no chance of any program in education that could take place in time to stop World War III. That problem will have to be cracked politically, as Einstein has pointed out."

Stringfellow Barr

"Will the existing national units take these radical measures? (No). Can we arrive at a successful compromise? No, because any compromise short of these measures must breed insecurity and limit effectiveness in preventing a war of extermination. To break out of this impasse, we must ask, not what people will accept in their present frame of mind, but what means we can use to alter their minds and to make them ....deeply aware of the dangers that confront humanity."

Lewis Mumford

"Man is left, then, with a crisis in decision. The main test before him involves his will to change rather than his ability to change. That he is capable of change is certain. For there is no more mutable or adaptable animal in the world. We have seen him migrate from one extreme clime to the other. We have seen him step out of backward societies and join advanced groups within the space of a single generation...But change requires stimulus and mankind today need look no further for stimulus than its own desire to stay alive. Once the instinct for survival is stimulated, the basic condition for change can be met. That is why the power of total destruction as potentially represented by modern

science must be dramatized and kept in the forefront of public opinion. The full dimensions of the peril must be seen, and recognized. Then and only then will men realize that the first order of business is the question of his continued existence. Then and only then will he be prepared to make the decisions necessary to assure that survival."

Norman Cousins - Saturday Review of Literature - Aug. 18 '45

"...The broad objectives of peaceful living cannot be accomplished solely by diplomatic and governmental contacts. They must be supported by the establishment of relationships among individuals and their cultural and commercial organizations, of which the latter are particularly important since they provide the means of reconstruction, economic security, and improvement in the material standard of life."

Beardsley Ruml - address before the Foreign Trade Convention  
New York City - November 14, 1945

"But there are very important fields in which there is more scope for non-governmental action.

Take the field of race relations, for example...

A feeling of world citizenship...

It is probably a step forward that a new world-wide federation of labor unions has been formed...

...international societies of scientists, scholars, and educators can play a most useful role...(&writing a basic history of the world.."

Norman Thomas - A Socialist looks at the United Nations  
Syracuse University Press

"The above mentioned modifications (direct election of representatives, weighted representation, modification of veto power) in the structure of the United Nations can be attained within six months to a year if millions of citizens of the United Nations start to work towards abolishing the vestiges of reactionary policies in their respective countries, and by working for the creation of an international popular movement for world government."

Louis Dolivet - Free World - November 1945

"Under present conditions, it (the Charter) could not advantageously be made materially different. But some day it ought to be different. The delegates at San Francisco were almost unanimous about that. They gave much thought to how and when the Charter should be revised. Indeed, that was the most debated topic of the Conference. But the most earnest proponents of easy amendments did not want an immediate special Conference to review the Charter. About ten years should elapse, they felt, before a first review of the Charter could be usefully attempted. This was because they realized that what was needed could not be brought about by changing words, but only by changing the conditions which had made the present words inevitable."

John F. Dulles - Foreign Affairs - October '45

"To have a world government that would really work requires a greater degree of trust and fellowship and common understanding as to the proper role of government and the relationship between government and men."

John F. Dulles



"The immediate issue, of course, is to develop a mutual trust between Russia and the United States. Now it seems to me that we have a great deal that could be of value to our ally,-----not only the mass of technical information about atomic energy, and the details of the atomic bomb, but a great quantity of other industrial knowledge and skill....I like to think of it as a series of cargoes which we would gladly ship to Russia for her use. In turn, we would expect Russia to welcome our technical and scientific men, and with us work to set up an international agency for inspection and control of atomic energy through the United Nations Organization. Surely there is nothing sinister in our desire to see a world order develop which eliminates the threat of the atomic bomb...."

James B. Conant address before Foreign Policy Assoc Pitts Nov 21 45

"...applied science has created such a revolution in modes of warfare that our welfare no longer depends on national but on international considerations. We must give top priority as citizens, therefore, to our concern with our relation to other peoples and other countries."

James B. Conant - add befor Foreign Policy Assoc Pitts Nov 21 45

"If mankind is to take the minimum precautions for its safety through an effective world organization, the immensity and extent of the catastrophe that atomic power has made possible must be brought home. If this is done, if public opinion is fully mobilized, if rational fear guides our political decisions, no government---at least in democratic countries--- will be able to hold out; our sovereignty and our isolationsim will be abated. Once that takes place I doubt if any totalitarian country would dare to keep aloof from a world organization or would challenge the actions of an Atomic Authority."

"So far the actions of perhaps the greater part of the atomic workers have been exemplary. But I believe that there is one more department in which their own actions would carry great weight, if they could persuade themselves as a group to make the necessary renunciations. You are correctly asking the sovereign state to give up one of its historic attributes: its internal self-sufficiency. But there has been no hint of any similar abatement within the realm of science itself: at the very moment that the danger from the exploitation of atomic energy has become absolute, the scientists themselves demand unabated effort in physical research, thus proposing to widen still further the disastrous breach that already exists between man's physical powers and his moral and political controls. Unless the physical scientist himself overcomes this parochialism, unless he realizes that on the scale of our present danger, it may be necessary temporarily to sacrifice the swift advance of science in order to preserve the civilization that supported it---and so, in the long, to preserve the possibility of future scientific discoveries--- I fear we are lost. For even the minimum precautions for safety I have outlined are but shaky ones; and unless there is a radical change in purpose and direction we will probably rush headlong toward destruction."

Lewis Mumford

"I am inclined to the view that the best thing we scientists can do at the moment is to be devoting ourselves to scientific problems."

Ernest O. Lawrence

"At the same time, it is appropriate that some attention be given to the responsibility of world trade and of American traders in promoting the cause of peace, in helping to advance the good and to suppress the evil. These responsibilities will of necessity be discharged in specific day-to-day transactions. However, would it not be helpful if those who have the promotion of world trade at heart could come to some general agreement as to the principles under which world should be carried on, bearing in mind our present state of scientific advance and political anarchy? As a suggestion of what I have in mind, and subject to addition, deletion, and modification by those who know far more about world trade than I do, here are eight points of principle that might be considered:

1. To put peace before profit when they are in conflict.
2. To open up the channels of trade for raw materials, products and services.
3. To cooperate in raising the standard of living everywhere.
4. To avoid the corruption of governments, and to be cautious in accepting special privilege from governments.
5. To refuse to participate in the exploitation of peoples.
6. To be patient in promoting changes in established ways of life.
7. To administer transactions justly and equitably.
8. To create in personal relationships confidence, tolerance and good will.

An accepted standard of principles has more influence on specific conduct than the cynics would have us believe. An international standard of principles would inform us as to the maturity of the world trading community. Perhaps, as a result of our desire to make world trade a force for peace, we can reach an affirmative understanding as to the principles of world trade that would be a positive and beneficial aid in attaining our objective.

Beardsley Ruml - address given at the National Foreign Trade Convention in  
NYC - Nov. 1945

"Persuasion in the United States, where there is freedom of propaganda, is a different matter. If things do not go as we might wish, the fault is usually not with the politicians, though they get the blame; the fault is with public opinion, to which the politicians, as democrats quite legitimately give way. What is needed is an immense campaign of public education. The average American voter very naturally is annoyed by the way in which the follies of Europe and Asia compel America to go to war; in his emotions he is an isolationist, even when hard facts have since convinced his reason that isolationism is no longer practicable.

To meet this difficulty it is necessary to bring home, not only to administrators or congressmen, but to the average American citizen, the dangers to which, within a few years, America will be exposed, and the impossibility of warding off the dangers except by a partial surrender of sovereignty. The first reaction of nine people out of ten will be to urge that America should have more bombs than any one else so that an attack by any other nation would be obviously folly. The fallacy in this point of view must be made plain to all and sundry. It must be proved that there is no hope in Kellogg pacts, declarations of good will, alliances or paper prohibitions of the use of atomic bombs. All this must be set forth in speech and in writing throughout the length and breadth of the land, by men having no motive except public spirit and the hope that the world in which they have lived may still exist in their children's time.



If such a campaign is to succeed, it requires three things: a definite program, an organization, and the enthusiasm of a great moral crusade. Without this last nothing can be achieved, for although, from a purely rational point of view, self-preservation is a sufficient motive for all that needs to be done, self-preservation alone will not overcome the obstacles to rational thinking that are presented by ancient habits of hatred, suspicion, and envy. We shall have to realize that what injures a foreign nation does not necessarily benefit our own. We shall have to learn to feel a little uncomfortable if we wallow in plenty while millions die of hunger and cold as a result of our actions. We shall have to feel that domination brings less happiness than cooperation. We shall have to acquiesce in the painful truth that mutual hostility, which was always wicked, has now become suicidal folly, and that henceforth the nations must all prosper together or all perish together. But I should not have it thought that our campaign should be mainly negative, or based entirely upon an appeal to fear. The ultimate and most valid appeal should be to hope. If once the fear of war were removed, the whole human race could quickly attain a level of happiness and well-being surpassing that of the most fortunate in any earlier time. If the atomic bomb shocks the nations into acquiescence in a system making great wars impossible, it will have been one of the greatest boons ever conferred by science."

Bertrand Russell

World  
Government

CONCLUSION

We hope that this report is more than a "Collection of Opinion", but rather that some of the sentiments expressed therein will bring fruitful results.

The real obstacle, the inertia to change, can only be overcome when it is realized that the alternative to change may be total destruction.

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$$f \left[ \int_{t_0}^t \left( \frac{d}{dt} \Delta \right) \cdot dt \right] < \int_{t_0}^{t_1} \left( \frac{d}{dt} \Delta \right) \cdot dt$$

leads to catastrophe, but

$$f \left[ \int_{t_0}^t \left( \frac{d}{dt} \Delta \right) \cdot dt \right] > \int_{t_0}^{t_1} \left( \frac{d}{dt} \Delta \right) \cdot dt$$

results in world peace.

$\Delta$  = change

$\frac{d}{dt} \Delta$  = rate of increase of change

$\int_{t_0}^t \left( \frac{d}{dt} \Delta \right) dt$  = amount of change required for assurance of prevention of war, at some future time  $t$ .

$t_0$  = the present

$t_1$  = probable time of next war (Note;  $t_1 = f \Delta$ )



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