



Gratia A. Countryman and Family Papers.

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Read before Peripetelies Club Minneapolis
Jan 30 1949. Before Tourist Club
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WORLD GOVERNMENT.

When I chose this subject, it was because of a deep interest of long standing - ever since, in younger days, I read those wonderful words in Tennyson's Locksley Hall, with their prophetic vision

Till the war drums throbbed no longer
And the battle flags were furled
In the Parliament of Man
The federation of the World.

I still believe that these words were a great vision that will some day become a reality, I hope in my day.

I have tried to keep up with the development of World Government or Federation during the past ten or twelve years, but I was not prepared, when I began reading this fall, for the exciting growth of the project, nor for the progress and world-wide interest in world government, induced probably through fear of atomic war. An article in a recent newspaper was headed "Sentiment Spreading Fast for World Government," and saying: "One of the biggest spontaneous citizens' movements of our time is the spreading sentiment for world government."

There are now many organizations working with almost fanatical zeal to arouse people's interest in world government, some of the most influential of them not more than two or three years old, with many distinguished scholars, scientists and statesmen associated with them. They are being organized all over the world, it is truly a world movement. There were 3 world congresses this fall, parliamentary committees are being appointed to consider federation; constitutions and charters are proposed; bills are presented to Congress. From Nehru in India and the Ambassador from New Zealand to Pres. Hutchins in Chicago to Garry Davis performing in Paris, I am overwhelmed with material and the rapidity of events. I am having much difficulty in presenting the story, the unfinished story, in orderly fashion,

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firstly, secondly, thirdly. I don't think I can, but I will give it with as much form and continuity as I can.

Why should there be a World Government? The most commonly expressed reason is this, we have local and state governments which through law and justice protect the local and state communities; we have national governments to guide and protect our national interests; but as yet, the world community, with its complex and unregulated relationships and antagonistic interests is wholly unprotected and chaotic.

Peoples are paralyzed with fear of aggressors. They want security more than anything else in the world. The United Nations, wonderful and valuable as it is, cannot prevent war, cannot punish aggressors. Until there is a government, which can do for the world what our federal government does for the United States, until there is an international government, with legislative and military power, there can be no universal peace, nor security.

To quote Emery Reves, author of "Anatomy of Peace," than whom there is no better authority, "As long as absolute sovereignty resides within each nation state, conflicts between national units are inevitable. It is the nation state, nationalism, that is destroying the world. Danger not in the atomic A-bomb, nor in any other weapon which the genius of man can create. The danger lies in the absence of any law between states. Their relations are wholly uncontrolled." He concludes: "To organize a universal legal order, a world universal Legislative Assembly, based on law, with sufficient funds and sufficient military strength to enforce law, is the task before us, and it is the first step."

I think that answers the question why a world government.

What is a world government? This would seem easy to answer, but the most earnest advocates differ. Some are minimalists, who think that a world government should be organized with only one function, to maintain peace and to have the machinery to accomplish this. Others are maximalists, who believe that the world government must be able not only to keep the peace but to administer justice, with international law and courts, and to promote human rights. But stated simply, it is an international body, established by the nations, and to which the nations submit enough authority and power to maintain peace, or through a constitution adopted by the nations to further all phases of human welfare. Unlike the League of Nations or the United Nations Organization it is a real government, able to govern, whose laws are the supreme law, along agreed-upon lines.

Because of its possibilities, it has interested not only statesmen and politicians, but scientists and churchmen. Einstein says that its establishment is the supreme issue of the day. The CHRISTIAN CENTURY says in an editorial, "organized religion for the sake of its own moral authority cannot afford to be satisfied with anything less than world government." Arnold Toynbee, in his last book of essays, says, "I believe it is a foregone conclusion that the world is in any event, going to be unified politically in the near future. A world civilization can develop and eventually a world religion." But there are also bitter opponents. From the arch isolationists, such as Gerald K. Smith and Upton Close, we get such gems as "a dastardly conspiracy to establish world government." Or this, "the white slave state takes shape."

But now we ask HOW shall world government be established, it is this question that is the most difficult to answer, for while the goal is definite, the method of reaching it differs considerably. It seems almost un-attainable, and there are many hurdles. This

paper will be concerned largely with answering this question of How, what solutions are proposed, what groups are at work, and what approach do they suggest and with what success.

Organizations formed before the Second World War or just after, take a long time view, but those formed since the atomic bomb, feel and promote the immediacy of the need for a world government.

Such leaders as Emery Reves and Cord Meyers, press for immediate action, and they have rapidly growing support from the people. These seem to be the chief approaches now being advanced for immediate action:

1. through revision of the charter of the U.N.O.
2. through Parliamentary Committees.
3. through a People's World Constitutional Convention.

I will take these methods up in order. Various groups are behind each of these plans, both here and in Europe. And they all face these problems which the League of Women Voters listed in their fine leaflet last March.

1. How much of the world should unite.
2. How far should the power of the federated world extend over member states.
3. Can world government prevent war.
4. What degree of likeness is necessary before union becomes feasible.
5. To what extent is a federal government the result or the cause of unity between its component parts.

And we may add - what kind of a constitution, a skeleton or a full federal government.

Yes, HOW is the great problem, and When, is another.

When we realize the enormous response to the plan of world government given by the common people, there may be more immediate action forced

upon national governments than we dare hope. But again, however necessary, we know that it will be only by pressure of fear, or by the irresistible force of the people that nations will give up their sovereignty.

Now, after this short outline of the subject and in order to give a slight design or framework to this paper, and to consider the momentous questions, HOW and WHEN a world government as presented by various groups, we will first take a backward glance to see the growth of the idea of world unity through the centuries. Second, we will present the various groups in the United States, what they believe and what they are contributing toward informing and arousing public opinion. And third, a look at the European movements, their pacts, alliances, the European Congresses, the proposed European Federation, and world response elsewhere. I hope I can present a fairly clear picture.

A Backward Glance

The idea of one world, a united world, is not a new one. It was dreamed of by old Chinese philosophers. Jesus Christ, establishing a universal religion, said, "There shall be one flock and one shepherd." And Paul, standing on Mars Hill said, "He hath made of one blood, all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth."

To quote from other great minds -

Erasmus: "Let the lovers of discord and the promoters of bloodshed among nations, rather reflect that this world, the whole of the planet called Earth is the common country of all who live and breathe upon it."

Franklin: "God grant that not only the love of liberty, but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man, may pervade all the

nations of the earth, so that a philosopher may set his foot anywhere on its surface and say, this is my country."

Dostoyevsky:

"Mankind as a whole has always striven to organize a universal state. There have been many great nations, with great histories, but the more highly developed, the more unhappy, for they felt more acutely than others, the craving for world wide union."

But consider Immanuel Kant's "International Society Of Free Peoples," explained in a pamphlet written in 1795, and reprinted by the World Peace Foundation in 1914. He says, "The law of nations shall be founded on a federation of free states, not only as a safeguard against war, but as a system of international right, conjoined with power to which all nations must submit." Pretty modern peace and justice.

There have been many attempts at international organization through the centuries with many failures. But I will remind you of two successes. In 1291, the little Swiss Republic, a miniature example, was formed by Selectmen from three tiny cantons, they met in a field and took an oath of perpetual alliance against the war lords who threatened their peace and freedom. The alliance grew and has lasted more than six centuries, each canton preserving its full freedom. What it has done on a microscopic scale is just what is proposed for the countries of the world.

So also our thirteen colonies, each one independent and sovereign, had joined in a loose confederation. It was not enough, so they sent delegates to the famous Convention of 1787, to revise or amend the Articles of Confederation, just as we consider amendments to the United Nations. Many wise and far sighted delegates

met day after day believing that a Union, not a confederation, was absolutely necessary for the development of a nation which they foresaw. So they boldly wrote our Constitution, changing the loose confederation into a federal government. This wonderful document, with few changes, has guided a great nation for more than 160 years, an example of how a federal world government would work.

Carl Van Doran has written the day by day story of these earnest, wise delegates in action in his "The Great Rehearsal." Quoting from the preface of his book, he says, "Many citizens of many nations are convinced that only by some such alteration of the Charter of the United Nations can the United Nations develop from a weak league of states, into a real government capable of securing the peace and welfare of the world." The story of making the United States Constitution and molding the thirteen colonies into a union in 1787, shows all the arguments for and all those used by opponents against a world government. The very same in 1948 as in 1787. The framers of our constitution knew all the difficulties of forming a federal government for thirteen sovereign and jealous colonies, but that was nothing compared to the dangers without it. So the friends of World Government in 1949 find it obvious that no difficulty in the way of getting World Government can match the danger of a world without it. The undertaking of our Founding Fathers might be a rehearsal for future federal governments."

RECENT WORLD MOVEMENTS

Having taken this glimpse into the past, we will return to our century. The first great attempt at organization of nations on a world scale was, of course, the League of Nations. The League was a noble idea, and a noble undertaking which was initiated in America. Under the name "The League to Enforce Peace" we campaigned

for it all over this country. It was eagerly supported and finally endorsed by Congress, and the President was authorized to accomplish it. But when it was consummated we repudiated it. But it is generally conceded now that its failure was not because the United States did not belong, but because of the inherent weakness of its structure. No nation surrendered any of its sovereignty nor gave the League any authority. It was not a government. That it was a failure, witness Manchuria, Ethiopia, and the rise of German might. Mr. Culbertson says, written in 1942, "Although the League of Nations has already been buried with military honors, and can never be revived, yet, Mr. Wilson and his associates have awakened a world consciousness that will never die. Humanity has seen a world center. Defeat of the League is only temporary, it will be reborn."

So, as war threatened and the League had been powerless to ward off the threatening war preparations, (and the challenge of Hitler), men began to think most seriously about a federated effort against war. There was now no international organization, it was each nation for itself. The situation was critical, something must be thought out. Many leaders, spokesmen and writers began to appear. The most important was Mr. Clarence Streit, who offered his solution in a book called "Union Now" published in 1938. It was strong, vigorous and concrete. It aroused great interest, and fired the imagination and enthusiasm of many distinguished people. An organization formed to promote his plan which is now an active group, called "FEDERAL UNION." It was the first of the new world organizations. Many people owe their first interest in world federation to its convincing arguments. "UNION NOW" is still an inspiring book and many subscribe to his plan of a world government.

His concrete plan is to form a union of fifteen democracies, mostly around the North Atlantic. The union he proposes includes the

British Commonwealth countries, the Scandinavian countries, France, Italy, Switzerland, Netherlands, Belgium, and the United States. These nations own half the earth, govern half the world, conduct two-thirds of the world's trade and rule all of its oceans. His idea is to combine on a basis of ideologies, democratic against totalitarian.

Streit really advocates a United States of the world, with the same enormous powers as our federal government. His World Parliament would be elected by the people on a basis of population. But as China, India and Russia are countries of great and ignorant populations, he would at first exclude them because they might control the world. I cannot see this plan making a happy, contented world. His "UNION NOW" would practically be a union of the United States and Britain, and I cannot see them later admitting this great foreign group, not for centuries anyway. His book was written before the war and before the menace of Russia.

When the war began so fiercely, discussions of peace plans were very wide spread. It was said that in the leading English newspapers for every five columns of war news, there were ten columns of discussions of peace plans. People felt so strongly that there was no use winning the war unless they could win a permanent peace not a truce.

The idea was spreading that world government was the supreme issue of the day even before we were actually at war. The Chicago Round Table in March 1940, dealt with the subject, "Must the World Unite." In 1941, Mr. Grenville Clark wrote and published a very detailed constitution called a "Federation of Free Peoples" evidently based on Kant's "International Society of Free Peoples." He said he wrote it to have something concrete for men to discuss. I have read it but do not need to analyze it. I mention it to show

how much the idea was taking hold and because Mr. Grenville Clark is on the Board of the largest group working for World Government.

But the next important contribution came from Mr. Ely Culbertson. Most of us think of him only as a card expert, but that is his leisure time hobby. He wrote a book called "TOTAL PEACE" published by Doubleday which I have not read. But I have read a condensation, "Summary of World Federation Plan" issued in 1943. His secondary title is "An Outline of a Practical and Detailed Plan For World Settlement" which he says can be applied immediately and would stop the war as well as secure permanent peace. Because it has received so much study and has commended itself to so many people, and because a large organization is now advocating his plan, I want to spend some extra time on him. When his plan was issued an organization called "The World Federation Institute" was formed to "bring about the adoption of this plan or if this plan is not adopted, that its concreteness and realism may lead to the development of an even better plan, to the lasting good of humanity."

Dorothy Thompson said of it, "He has brought forward the strongest and most realistic plan for creating a world police system that will protect all in collective security."

Hamilton Holt, president of Rollins College, "This plan is the most concrete and comprehensive system for world settlement that I have seen."

Max Eastman, "A program of world organization such as this plan proposes, can both hasten the victory of democratic civilization and conceivably make it permanent."

The plan is not a constitution for a world federation but a very detailed plan for a "co-operative of nations," based upon the supreme authority of law. The very great detail of the plan is very interesting but not easily condensed. He would divide the

world into eleven regions whose borders could not be changed without due process of law. He has carefully mapped out these regions according to race, development, contiguity, etc., a very intricate and thoughtful piece of work. Each nation retains its own government but as a part of a region, it would submit to the regional government concerned, only with matters affecting more than one country in the region. All regions would be under a world government concerned only with world problems or those between regions. The most important provision is for a strong police force of two million men, recruited on a quota plan for each nation. He has worked out the just quota for each nation. I believe ours is 18% of the whole. Each nation must maintain its own men on its borders, subject to call by the world government. In addition, there is to be a small mobile corps ready for immediate use of the world government. This separation of army units ensures that the world government will not be able to seize the army and become a world tyranny. The world government must also control the manufacture of all heavy weapons for mass destruction.

What Culbertson chiefly contributed was the plan for regional governments, intermediate between individual governments and the world government, and the quota system of sustaining a great army. I notice that Norman Thomas this fall gave his personal support to the Culbertson plan.

There have been and still are many small groups as well as large ones, working to spread interest in a world government. It seems strange that all this activity for the past decade should have found no echo at Dumbarton Oaks or at the San Francisco Conference. It was a great disappointment that nothing better resulted than a somewhat stronger League of Nations, unable to prevent war or reduce national hostilities.

It was inevitable, that since the atom bomb and since the adoption again of a League unable to prevent war that the proponents of world government should have put on a much more vigorous and determined campaign. They intend to accomplish through popular action what statesmen could not or would not do through the United Nations Charter.

The failure of the United Nations Organization to accomplish peace is doing more to convince nations that they must federate for their very existence, than any other argument. So the past two or three years, since the atom bomb, has seen a different spirit in the intensity of purpose to establish a federated world. Immediacy is urged. As Emery Reves reiterates over and over, the establishment of world government is the first step, nationalism is the menace of the world's peace. We feel and see a great difference in the efforts of these recent years both here and over the world. We ask now, not only HOW, we are also stressing WHEN.

Of all the movements since the war, what is known as the "Chicago Plan" seems to me the most significant. It had its genesis at a Chicago Round Table, on Sunday, August 12, 1945, on the subject "Atomic Force and its Meaning for Mankind" just six days after Hiroshima. President Hutchins summing up the discussion said, "One way is world suicide, the other is agreement among sovereign states to abstain from using the bomb. This will not be effective. The only hope, therefore, of abolishing war is through the monopoly of atomic bombs by a world organization." Early the following month two faculty members called on President Hutchins to propose the formation of an "Institute for World Government." They said that a world constitution is needed and that it wasn't likely that it would be written by bureaucrats or diplomats. The proposed Institute became "The Committee to Frame a World Constitution." President

Hutchins became and still is its president. The committee was chosen with great care. The prerequisites for eligibility were:

1. Complete competence, intellectually and practically in world affairs.
2. Freedom from political commitments.
3. An uncompromising belief that world government is necessary and therefore possible.

The Committee was a wonderful group of professors chosen from several colleges. A sketch of each one is given in the Saturday Review of Literature of April 3rd, 1948. (You will not notice much material in the Saturday Review of Literature because Norman Cousins, the editor, is an ardent Federalist.) Eleven men were chosen, men of great ability, experts in law, government, political economy, history and literature. Three were foreign born, from Italy, France and Czechoslovakia. Thomas Mann's daughter, Elizabeth Borgese, was a tireless researcher and assistant. They reviewed among other documents, the Colonial federalist papers, the Chinese, Spanish, Russian and Weimar constitutions. In all, over 150 documents were reviewed and studied. The committee had thirteen meetings of two or three days each, from November of 1945 to July of 1947. It took them nearly one year to decide whether it should be a minimal or maximal constitution. The committee decided on a maximal, and then it proceeded to write a very perfect constitution for a one-world government. It was finished in July of 1947 and after scrutiny and criticism by experts it was submitted to the public in the March number of "THE COMMON CAUSE" a magazine that the Committee had established in July, 1947. It was also published, in toto, in the Saturday Literary Review of April, 1948. The Minneapolis Tribune with other big newspapers gave it a notice and considerable analysis. A good outline also appeared in Life.

The eminence of the Committee, its long careful work of two years, its almost minute study of every available document on the subject, drew unusual attention to it. The Committee said in the introduction, "The problems of world government are hard and intricate, this constitutional design will show what a Federal Republic of the world might look like. World government shall come, that is practically the consensus of opinion in this generation, whether in five years or fifty, whether without a conflagration or after it."

The Committee dedicated this constitution to Gandhi. A beautiful dedication from which I quote a few sentences. "If there had been a world presidential election before his death, January 30, 1948, Gandhi would have been elected. For the first time in history a "little brown man" won leadership over all races of men...Gandhi spanned the continents. Through British domination, he was educated in England; he acquired the culture of the West. The land of his birth, has been called Mother India by all civilizations. He died as the presumptive first president of one world."

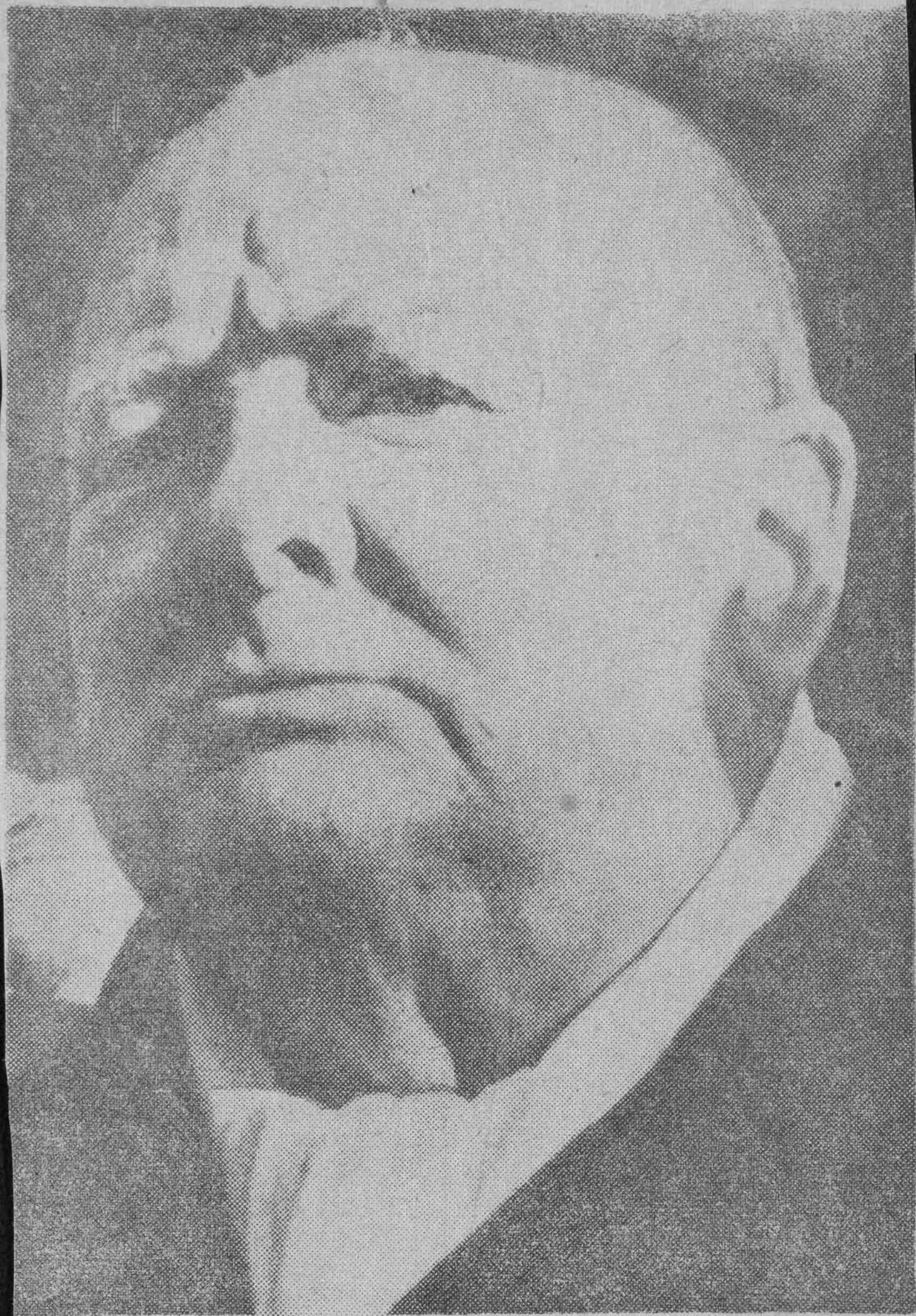
This Chicago Plan is a very complete system of government with a president, an assembly, council, supreme court, and a tribune of the people to whom even an individual can go, it really represents minorities. It does not propose changing the charter of the United Nations, only proposing as perfect a system of government for a one-world as can be devised. It was published in book form this fall. It has appeared in England, has been translated into German, French, and Italian and is now being translated into Japanese.

The other large organization in the United States, the largest, is the United World Federalists, which held its second annual convention in Minneapolis last November under the leadership of young Cord Meyer. This organization is concerned not only with the how, but with the when. Mr. Meyer is an honor graduate of Yale,

1. A United Nations Convention as provided for in the United Nations Charter to shape and decide upon a world government; the way proposed by United States groups.
2. People's World Constitution Assembly, urged by Great Britain for 1950.
3. Parliamentary Committees to shape an European Federation and ultimately a world government.

Another strange and interesting movement is curiously gathering around Garry Davis, self-styled citizen of the world. He fired the imagination and has had much attention from the French while the United Nations Assembly was meeting in Paris. I quote from an article in Time, "Last week Garry Davis issued his first policy statement, as follows 'I ask every one everywhere to write me to make known their desire to be registered as world citizens. Within two months the registry will be opened, and to each applicant will be issued a card stating that he possesses world citizenship. Not thousands, but millions of applications will be made, and in 1950 an assembly of the peoples of the world will be elected.'" It is another popular crusade. It seems absurd, but the common peoples' great longing for peace and this dramatic call to register as world citizens may bring unlooked for results. It is not the intellectuals but the will of the common people that often brings things about. Times are strange, and we may see strange ways to solve our crucial problems.

Well this is a very feeble effort to outline the greatest attempt to solve the greatest problem that civilization has ever faced, the greatest popular movement ever engineered by human beings to save themselves. Do you notice that most of the activity has been



BULLDOG WINNIE—Winston Churchill showed his famous bulldog expression as he pleaded for European unity in a Communist-heckled speech in Brussels, Belgium. The war-time British prime minister was a delegate to the Council of European Movement in Brussels.—AP Wirephoto.

WASHINGTON

FROM THE TRIBUNE'S

Richard Wilson, W. H.

Jack Wilson,

WATER'S EDGE: There's a late to put an end to what has been a policy. Some Democratic senators are saying privately that it has added little to the peace. They also say that the international opinion over the U. S. course was a strain on the bipartisan approach.

CABINET SWITCH?: The report is that Defense James V. Forrestal will not have it accepted, possibly as early as next month. Truman's advisers are giving strong opposition. The time undersecretary of war, for example, is rumored to be that Jonathan Daniels will be made secretary of the navy, a position he held in world war. If this is done, Johnson would switch to the treasury.

HUNGARY TRIALS: Behind the scenes and several Protestant ministers are working for the elimination of the Communists to take over the schools in the country have been thought they could take over by force. They financed the schools, but they were not. A recent arrival from Hungary says the Communists have full control over the government. They get 12 per cent of the vote if free elections are held.

THIRD TERM: Democratic leaders in November make it unlikely that the Constitution will be ratified. It will not affect President Truman anywhere until after his inauguration. While Cleveland won't be a candidate in 1952, the subject is still open. The theory behind his staying in is to keep a tight rein on the Democratic program gets through congress, if it is passed.

DEMOCRATIC WOES: Some

Europe War Fears Tighten Relations

BY DR. WILLEM DREES
Premier of The Netherlands

(World Copyright by INS)

THE HAGUE — (INS) — Economic distress and fears of a new world war are today helping overcome the resistance to European unity.

The nations of Western Europe have already demonstrated their enthusiasm for federation—but at the same time they are not underestimating the difficulties which lie ahead. Because of this, they are proceeding with caution.

Americans—with their history of the unification of the separate states—are inclined to look upon federation as a simple solution to many of Europe's problems.

But it must be pointed out that Europe—politically, economically, and culturally — is the product of many centuries of historical development.

The history of each European state differs from the history of others, and hence we see a great diversity of cultures.

In addition, European boundaries—in spite of the advances in transportation—still maintain great symbolic value. The Alps, the Pyrenees, and the sea around England are still natural barriers of great importance.

One need not wonder that people surrounded by such barriers developed their own cultures and cared mainly for their own interests.

And this was often to the common good. This "self-interest" helped create the many-colored pattern of European civilization as we know it today.

But this seclusion was never complete. On the contrary, with the passage of time, contacts became more intimate, until an interwoven fabric of European relations was established.

Today the unavoidable move towards unification is more and more being accepted in Western Europe. Authors, poets and intellectuals have long realized the need for this unity — but only today is the general public becoming aware.

The Benelux countries—The Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg — have proved that Europe does not sit still. They have a pact of their own and have concluded the "Brussels agreement" with France and England.

These five nations now form the basis for a European union. They have agreed to set up a council of Europe — consisting of a ministerial committee meeting in private, and a consultative group meeting publicly.

This latter group will be of particular interest because it will provide a platform for Europe's public opinion. Europe will be able to express itself.

As for The Netherlands, we Dutch will wholeheartedly cooperate in the formation of a European union. Our hopes are high, but as a nation we are not shutting our eyes to the difficulties which will be met on the road to this goal.

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Barbara Johnson, decorations; Nancy
ral chairman; Marian Johnson, tick-
orinne Krantz, publicity.

ering Loveless Given Rebuke

ave a love each other they can forgive
ing a and forget. But if there is no
am a love, every little pin prick
em to makes a festering sore that nev-
marry-er heals. In former times, when
ce and no gainful occupation was open
whom to women, there was some ex-
think-cuse for their marrying to get a
e him, meal ticket. But now, when ev-
one as ery occupation is open to women
me to and every girl can be self-sup-
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Women of Moose

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Mrs. Alice Fredrickson, ritual
chairman, will hold her chapter
night program at a meeting of
Women of the Moose, West Du-
luth chapter, at 8 p. m. today in
the Moose temple. A class of
candidates will be initiated
Mrs. Lucille D
gent

Fidelity Lodge Sets Initiation

Class initiation will be con-
ducted at a meeting of Fidelity
lodge, Ancient Order of United
Workmen, at 8:15 p. m. Thurs-
day in Norway hall. Clayton
Cooper will preside. After the
business there will be a social
hour, with Arthur Hasselstrom
in charge of the games. Mrs.
Lillian Isabell and Mrs. Ann
Marek will be in charge of re-
freshments.

Aerial Lodge Slates Social

Aerial lodge No. 230, ladies'
society of the Brotherhood of
Locomotive Firemen and En-
ginemen, will meet at 2:15 p. m.
Thursday in Svithiod hall, with
Mrs. Alice Abrahamson presid-
ing. Mrs. Anna Mae Forrest,
Mrs. Daisy Cosgrove and Mrs.
Katherine De More will be in
charge of the social hour.

Harriet OES

Mrs. George Morin will enter-
tain members of the home sew-
ing unit of Harriet chapter, Or-
der of Eastern Star, at a 10
a. m. meeting Friday in her
home at 1116 Lake Avenue
south. She is chairman of the
unit.

oe A 10-nation conference on
European union is to meet in
on London March 28 to prepare
et- for a council meeting.

h This will include the Brus-
h sels pact powers, France, Brit-
d ain, Belgium, Holland, Luxem-
f bourg. Norway, Sweden, Den-
mark and Italy will also attend.

Denmark's Foreign Minister

prunes mixed with one-fourth
cup fine-chopped pecans. Fold
this into the beaten egg whites.
Transfer to a shallow quart-
sized baking dish. Bake 25 min-
utes in a moderately hot oven
350-375 degrees F. Serve im-
mediately, with soft custard or
a thickened sauce made of
stewed prunes and juice of

during the past year, and we seem to be just getting under way.

I am aware that I might have, and have not, in this paper, gone into all the problems and difficulties attending so momentous a change as a world government, nor the form it might take, nor the powers it would have to have. Space and time would not allow me to give details of charters and proposed constitutions. Experts are spending days and months on seemingly trifling but necessary details.

I have had to confine myself to telling the story of the world-wide movement, the deep interest, which will some day come to a head.

We do not know what a day may bring forth, but we are sure that we are facing great changes. It may be that we are on the threshold of the greatest forward step that man has ever taken. It is not behind us, it is ahead of us. *God grant our statesmen great wisdom*

ADDENDA

Events happen so fast and unexpectedly, that I can only mention a few things that have happened since this paper was written.

1) A Council of Europe has been formed, Churchill was a delegate to a Council meeting in Brussels, a IO nation conference will be held in London on March, 28th to prepare for a Council Meeting.

2) The state of Tennessee has taken a decisive step, a bill has been introduced in the Senate, calling for election of three delegates from Tennessee to attend a world constitutional convention in 1950. (in all the proposed constitutions, the Assembly is composed of one person for each million persons)

3) Gerry Davis has announced March 6-13 to be world government week, and has already received millions of applications for world citizenship.

There may have been more

served in the Marines for two years, lost his left eye at Guam, his twin brother was killed at Okinawa. These terrible war experiences made him feel that his life must be devoted to the prevention of another war, and he is doing it. He was an assistant to Mr. Stassen at San Francisco. He was completely disillusioned by the action of short-sighted statesmen and deeply disappointed in the charter of the new United Nations.

This organization firmly believes that a world federation can be accomplished through the revision of the United Nations Charter. And toward that end they are working. That is their HOW. They believe that this method is more possible, more likely to gain government action, less likely to cause confusion in the time of transition to a world government and chiefly it is the quickest method. In the minds of Mr. Reves and Mr. Meyer, the WHEN is almost as important as the HOW. They are insistent upon immediacy, as Meyer sets forth in his book, "Peace or Anarchy." They feel too, that Americans must take the leadership. Mark Van Doren, in an article in The American Scholar this summer says, "The first step toward the federation of the world is for the United States government to make known that it desires it, the next step is to ask other governments whether they desire it, and if they do, to point out that there is something that can be done about it, namely; that the charter of the United Nations can be amended. Then the United Nations can call a convention to consider such changes in its nature as would produce a union of nations." This is just the procedure the United World Federalists recommend. And the first step is American action through Congress. Congress can only be reached through a sufficiently strong voice of the people. So the United World Federalists are putting on a vigorous campaign to arouse and inform people of the crisis before us. Mr. Holliday, President of the Standard Oil Company of Ohio, calls it "Our final choice."

The United World Federalists are establishing branches in every state, chapters in every town and city, forceful speakers are giving their time, series of broadcasts are given, several Town Meetings have discussed it and many magazine articles have appeared. Only in their second year, they have persuaded seventeen state legislatures to pass resolutions asking Congress to consider revising the charter of the United Nations. Such a bill came up in the special session this summer, and Mr. Meyer appeared before the House Foreign Affairs Committee with Chairman Eaton's approval. Another and probably better bill will be introduced this winter. The hope is that a special committee will be appointed like the parliamentary committees already appointed in eleven countries to study ways of joining other nations for world government. Before this last election, the Federalist had made a strong impression on both major parties. Many state conventions went on record favoring world government. A questionnaire was sent out to all congressional candidates, the total replying was 356, and of these 227 answered an unequivocal "yes." Fifty of the winning candidates in the House and five in the Senate were among those favoring. These, together with members already on record, make a total of 87 members of the new Congress for a potential world government bloc. There are besides, an even greater number who have indicated their belief in strengthening the United Nations.

There is a subsidiary but very important group to the United World Federalist, the student division of the United World Federalists, working with all the enthusiasm of youth. This was founded by Mr. Harris Wafford, a young man who became interested at fifteen years of age, and now at twenty-one is one of the ablest organizers, writers, as well as theorists in the American Federalist group, comparable to Cord Meyer in his devotion. One of the first,

if not the first President, was a young woman who graduated from the University of Minnesota last June. She has since married Mr. Wafford and I believe they are on their way to India, where the movement for world government is very strong.

The student division had a fine conference in Wellesley in August and also met simultaneously with the United World Federalists conference in Minneapolis in November. Delegates from forty campuses were there and nine members pledged full time work on a expense-only basis.

We have a flourishing branch here at the Minnesota University, two members recently flew to Sauk Center between classes, "to help bring the idea of world government to Main Street." Their visit was followed by a resolution to Congress signed by an influential group of citizens, asking for support for a bill to amend the United Nations. That seems to be the procedure carried on by eager groups of the United World Federalists. Many towns have sent in petitions to the President or members of Congress. Last January, Cleveland citizens sent in a petition signed by 300,000 citizens. Cleveland has been the center of much citizen activity for world government.

And now for a brief summary of the large working groups for world government in the United States. The League of Women Voters issued a fine leaflet last March, giving information about all the organizations, which many of you will have seen.

1. Streit's Federal Union is the oldest, a large and influential group; which has as its primary objective, the federating of the democratic countries with world government only as a long-range aim.
2. Culbertson's group, known as The Citizen's Committee for United Nations Reform. It proposes regional governments according to a quota plan, under a central world government,

but believes that a true world government is unattainable in the near future.

3. World Foundation of Peace, an old organization, which has just received a gift of a million dollars. It was quite active at the Minneapolis Convention and joins and assists any plan to bring permanent peace.

The next groups are not more than one or two years old, formed since the horror of an atomic war caused a new and vigorous campaign for peace through a federated world.

4. The United World Federalist Group (U.W.F.) is the largest and most influential group, which met in Minneapolis in November for its second annual convention. It urges the revision of the United Nations into a strong powerful organization, practically a federated world government. It works to win Congress to that end.

5. The next largest group is the World Republic, which has its second convention in Chicago this fall. It puts most of its emphasis on work for a People's Constitutional Convention in 1950, to draft a World Constitution. Britain, Canada and other countries are working for such a Convention and we are beginning to, also.

6. The Chicago Plan. Keeps active through its splendid magazine "The Common Cause" which reports all Congressional^{so} and World activities for union.

There are many strong but smaller groups which add strength to the movement, which is steadily gaining, both here and abroad.

It would seem wise to pool the efforts of these groups; they have the same goal, though differing in detail. Last June, the National Conference for the Prevention of War, ~~through the~~ influence of the A.A.U.N., asked the various groups to participate in their program. Mr. Clarence Streit, Mr. Ely Culbertson and Mr. Leveridge of the United World Federalists spoke from the same platform, explaining their aims to an audience of active workers of all ^{shades} ~~sorts~~ of opinions. We hope this will lead to continued cooperation.

X

55 minutes to hear

European Movements

The rest of the world is far more alive to the necessity of a federated world than we are. They live in fear, they want the solidarity of the world as their protection, and they anxiously seek a way to security. The Federalists have formed organizations in many countries which reach into many towns and cities with earnest workers.

It was inevitable that all these organizations would want to develop a world organization. Great Britain has been extremely active through the British Federal Union as well as through Parliamentary action, to push ahead toward world government. Mr. Evelyn King, M.P. and member of the British Federal Union, called a world-wide conference to meet in Geneva in July '47. They established a secretariat in Geneva, with a small but very efficient staff. There they wrote a statement of beliefs, called the Montreux Declaration.

This staff has spent this past year organizing groups all over the world, in 23 countries. They have been instrumental in forming Parliamentary committees in 7 National Parliaments, to promote Federalism. The Federalists are really organizing the world.

The Second Convention of this World Movement for Federal World Government met in September in Luxembourg. Here they rewrote their belief in a so-called "Luxembourg Declaration." I should so like to read it to you if there were time. It is printed in "The Common Cause."

Mrs. Elizabeth ^{IN}Mam Borgese, the delegate from the Chicago Plan, reported as follows: "In spite of toil and drudgery from dawn to dusk there was a spirit of universal brotherhood, much good faith, and much careful study. There was more accomplished in one week by

these many differing delegates, than any one organization separately in a whole year." Think what the obstacle of language meant to this group, almost as much as at San Francisco.

They elected a new President, Sir John Boyd Ott, and to the Council, Lord Beveridge and Elizabeth ^{HN}Marr, and with them two Turks, one Indian, one Pakistanian, and one Chinese, truly a world council for a world movement. [ORR]

Afterwards in October, members of the Geneva staff visited and established new groups in these countries.

1. The Turkish Federalist Group.
2. The Japanese Union for World Federal Government (with Kagawa as Vice President)
3. The Indian Movement for World Government with Mr. Dalmia, a rich industrialist and publisher of New Delhi, leading.

Mr. Dalmia has offered \$4000.00 to the author of a book, published in 1949, which best promotes peace, and the offer will be renewed in 1950 and 1951. He has also offered to give \$15,000.00 each year to the person, irrespective of race or religion, who renders the greatest service to the promotion of peace, or makes the best effort for a one-world government.

India seems to be entirely committed to a belief in World Government. A recent article in our Sunday Tribune is headed, "Nehru tells the world, federate or perish." He has recently called 19 Asiatic countries into conference, to discuss World Federation, saying he does not wish to be a fringe of Europe. India's new Constitution has a clause permitting them to yield their sovereignty to a World Government.

The Constitutions of France and Italy each have such permission clauses, and are ready to reorganize into a federal government.

European Union

It has been amazing to see how wide the interest and how earnest the efforts have become for a world government. And even as I write there are very vigorous movements going on for a United States of Europe. Several Congresses have been held this fall, and I will be out of date before I finish, and need an addenda.

Just after the World Movement for World Government was held in September in Luxembourg, the European Federalists held another meeting in November in Rome to further consider their own Federation^s.

Emery Reves says that, "Europe is ready to adopt world government now; but Europeans feel that America must initiate the plan, and they are skeptical of the willingness of the USA to federate with other sovereign nations, to give up their ways of doing things, or to accept any dictation from a world government, so the Europeans are trying to federate among themselves. There is nothing else they can do. At any rate the attention of Europeans is focused on European Federation, they think they can't wait for world government."

You will remember that last March, the Foreign Ministers of Britain, France, Belgium, The Netherlands, and Luxembourg, meeting in Brussels, signed a 50-year treaty of military and economic alliance, the Brussels Pact. A Congress of these five nations met at The Hague on July 20, and among other things discussed the age-old idea of uniting Europe. The Pope sent his approval, which has interested Catholics in this country. The Italian Senate on July 31 urged that a federated Europe be formed "in the shortest possible time." Count Sforza vigorously endorsed the Senate. The Foreign Affairs Committee of the French National Assembly urged European Federation by a vote of 21 to 6.

But, of course, Britain holds the key to European Union and its relation to world government. Churchill has expressed his belief in it, but Anthony Eden said it would only be "second best" without effective world government. It was said that the debate in the House of Commons, concerning a federated Europe, at the time of the Hague Congress in July, rivalled in grasp, eloquence and earnestness, the debates in the Philadelphia convention of 1787. England is still uncertain about joining a European Union. (I was told this week that Eden had changed his attitude.) Of course, the cornerstone has been laid, first, by the Benulux Countries, then by the Brussels Pact of five countries. Then the mutual interests of the Marshall aid countries is driving them into a co-operating group. And we seem to be moving swiftly toward further unification in the proposed North Atlantic Defense Alliance which includes the United States and Canada.

But whether a real federation will come through these groups is questionable, though they all help, and Europe is seething with plans for European Union. The British Labor Party, aside from Winston Churchill and Anthony Eden, are deeply interested and had proposed the creation of a single defense force for the E.R.A. nations before the North Atlantic Defense Alliance was in formation. They said that a defense organization would bind the countries so tightly that the task of unscrambling them, to again create separate national forces, would be almost impossible. The Labor Party has already issued a pamphlet called, "Feet on the ground, a study of Western Union." I have not been able to see it. They have even proposed Strasbourg, as the future capital of the European Federation. A plan so ardently desired is likely to materialize in some form.

(Newspaper clipping:

(STRASBOURG URGED
(AS FEDERATION SITE

(PARIS--(AP)-- Britain yesterday proposed
(Strasbourg, Alsation town overlooking the
(Rhine on the Franco-German frontier, as the
(future capital of a European federation.
(Hugh Dalton, chief British delegate to the
(five-power European federation committee,
(put forth this project as the committee met.

I will just mention another world organization which met in Geneva, September 17-18. It is called The World Union of Peace Organizations, with headquarters in England. They discussed, chiefly, the problems of East and West relations. But I am mentioning it only to make the picture of world meetings this fall complete.

But another important meeting took place at Interlaken on September first.

The European Parliamentary Union.

This organization was formed in September, 1947, and had its second meeting this fall. It was composed of delegates from 10 European Parliaments with over 200 people present, from Britain, France, Belgium, The Netherlands, Italy, Denmark, Greece, Turkey, Germany, and Austria. They met unofficially to plan a Federated Western Europe and to prepare for a European Constituent Assembly, which they propose shall be held by March, 1949. They drafted a very full charter of European federation to present to the governments and parliaments of Europe. (Published in January '49 number of Common Cause.) The French government is the only one thus far to give official support to the European federation project. We have an "American Committee for a Free and United Europe," under the leadership of Sen. Fulbright, Mr. Bullitt, Mr. Hoover, Norman Thomas, William

Green (A.F.L.), and other prominent Americans, who attended this Congress. Our State Department sent a strong endorsement: "We favor the taking by the Europeans themselves of any steps which promote the idea of European unity, or which promote the study of practical measures." We may be hearing soon of the calling of this Constituent Assembly to draft a Constitution for Europe.

People's Convention

Well, I think I have, at least, reported the numerous Congresses and Conferences that have met this year to consider plans for federations in part or in whole. There is still another plan being widely considered, a PeoplesConvention to be called for 1950 to write a world constitution. I believe it began in England. Mr. Churchill has been a warm advocate of world government, and Mr. Bevin said before the United Nations Assembly this fall: "There may yet grow that world government for which humanity yearns and for which it has been striving and struggling for so long."

The British Parliament, in 1946, declared that creation of a world government was the main purpose of British foreign policy. Said Mr. Henry C. Usbourne in the House of Commons: "All in this House know that what is needed is effective world government, as the Foreign Minister and leaders of all parties have said, and we are prepared to work for it and to spend and be spent in that endeavor." Mr. Usbourne has proposed a "Peoples World Constitutional Convention" to meet in Geneva in 1950. He set up and heads "The British Crusade for World Government in Great Britain," whose task is to work for this Peoples Convention in 1950, to write a world constitution. The Crusade has aroused great interest. The Scottish Federalist groups issued a pamphlet called, "The Plan in Outline," giving it strong support.

Forty Crusade action groups, organizing throughout Britain, met near London, last May, to discuss plans and to start advertising in leading magazines. In London, two young men have equipped a van with loud speaker and films and hold meetings on the street corners for the men in the street. Some young men tried to take the plan to the Youth Conference in Warsaw, but they were ousted. The English group have made overtures to Russia, but no reply.

In Denmark, the Federalist groups have adopted the Crusade idea, and aroused strong enthusiasm, at the biggest meeting the groups had ever held (1300).

In Sweden, a group was formed to promote the Peoples Convention plan, and one of the nation's most outstanding women, Kerstin Hellelgren, accepted chairmanship.

In Germany and Italy, the idea of a ^{Peoples} Convention was accepted, but after friendly debate between the federalist groups they felt that a Convention of parliamentary committees would be more promising.

The United States groups have been a little slow (if you can call an interim of 8 or 9 months slow). But Sen. Taylor introduced a Senate concurrent resolution which urges our government to initiate action to provide for election of delegates to a World Constitutional Convention next year. Other groups have sent to the President suggested ways of choosing delegates by popular vote to this Peoples Convention. The most important move was made by the Federalists. They announced a meeting to be held in June at Pocono Pines, Pa. The six inviters were: Dr. Stringfellow Barr (of the Chicago Committee), Grenville Clark (author of a world constitution), Albert Einstein, Hubert Humphrey (on the Federalist Board), Leo Szilard (of Chicago University), and Carl Van Doren. (They asked 40-odd leading federalists to spend a week end with them in threshing out

the idea of a People's Convention. The result from the Pocono conference was a so-called "Campaign for the People's World Convention" similar to the British Crusade.

A People's Convention was the most discussed issue at the November meeting in Minneapolis, though it didn't come into open meeting. It was voted there that the United World Federalists is to establish an American Planning Council to work on detailed plans for a People's Convention and the popular election of delegates. The World Republic, the second largest organization in the United States, has for its main aim the plan for the People's Convention. The idea has taken strong root.

RUSSIA

All through the discussions for a world government the stand that Russia will take has been debated and wondered over. No one knows or can hazard a guess. Warren Austin charged that "the Soviets will place their sovereignty above the security of all." It has been asked whether world government is being discussed in Russia, probably it is. The Moscow broadcasts attack "The dozens of organizations in American which favor the formation of a world government." Their propaganda organs make increasing efforts on rebuttal of federalists' arguments. She is certainly conscious of our movements for world government. A resolution passed at the November meeting here, called for federation with Russia if possible, but without her if absolutely necessary. Others have expressed the opinion that she couldn't afford to stay out with the world arrayed against her, and if not at first, eventually she would join. But it is probable that Russia expects to conquer the world and make a one-world government of her own type. And we will leave it there. Russia is unpredictable.

To summarize: We have now three proposals for the formation of a body to give form and organization to a world government.

Written by Lester A. Countryman
Read at Peripatetics Club in Mpls. Jan 30, 1949
and at Tourist Club Mpls. March 28, 1949.

WORLD GOVERNMENT.

Lester A. Countryman
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Duluth

When I chose this subject, it was because of a deep interest of long standing - ever since, in younger days, I read those wonderful words in Tennyson's Locksley Hall, with their prophetic vision

Till the war drums throbbed no longer
And the battle flags were furled
In the Parliament of Man
The federation of the World.

I still believe that these words were a great vision that will some day become a reality, I hope in my day.

I have tried to keep up with the development of World Government or Federation during the past ten or twelve years, but I was not prepared, when I began reading this fall, for the exciting growth of the project, nor for the progress and world-wide interest in world government, induced probably through fear of atomic war. An article in a recent newspaper was headed "Sentiment Spreading Fast for World Government," and saying: "One of the biggest spontaneous citizens' movements of our time is the spreading sentiment for world government."

There are now many organizations working with almost fanatical zeal to arouse people's interest in world government, some of the most influential of them not more than two or three years old, with many distinguished scholars, scientists and statesmen associated with them. They are being organized all over the world, it is truly a world movement. There were 3 world congresses this fall, parliamentary committees are being appointed to consider federation; constitutions and charters are proposed; bills are presented to Congress. From Nehru in India and the Ambassador from New Zealand to Pres. Hutchins in Chicago to Garry Davis performing in Paris, I am overwhelmed with material and the rapidity of events. I am having much difficulty in presenting the story, the unfinished story, in orderly fashion,

firstly, secondly, thirdly. I don't think I can, but I will give it with as much form and continuity as I can.

Why should there be a World Government? The most commonly expressed reason is this, we have local and state governments which through law and justice protect the local and state communities; we have national governments to guide and protect our national interests; but as yet, the world community, with its complex and unregulated relationships and antagonistic interests is wholly unprotected and chaotic.

Peoples are paralyzed with fear of aggressors. They want security more than anything else in the world. The United Nations, wonderful and valuable as it is, cannot prevent war, cannot punish aggressors. Until there is a government, which can do for the world what our federal government does for the United States, until there is an international government, with legislative and military power, there can be no universal peace, nor security.

To quote Emery Reves, author of "Anatomy of Peace," than whom there is no better authority, "As long as absolute sovereignty resides within each nation state, conflicts between national units are inevitable. It is the nation state, nationalism, that is destroying the world. Danger not in the atomic A-bomb, nor in any other weapon which the genius of man can create. The danger lies in the absence of any law between states. Their relations are wholly uncontrolled." He concludes: "To organize a universal legal order, a world universal Legislative Assembly, based on law, with sufficient funds and sufficient military strength to enforce law, is the task before us, and it is the first step."

I think that answers the question why a world government.

What is a world government? This would seem easy to answer, but the most earnest advocates differ. Some are minimalists, who think that a world government should be organized with only one function, to maintain peace and to have the machinery to accomplish this. Others are maximalists, who believe that the world government must be able not only to keep the peace but to administer justice, with international law and courts, and to promote human rights. But stated simply, it is an international body, established by the nations, and to which the nations submit enough authority and power to maintain peace, or through a constitution adopted by the nations to further all phases of human welfare. Unlike the League of Nations or the United Nations Organization it is a real government, able to govern whose laws are the supreme law, along agreed-upon lines.

Because of its possibilities, it has interested not only statesmen and politicians, but scientists and churchmen. Einstein says that its establishment is the supreme issue of the day. The CHRISTIAN CENTURY says in an editorial, "organized religion for the sake of its own moral authority cannot afford to be satisfied with anything less than world government." Arnold Toynbee, in his last book of essays, says, "I believe it is a foregone conclusion that the world is in any event, going to be unified politically in the near future. A world civilization can develop and eventually a world religion." But there are also bitter opponents. From the arch isolationists, such as Gerald K. Smith and Upton Close, we get such gems as "a dastardly conspiracy to establish world government." Or this, "the white slave state takes shape."

But now we ask HOW shall world government be established, it is this question that is the most difficult to answer, for while the goal is definite, the method of reaching it differs considerably. It seems almost un-attainable, and there are many hurdles. This

paper will be concerned largely with answering this question of How, what solutions are proposed, what groups are at work, and what approach do they suggest and with what success.

Organizations formed before the Second World War or just after, take a long time view, but those formed since the atomic bomb, feel and promote the immediacy of the need for a world government.

Such leaders as Emery Reves and Cord Meyers, press for immediate action, and they have rapidly growing support from the people. These seem to be the chief approaches now being advanced for immediate action:

1. through revision of the charter of the U.N.O.
2. through Parliamentary Committees.
3. through a People's World Constitutional Convention.

I will take these methods up in order. Various groups are behind each of these plans, both here and in Europe. And they all face these problems which the League of Women Voters listed in their fine leaflet last March.

1. How much of the world should unite.
2. How far should the power of the federated world extend over member states.
3. Can world government prevent war.
4. What degree of likeness is necessary before union becomes feasible.
5. To what extent is a federal government the result or the cause of unity between its component parts.

And we may add - what kind of a constitution, a skeleton or a full federal government.

Yes, HOW is the great problem, and When, is another.

When we realize the enormous response to the plan of world government given by the common people, there may be more immediate action forced

upon national governments than we dare hope. But again, however necessary, we know that it will be only by pressure of fear, or by the irresistible force of the people that nations will give up their sovereignty.

Now, after this short outline of the subject and in order to give a slight design or framework to this paper, and to consider the momentous questions, HOW and WHEN a world government as presented by various groups, we will first take a backward glance to see the growth of the idea of world unity through the centuries. Second, we will present the various groups in the United States, what they believe and what they are contributing toward informing and arousing public opinion. And third, a look at the European movements, their pacts, alliances, the European Congresses, the proposed European Federation, and world response elsewhere. I hope I can present a fairly clear picture.

A Backward Glance

The idea of one world, a united world, is not a new one. It was dreamed of by old Chinese philosophers. Jesus Christ, establishing a universal religion, said, "There shall be one flock and one shepherd." And Paul, standing on Mars Hill said, "He hath made of one blood, all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth."

To quote from other great minds -

Erasmus: "Let the lovers of discord and the promoters of bloodshed among nations, rather reflect that this world, the whole of the planet called Earth is the common country of all who live and breathe upon it."

Franklin: "God grant that not only the love of liberty, but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man, may pervade all the

nations of the earth, so that a philosopher may set his foot anywhere on its surface and say, this is my country."

Dostoyevsky:

"Mankind as a whole has always striven to organize a universal state. There have been many great nations, with great histories, but the more highly developed, the more unhappy, for they felt more acutely than others, the craving for world wide union."

But consider Immanuel Kant's "International Society Of Free Peoples," explained in a pamphlet written in 1795, and reprinted by the World Peace Foundation in 1914. He says, "The law of nations shall be founded on a federation of free states, not only as a safeguard against war, but as a system of international right, conjoined with power to which all nations must submit." Pretty modern peace and justice.

There have been many attempts at international organization through the centuries with many failures. But I will remind you of two successes. In 1291, the little Swiss Republic, a miniature example, was formed by Selectmen from three tiny cantons, they met in a field and took an oath of perpetual alliance against the war lords who threatened their peace and freedom. The alliance grew and has lasted more than six centuries, each canton preserving its full freedom. What it has done on a microscopic scale is just what is proposed for the countries of the world.

So also our thirteen colonies, each one independent and sovereign, had joined in a loose confederation. It was not enough, so they sent delegates to the famous Convention of 1787, to revise or amend the Articles of Confederation, just as we consider amendments to the United Nations. Many wise and far sighted delegates

met day after day believing that a Union, not a confederation, was absolutely necessary for the development of a nation which they foresaw. So they boldly wrote our Constitution, changing the loose confederation into a federal government. This wonderful document, with few changes, has guided a great nation for more than 160 years, an example of how a federal world government would work.

Carl Van Doran has written the day by day story of these earnest, wise delegates in action in his "The Great Rehearsal." Quoting from the preface of his book, he says, "Many citizens of many nations are convinced that only by some such alteration of the Charter of the United Nations can the United Nations develop from a weak league of states, into a real government capable of securing the peace and welfare of the world. The story of making the United States Constitution and molding the thirteen colonies into a union in 1787, shows all the arguments for and all those used by opponents against a world government. The very same in 1948 as in 1787. The framers of our constitution knew all the difficulties of forming a federal government for thirteen sovereign and jealous colonies, but that was nothing compared to the dangers without it. So the friends of World Government in 1949 find it obvious that no difficulty in the way of getting World Government can match the danger of a world without it. The undertaking of our Founding Fathers might be a rehearsal for future federal governments."

RECENT WORLD MOVEMENTS

Having taken this glimpse into the past, we will return to our century. The first great attempt at organization of nations on a world scale was, of course, the League of Nations. The League was a noble idea, and a noble undertaking which was initiated in America. Under the name "The League to Enforce Peace" we campaigned

for it all over this country. It was eagerly supported and finally endorsed by Congress and the President was authorized to accomplish it. But when it was consummated we repudiated it. But it is generally conceded now that its failure was not because the United States did not belong, but because of the inherent weakness of its structure. No nation surrendered any of its sovereignty nor gave the League any authority. It was not a government. That it was a failure, witness Manchuria, Ethiopia, and the rise of German might. Mr. Culbertson says, written in 1942, "Although the League of Nations has already been buried with military honors, and can never be revived, yet, Mr. Wilson and his associates have awakened a world consciousness that will never die. Humanity has seen a world center. Defeat of the League is only temporary, it will be reborn."

So, as war threatened and the League had been powerless to ward off the threatening war preparations, and the challenge of Hitler, men began to think most seriously about a federated effort against war. There was now no international organization, it was each nation for itself. The situation was critical, something must be thought out. Many leaders, spokesmen and writers began to appear. The most important was Mr. Clarence Streit, who offered his solution in a book called "Union Now" published in 1938. It was strong, vigorous and concrete. It aroused great interest, and fired the imagination and enthusiasm of many distinguished people. An organization formed to promote his plan which is now an active group, called "FEDERAL UNION." It was the first of the new world organizations. Many people owe their first interest in world federation to its convincing arguments. "UNION NOW" is still an inspiring book and many subscribe to his plan of a world government.

His concrete plan is to form a union of fifteen democracies, mostly around the North Atlantic. The union he proposes includes the

British Commonwealth countries, the Scandinavian countries, France, Italy, Switzerland, Netherlands, Belgium, and the United States. These nations own half the earth, govern half the world, conduct two-thirds of the world's trade and rule all of its oceans. His idea is to combine on a basis of ideologies, democratic against totalitarian.

Streit really advocates a United States of the world, with the same enormous powers as our federal government. His World Parliament would be elected by the people on a basis of population. But as China, India and Russia are countries of great and ignorant populations, he would at first exclude them because they might control the world. I cannot see this plan making a happy, contented world. His "UNION NOW" would practically be a union of the United States and Britain, and I cannot see them later admitting this great foreign group, not for centuries anyway. His book was written before the war and before the menace of Russia.

When the war began so fiercely, discussions of peace plans were very wide spread. It was said that in the leading English newspapers for every five columns of war news, there were ten columns of discussions of peace plans. People felt so strongly that there was no use winning the war unless they could win a permanent peace not a truce.

The idea was spreading that world government was the supreme issue of the day even before we were actually at war. The Chicago Round Table in March 1940, dealt with the subject, "Must the World Unite." In 1941, Mr. Grenville Clark wrote and published a very detailed constitution called a "Federation of Free Peoples" evidently based on Kant's "International Society of Free Peoples." He said he wrote it to have something concrete for men to discuss. I have read it but do not need to analyze it. I mention it to show

how much the idea was taking hold and because Mr. Grenville Clark is on the Board of the largest group working for World Government.

But the next important contribution came from Mr. Ely Culbertson. Most of us think of him only as a card expert, but that is his leisure time hobby. He wrote a book called "TOTAL PEACE" published by Doubleday which I have not read. But I have read a condensation, "Summary of World Federation Plan" issued in 1943. His secondary title is "An Outline of a Practical and Detailed Plan For World Settlement" which he says can be applied immediately and would stop the war as well as secure permanent peace. Because it has received so much study and has commended itself to so many people, and because a large organization is now advocating his plan, I want to spend some extra time on him. When his plan was issued an organization called "The World Federation Institute" was formed to "bring about the adoption of this plan or if this plan is not adopted, that its concreteness and realism may lead to the development of an even better plan, to the lasting good of humanity."

Dorothy Thompson said of it, "He has brought forward the strongest and most realistic plan for creating a world police system that will protect all in collective security."

Hamilton Holt, president of Rollins College, "This plan is the most concrete and comprehensive system for world settlement that I have seen."

Max Eastman, "A program of world organization such as this plan proposes, can both hasten the victory of democratic civilization and conceivably make it permanent."

The plan is not a constitution for a world federation but a very detailed plan for a "co-operative of nations," based upon the supreme authority of law. The very great detail of the plan is very interesting but not easily condensed. He would divide the

world into eleven regions whose borders could not be changed without due process of law. He has carefully mapped out these regions according to race, development, continuity, etc., a very intricate and thoughtful piece of work. Each nation retains its own government but as a part of a region, it would submit to the regional government concerned only with matters affecting more than one country in the region. All regions would be under a world government concerned only with world problems or those between regions. The most important provision is for a strong police force of two million men, recruited on a quota plan for each nation. He has worked out the just quota for each nation. I believe ours is 18% of the whole. Each nation must maintain its own men on its borders, subject to call by the world government. In addition, there is to be a small mobile corps ready for immediate use of the world government. This separation of army units ensures that the world government will not be able to seize the army and become a world tyranny. The world government must also control the manufacture of all heavy weapons for mass destruction.

What Culbertson chiefly contributed was the plan for regional governments intermediate between individual governments and the world government, and the quota system of sustaining a great army. I notice that Norman Thomas this fall gave his personal support to the Culbertson plan.

There have been and still are many small groups as well as large ones, working to spread interest in a world government. It seems strange that all this activity for the past decade should have found no echo at Dumbarton Oaks or at the San Francisco Conference. It was a great disappointment that nothing better resulted than a somewhat stronger League of Nations, unable to prevent war or reduce national hostilities.

It was inevitable, that since the atom bomb and since the adoption again of a League unable to prevent war that the proponents of world government should have put on a much more vigorous and determined campaign. They intend to accomplish through popular action what statesmen could not or would not do through the United Nations Charter.

The failure of the United Nations Organization to accomplish peace is doing more to convince nations that they must federate for their very existence, than any other argument. So the past two or three years since the atom bomb has seen a different spirit in the intensity of purpose to establish a federated world. Immediacy is urged. As Emery Reves reiterates over and over, the establishment of world government is the first step, nationalism is the menace of the world's peace. We feel and see a great difference in the efforts of these recent years both here and over the world. We ask now, not only HOW, we are also stressing WHEN.

Of all the movements since the war, what is known as the "Chicago Plan" seems to me the most significant. It had its genesis at a Chicago Round Table, on Sunday, August 12, 1945, on the subject "Atomic Force and its Meaning for Mankind" just six days after Hiroshima. President Hutchins summing up the discussion said, "One way is world suicide, the other is agreement among sovereign states to abstain from using the bomb. This will not be effective. The only hope, therefore, of abolishing war is through the monopoly of atomic bombs by a world organization." Early the following month two faculty members called on President Hutchins to propose the formation of an "Institute for World Government." They said that a world constitution is needed and that it wasn't likely that it would be written by bureaucrats or diplomats. The proposed Institute became "The Committee to Frame a World Constitution." President

Hutchins became and still is its president. The committee was chosen with great care. The prerequisites for eligibility were:

1. Complete competence, intellectually and practically in world affairs.
2. Freedom from political commitments.
3. An uncompromising belief that world government is necessary and therefore possible.

The Committee was a wonderful group of professors chosen from several colleges. A sketch of each one is given in the Saturday Review of Literature of April 3rd, 1948. (You will notice much material in the Saturday Review of Literature because Norman Cousins, the editor, is an ardent Federalist.) Eleven men were chosen, men of great ability, experts in law, government, political economy, history and literature. Three were foreign born, from Italy, France and Czechoslovakia. Thomas Mann's daughter, Elizabeth Borgese, was a tireless researcher and assistant. They reviewed among other documents, the Colonial federalist papers, the Chinese, Spanish, Russian and Weimar constitutions. In all, over 150 documents were reviewed and studied. The committee had thirteen meetings of two or three days each, from November of 1945 to July of 1947. It took them nearly one year to decide whether it should be a minimal or maximal constitution. The committee decided on a maximal, and then it proceeded to write a very perfect constitution for a one-world government. It was finished in July of 1947 and after scrutiny and criticism by experts it was submitted to the public in the March number of "THE COMMON CAUSE" a magazine that the Committee had established in July, 1947. It was also published, in toto, in the Saturday Literary Review of April, 1948. The Minneapolis Tribune with other big newspapers gave it a notice and considerable analysis. A good outline also appeared in Life.

The eminence of the Committee, its long careful work of two years, its almost minute study of every available document on the subject, drew unusual attention to it. The Committee said in the introduction, "The problems of world government are hard and intricate, this constitutional design will show what a Federal Republic of the world might look like. World government shall come, that is practically the consensus of opinion in this generation, whether in five years or fifty, whether without a conflagration or after it."

The Committee dedicated this constitution to Gandhi. A beautiful dedication from which I quote a few sentences. "If there had been a world presidential election before his death, January 30, 1948, Gandhi would have been elected. For the first time in history a "little brown man" won leadership over all races of men...Gandhi spanned the continents. Through British domination, he was educated in England; he acquired the culture of the West. The land of his birth has been called Mother India by all civilizations. He died as the presumptive first president of one world."

This Chicago Plan is a very complete system of government with a president, an assembly, council, supreme court, and a tribune of the people to whom even an individual can go, it really represents minorities. It does not propose changing the charter of the United Nations, only proposing as perfect a system of government for a one-world as can be devised. It was published in book form this fall. It has appeared in England, has been translated into German, French, and Italian and is now being translated into Japanese.

The other large organization in the United States, the largest, is the United World Federalists, which held its second annual convention in Minneapolis last November under the leadership of young Cord Meyer. This organization is concerned not only with the how, but with the when. Mr. Meyer is an honor graduate of Yale,

served in the Marines for two years, lost his left eye at Guam, his twin brother was killed at Okinawa. These terrible war experiences made him feel that his life must be devoted to the prevention of another war, and he is doing it. He was an assistant to Mr. Stassen at San Francisco. He was completely disillusioned by the action of short-sighted statesmen and deeply disappointed in the charter of the new United Nations.

This organization firmly believes that a world federation can be accomplished through the revision of the United Nations Charter. And toward that end they are working. That is their HOW. They believe that this method is more possible, more likely to gain government action, less likely to cause confusion in the time of transition to a world government and chiefly it is the quickest method. In the minds of Mr. Reves and Mr. Meyer, the WHEN is almost as important as the HOW. They are insistent upon immediacy, as Meyer sets forth in his book, "Peace or Anarchy." They feel too, that Americans must take the leadership. Mark Van Doren, in an article in The American Scholar this summer says, "The first step toward the federation of the world is for the United States government to make known that it desires it, the next step is to ask other governments whether they desire it, and if they do to point out that there is something that can be done about it, namely; that the charter of the United Nations can be amended. Then the United Nations can call a convention to consider such changes in its nature as would produce a union of nations." This is just the procedure the United World Federalists recommend. And the first step is American action through Congress. Congress can only be reached through a sufficiently strong voice of the people. So the United World Federalists are putting on a vigorous campaign to arouse and inform people of the crisis before us. Mr. Holliday, President of the Standard Oil Company of Ohio, calls it "Our final choice."

The United World Federalists are establishing branches in every state, chapters in every town and city, forceful speakers are giving their time, series of broadcasts are given, several Town Meetings have discussed it and many magazine articles have appeared. Only in their second year, they have persuaded seventeen state legislatures to pass resolutions asking Congress to consider revising the charter of the United Nations. Such a bill came up in the special session this summer, and Mr. Meyer appeared before the House Foreign Affairs Committee with Chairman Eaton's approval. Another and probably better bill will be introduced this winter. The hope is that a special committee will be appointed like the parliamentary committees already appointed in eleven countries to study ways of joining other nations for world government. Before this last election, the Federalist had made a strong impression on both major parties. Many state conventions went on record favoring world government. A questionnaire was sent out to all congressional candidates, the total replying was 356, and of these 227 answered an unequivocal "yes." Fifty of the winning candidates in the House and five in the Senate were among those favoring. These, together with members already on record, make a total of 87 members of the new Congress for a potential world government bloc. There are besides, an even greater number who have indicated their belief in strengthening the United Nations.

There is a subsidiary but very important group to the United World Federalist, the student division of the United World Federalists, working with all the enthusiasm of youth. This was founded by Mr. Harris Wafford, a young man who became interested at fifteen years of age, and now at twenty-one is one of the ablest organizers, writers, as well as theorists in the American Federalist group, comparable to Cord Meyer in his devotion. One of the first,

if not the first President, was a young woman who graduated from the University of Minnesota last June. She has since married Mr. Wafford and I believe they are on their way to India, where the movement for world government is very strong.

The student division had a fine conference in Wellesley in August and also met simultaneously with the United World Federalists conference in Minneapolis in November. Delegates from forty campuses were there and nine members pledged full time work on a expense-only basis.

We have a flourishing branch here at the Minnesota University, two members recently flew to Sauk Center between classes, "to help bring the idea of world government to Main Street." Their visit was followed by a resolution to Congress signed by an influential group of citizens, asking for support for a bill to amend the United Nations. That seems to be the procedure carried on by eager groups of the United World Federalists. Many towns have sent in petitions to the President or members of Congress. Last January, Cleveland citizens sent in a petition signed by 300,000 citizens. Cleveland has been the center of much citizen activity for world government.

And now for a brief summary of the large working groups for world government in the United States. The League of Women Voters issued a fine leaflet last March, giving information about all the organizations, which many of you will have seen.

1. Streit's Federal Union is the oldest, a large and influential group; which has as its primary objective, the federating of the democratic countries with world government only as a long-range aim.
2. Culbertson's group, known as The Citizen's Committee for United Nations Reform. It proposes regional governments according to a quota plan, under a central world government,

but believes that a true world government is unattainable in the near future.

3. World Foundation of Peace, an old organization, which has just received a gift of a million dollars. It was quite active at the Minneapolis Convention and joins and assists any plan to bring permanent peace.

The next groups are not more than one or two years old, formed since the horror of an atomic war caused a new and vigorous campaign for peace through a federated world.

4. The United World Federalist Group (U.W.F.) is the largest and most influential group, which met in Minneapolis in November for its second annual convention. It urges the revision of the United Nations into a strong powerful organization, practically a federated world government. It works to win Congress to that end.

5. The next largest group is the World Republic, which has its second convention in Chicago this fall. It puts most of its emphasis on work for a People's Constitutional Convention in 1950, to draft a World Constitution. Britain, Canada and other countries are working for such a Convention and we are beginning to, also.

6. The Chicago Plan. Keeps active through its splendid magazine "The Common Cause" which reports all Congress^{es}~~ional~~ and World activities for union.

There are many strong but smaller groups which add strength to the movement, which is steadily gaining, both here and abroad.

It would seem wise to pool the efforts of these groups; they have the same goal, though differing in detail. Last June, the National Conference for the Prevention of War, through the influence of the A.A.U.N., asked the various groups to participate in their program. Mr. Clarence Streit, Mr. Ely Culbertson and Mr. Leveridge of the United World Federalists spoke from the same platform, explaining their aims to an audience of active workers of all ^{shades} ~~sorts~~ of opinions. We hope this will lead to continued cooperation.

European Movements

The rest of the world is far more alive to the necessity of a federated world than we are. They live in fear, they want the solidarity of the world as their protection, and they anxiously seek a way to security. The Federalists have formed organizations in many countries which reach into many towns and cities with earnest workers.

It was inevitable that all these organizations would want to develop a world organization. Great Britain has been extremely active through the British Federal Union as well as through Parliamentary action, to push ahead toward world government. Mr. Evelyn King, M.P. and member of the British Federal Union, called a world-wide conference to meet in Geneva in July '47. They established a secretariat in Geneva, with a small but very efficient staff. There they wrote a statement of beliefs, called the Montreux Declaration.

This staff has spent this past year organizing groups all over the world, in 23 countries. They have been instrumental in forming Parliamentary committees in 7 National Parliaments, to promote Federalism. The Federalists are really organizing the world.

The Second Convention of this World Movement for Federal World Government met in September in Luxembourg. Here they rewrote their belief in a so-called "Luxembourg Declaration." I should so like to read it to you if there were time. It is printed in "The Common Cause."

Mrs. Elizabeth Mam Borgese, the delegate from the Chicago Plan, reported as follows: "In spite of toil and drudgery from dawn to dusk there was a spirit of universal brotherhood, much good faith, and much careful study. There was more accomplished in one week by

these many differing delegates, than any one organization separately in a whole year." Think what the obstacle of language meant to this group, almost as much as at San Francisco.

They elected a new President, Sir John Boyd Ott, and to the Council, Lord Beveridge and Elizabeth Marm, and with them two Turks, one Indian, one Pakistanian, and one Chinese, truly a world council for a world movement.

Afterwards in October, members of the Geneva staff visited and established new groups in these countries.

1. The Turkish Federalist Group.
2. The Japanese Union for World Federal Government
(with Kagawa as Vice President)
3. The Indian Movement for World Government with
Mr. Dalmia, a rich industrialist and publisher
of New Delhi, leading.

Mr. Dalmia has offered \$4000.00 to the author of a book, published in 1949, which best promotes peace, and the offer will be renewed in 1950 and 1951. He has also offered to give \$15,000.00 each year to the person, irrespective of race or religion, who renders the greatest service to the promotion of peace, or makes the best effort for a one-world government.

India seems to be entirely committed to a belief in World Government. A recent article in our Sunday Tribune is headed, "Nehru tells the world, federate or perish." He has recently called 19 Asiatic countries into conference, to discuss World Federation, saying he does not wish to be a fringe of Europe. India's new Constitution has a clause permitting them to yield their sovereignty to a World Government.

The Constitutions of France and Italy each have such permission clauses, and are ready to reorganize into a federal government.

European Union

It has been amazing to see how wide the interest and how earnest the efforts have become for a world government. And even as I write there are very vigorous movements going on for a United States of Europe. Several Congresses have been held this fall, and I will be out of date before I finish, and need an addenda.

Just after the World Movement for World Government was held in September in Luxembourg, the European Federalists held another meeting in November in Rome to further consider their own Federations.

Emery Reves says that, "Europe is ready to adopt world government now; but Europeans feel that America must initiate the plan, and they are skeptical of the willingness of the USA to federate with other sovereign nations, to give up their ways of doing things, or to accept any dictation from a world government, so the Europeans are trying to federate among themselves. There is nothing else they can do. At any rate the attention of Europeans is focused on European Federation, they think they can't wait for world government."

You will remember that last March, the Foreign Ministers of Britain, France, Belgium, The Netherlands, and Luxembourg, meeting in Brussels, signed a 50-year treaty of military and economic alliance, the Brussels Pact. A Congress of these five nations met at The Hague on July 20, and among other things discussed the age-old idea of uniting Europe. The Pope sent his approval, which has interested Catholics in this country. The Italian Senate on July 31 urged that a federated Europe be formed "in the shortest possible time." Count Sforza vigorously endorsed the Senate. The Foreign Affairs Committee of the French National Assembly urged European Federation by a vote of 21 to 6.

But, of course, Britain holds the key to European Union and its relation to world government. Churchill has expressed his belief in it, but Anthony Eden said it would only be "second best" without effective world government. It was said that the debate in the House of Commons, concerning a federated Europe, at the time of the Hague Congress in July, rivalled in grasp, eloquence and earnestness, the debates in the Philadelphia convention of 1787. England is still uncertain about joining a European Union. (I was told this week that Eden had changed his attitude.) Of course, the cornerstone has been laid, first, by the Benulux Countries, then by the Brussels Pact of five countries. Then the mutual interests of the Marshall aid countries is driving them into a co-operating group. And we seem to be moving swiftly toward further unification in the proposed North Atlantic Defense Alliance which includes the United States and Canada.

But whether a real federation will come through these groups is questionable, though they all help, and Europe is seething with plans for European Union. The British Labor Party, aside from Winston Churchill and Anthony Eden, are deeply interested and had proposed the creation of a single defense force for the E.R.A. nations before the North Atlantic Defense Alliance was in formation. They said that a defense organization would bind the countries so tightly that the task of unscrambling them, to again create separate national forces, would be almost impossible. The Labor Party has already issued a pamphlet called, "Feet on the ground, a study of Western Union." I have not been able to see it. They have even proposed Strasbourg, as the future capital of the European Federation. A plan so ardently desired is likely to materialize in some form.

(Newspaper clipping:

(STRASBOURG URGED
(AS FEDERATION SITE
(

(PARIS--(AP)-- Britain yesterday proposed
(Strasbourg, Alsation town overlooking the
(Rhine on the Franco-German frontier, as the
(future capital of a European federation.
(Hugh Dalton, chief British delegate to the
(five-power European federation committee,
(put forth this project as the committee met.

I will just mention another world organization which met in Geneva, September 17-18. It is called The World Union of Peace Organizations, with headquarters in England. They discussed, chiefly, the problems of East and West relations. But I am mentioning it only to make the picture of world meetings this fall complete.

But another important meeting took place at Interlaken on September first.

The European Parliamentary Union.

This organization was formed in September, 1947, and had its second meeting this fall. It was composed of delegates from 10 European Parliaments with over 200 people present, from Britain, France, Belgium, The Netherlands, Italy, Denmark, Greece, Turkey, Germany, and Austria. They met unofficially to plan a Federated Western Europe and to prepare for a European Constituent Assembly, which they propose shall be held by March, 1949. They drafted a very full charter of European federation to present to the governments and parliaments of Europe. (Published in January '49 number of Common Cause.) The French government is the only one thus far to give official support to the European federation project. We have an "American Committee for a Free and United Europe," under the leadership of Sen. Fulbright, Mr. Bullitt, Mr. Hoover, Norman Thomas, William

Green (A.F.L.), and other prominent Americans, who attended this Congress. Our State Department sent a strong endorsement: "We favor the taking by the Europeans themselves of any steps which promote the idea of European unity, or which promote the study of practical measures." We may be hearing soon of the calling of this Constituent Assembly to draft a Constitution for Europe.

People's Convention

Well, I think I have, at least, reported the numerous Congresses and Conferences that have met this year to consider plans for federations in part or in whole. There is still another plan being widely considered, a Peoples Convention to be called for 1950 to write a world constitution. I believe it began in England. Mr. Churchill has been a warm advocate of world government, and Mr. Bevin said before the United Nations Assembly this fall: "There may yet grow that world government for which humanity yearns and for which it has been striving and struggling for so long."

The British Parliament, in 1946, declared that creation of a world government was the main purpose of British foreign policy. Said Mr. Henry C. Usbourne in the House of Commons: "All in this House know that what is needed is effective world government, as the Foreign Minister and leaders of all parties have said, and we are prepared to work for it and to spend and be spent in that endeavor." Mr. Usbourne has proposed a "Peoples World Constitutional Convention" to meet in Geneva in 1950. He set up and heads "The British Crusade for World Government in Great Britain," whose task is to work for this Peoples Convention in 1950, to write a world constitution. The Crusade has aroused great interest. The Scottish Federalist groups issued a pamphlet called, "The Plan in Outline," giving it strong support.

Forty Crusade action groups, organizing throughout Britain, met near London, last May, to discuss plans and to start advertising in leading magazines. In London, two young men have equipped a van with loud speaker and films and hold meetings on the street corners for the men in the street. Some young men tried to take the plan to the Youth Conference in Warsaw, but they were ousted. The English group have made overtures to Russia, but no reply.

In Denmark, the Federalist groups have adopted the Crusade idea, and aroused strong enthusiasm, at the biggest meeting the groups had ever held (1300).

In Sweden, a group was formed to promote the Peoples Convention plan, and one of the nation's most outstanding women, Kerstin Hellelgren, accepted chairmanship.

In Germany and Italy, the idea of a ^{Peoples} Convention was accepted, but after friendly debate between the federalist groups they felt that a Convention of parliamentary committees would be more promising.

The United States groups have been a little slow (if you can call an interim of 8 or 9 months slow). But Sen. Taylor introduced a Senate concurrent resolution which urges our government to initiate action to provide for election of delegates to a World Constitutional Convention next year. Other groups have sent to the President suggested ways of choosing delegates by popular vote to this Peoples Convention. The most important move was made by the Federalists. They announced a meeting to be held in June at Pocono Pines, Pa. The six inviters were: Dr. Stringfellow Barr (of the Chicago Committee), Grenville Clark (author of a world constitution), Albert Einstein, Hubert Humphrey (on the Federalist Board), Leo Szilard (of Chicago University), and Carl Van Doren. They asked 40-odd leading federalists to spend a week end with them in threshing out

the idea of a People's Convention. The result from the Pocono conference was a so-called "Campaign for the People's World Convention" similar to the British Crusade.

A People's Convention was the most discussed issue at the November meeting in Minneapolis, though it didn't come into open meeting. It was voted there that the United World Federalists is to establish an American Planning Council to work on detailed plans for a People's Convention and the popular election of delegates. The World Republic, the second largest organization in the United States, has for its main aim the plan for the People's Convention. The idea has taken strong root.

RUSSIA

All through the discussions for a world government the stand that Russia will take has been debated and wondered over. No one knows or can hazard a guess. Warren Austin charged that "the Soviets will place their sovereignty above the security of all." It has been asked whether world government is being discussed in Russia, probably it is. The Moscow broadcasts attack "The dozens of organizations in America which favor the formation of a world government." Their propaganda organs make increasing efforts on rebuttal of federalists' arguments. She is certainly conscious of our movements for world government. A resolution passed at the November meeting here, called for federation with Russia if possible, but without her if absolutely necessary. Others have expressed the opinion that she couldn't afford to stay out with the world arrayed against her, and if not at first, eventually she would join. But it is probable that Russia expects to conquer the world and make a one-world government of her own type. And we will leave it there. Russia is unpredictable.

To summarize: We have now three proposals for the formation of a body to give form and organization to a world government.

1. A United Nations Convention as provided for in the United Nations Charter to shape and decide upon a world government; the way proposed by United States groups.
2. People's World Constitution Assembly, urged by Great Britain for 1950.
3. Parliamentary Committees to shape an European Federation and ultimately a world government.

Another strange and interesting movement is curiously gathering around Garry Davis, self-styled citizen of the world. He fired the imagination and has had much attention from the French while the United Nations Assembly was meeting in Paris. I quote from an article in Time, "Last week Garry Davis issued his first policy statement, as follows 'I ask every one everywhere to write me to make known their desire to be registered as world citizens. Within two months the registry will be opened, and to each applicant will be issued a card stating that he possesses world citizenship. Not thousands, but millions of applications will be made, and in 1950 an assembly of the peoples of the world will be elected.'" It is another popular crusade. It seems absurd, but the common peoples' great longing for peace and this dramatic call to register as world citizens may bring unlooked for results. It is not the intellectuals but the will of the common people that often brings things about. Times are strange, and we may see strange ways to solve our crucial problems.

Well this is a very feeble effort to outline the greatest attempt to solve the greatest problem that civilization has ever faced, the greatest popular movement ever engineered by human beings to save themselves. Do you notice that most of the activity has been

during the past year, and we seem to be just getting under way.

I am aware that I might have, and have not, in this paper, gone into all the problems and difficulties attending so momentous a change as a world government. Nor the form it might take, or the powers it might have. Not in concrete form could I give the details of charters and constitutions. Experts are spending days and months on trifling but necessary details. I have had to confine myself to telling the story of the world wide interest, which will some day soon come to a head.

We do not know what a day may bring forth, but we are sure that we are facing great changes. It may be that we are on the threshold of the greatest forward step that man has ever taken. It is not behind us, it is ahead of us. God grant our statesmen great wisdom.

Reading time 1 hour 20 minutes

THE BEDOUINS

[Anapostrophe
Club?]

A previous paper has described the geography, and the exploration of this mysterious peninsula of Arabia. But for my own understanding I had to study some of the geographical features, and perhaps may be allowed to review it for you. It has only been a peninsula on a map before.

It is an inconceivably vast territory, its area being more than 1/3 that of the U.S. and 1/4 of the area of Europe, ~~but~~ it has a history of culture and world conquest older and as great as any European country. It was with an effort that I tried to keep to my subject and not be drawn into the fascinating history of past centuries. It is the hottest and driest country in the world. A rainfall in many parts of only an inch to 4 or 5 inches per year. The entire interior reaching north as far as the Syrian desert and going clear to the sea in the south is for the most part a great sand desert, and lava beds and stony steppes. The upper half known as the inner desert is the part occupied by the Bedouins. The lower half is an unknown and impassable desert. Many parties have attempted to cross it without success, except two Englishmen who in recent years came over it alive. Not even an airplane has traversed unless they have done so quite recently. Probably the airplane will some day map it accurately from the sky. Along the coasts all around the peninsula there is a fringe of cultivable land, where date palms are cultivated. Dividing the two great desert tracts there is an elevation known as the Nejd district where there are oases, and quite a good many villages and small ^{agricultural} settlements growing palms, grains and rice; for the soil of Arabia, even when it seems clear sand, is very productive if water can be obtained. On the East Coast along the Persian Gulf are the pearl fisheries. There is not a single river of any significance which flows perennially and reaches the sea, and not one is navigable.

But Outside of these fringes and the few oases in Central Arabia, the whole country is a great

rainless sandy desert. Again I found this study of the geography perfectly fascinating, especially after reading Musil's description of his discoveries and explorations and map making. Musil stayed under the protection of the great Ru'ala tribe in the north and made a minute study of the country and people undertaking many far flung wanderings into the desert between 1896 and 1915. He needed the utmost courage and hardihood to make topographical maps under the most dangerous conditions. His works have been published by the American Geographical Society in 6 volumes. He was a professor at Prague University at the time. He led me astray ~~also~~ in this geographical interest.

With the ^{se}very contrasting kinds of lands, it is quite apparent that there will be corresponding contrast in types of living. The rich fringes and oases, with date gardeners, agricultural communities and traders, and on the deserts the nomads. Arabia ~~therefore~~ is not a nation, and its geography will probably make it impossible, unless our modern inventions make, as they may, great changes in the inner deserts.

In such a country as these great trackless deserts, only one type of life has been possible, the type of the Bedouins. We all ~~have~~ probably ^{have} had a most romantic interest in Arabia, drawn probably from the Arabian Nights and from tales of rich caravans passing from Baghdad to Damascus, laden camels and bejeweled sheikhs, and robber bands. But recent reading has dispelled much of such romance although it has implanted a different feeling of ^{the} mystery of this strange life in the deserts and its nomadic people.

Who are these Bedouins? Probably the aborigines of Arabia. "The Arabians are a semitic race and have preserved better even than the Jews, the mental traits and language of the Semites. Many of the high-class Bedouin families have genealogical records tracing back, they claim, to Adam, at least into antiquity. The reason which makes these nomads the best representative of the Semites, is probably their geographical isolation and the

monotonous uniformity of desert life. If there have been any migrations in or out of the desert, history has left no record." (Hitti) At any rate, this very interesting subject of Ethnography concludes that the Bedouins are the purest Semitic type and that their tongue is the least contaminated from outside sources. According to the Bible they are descendants of Ishmael. In Arabia the term "Arab" denotes all who live under tents of goats' hair, and those Arabs who raise camels and who dwell either constantly or at least half the year in the inner desert are called "Bedouins."

More than that ethnographically we haven't time for, but from all records the Bedouins seems never to have changed. He is today what he has always been. He lives just as his forebears have done for centuries, in the "black tents of Arabia" made of camel or goats' hair. He has the same occupation, eats the same kinds of food, has the same customs, and roams over the very same deserts.

He has, until the war, had no new ideas, made no progress, but lived a life of hardihood, courage and simplicity. His Mohammedan religion is a very simple acceptance of "Allah is one god" without any observances of religious ceremonies. His mind is remarkable for its activity, but he doesn't entertain two ideas at once. He thinks of definite and concrete things, is very abrupt and frank in his speech, with no artificial courtesies.

In appearance he is lean, sinewy and built to endure fatigue and the lines on his face tell a story of hunger and endurance. Camel raising, ^{and} in certain regions sheep raising, hunting and raiding hostile tribes are his chief occupations. Agriculture and all varieties of trade or crafts are beneath his dignity. In temperament he is cheerful and passive. Passive endurance is to him preferable to any attempt to change his state, no matter how hard his lot. He accepts the deserts with all the conditions. "Indeed the desert is more than a habitat, it is the custodian of his sacred traditions, the preserver of his speech, and his foremost defense against the encroachments from the outside

world. The scarcity of water, scorching heat, trackless roads, lack of food supply, all enemies in normal times, prove staunch allies in time of danger. Little wonder then that the Arab has rarely bent his neck to a foreign yoke." (Hitti) Tenacity then, and endurance, are his supreme virtues. He is honorable too in all his dealings with his brothers and with his guests. *He is a true democracy, he believes in liberty, he believes in equality, and he believes in brotherhood.*

So much for this Bedouin man--civilized and intelligent, and yet upon whom our modern civilization⁺ has left so little imprint. What of his daily life,² so unchanging from year to year?

He lives in the desert, he must raise his camels and take care of his family. He must continually move from place to place in search of water. Thirst is the one great fear of the desert.

Yet he is no gypsy roaming aimlessly from place to place just for the sake of roaming. "Nomadism is a mode of living and is as scientific in its way as industrialism in Detroit or Manchester." He adapts his movements to the desert conditions. The rainfall being what it is, he seems to get wind of it, or he knows by long knowledge or instinct, where to go. Usually there is enough rainfall in the spring to cover the sands with ^{quick} verdure and desert flowers. "The desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose." This furnishes pasturage for about three months, then there is left the dry growth for dry pasturage the rest of the year; usually from Oct. 1 to June 1, ~~as~~ the tribes are on the move. If a tribe once passes over either the green verdure, or later the dry pasturage they leave only a sand waste behind them, every scrap is cleaned up. ^{as they go} Often splendid dry pasturage has to be passed over because there is no well or rain pools nearby. A camp cannot be made except near water.

In finding water, as they roam, they often seem to rely on their instincts, seemingly knowing ~~ex-~~ ^{about} ~~actly~~ where to go, trusting that they will find ~~some~~ ^{some} ~~rain when they need it most.~~ Or they have an uncanny instinct or memory of where there are wells.

Rain pool

But he has no sense of nationality or
international relations. He lives within and
for his own tribe. Property means nothing to him, he thinks
that he who needs should have it and
he will divide whatever is his. Only the
things within his tent is sacredly his.
Pasturage belongs to the community, each
tribe within ~~rough~~ districts roughly
bounded.

A traveller tells the following incident:-

The caravan was almost out of water, and the nearest well a hopeless distance, but the guide said, "There is water, if God wills ~~it~~, a trifle to our left and two days journey ahead." "Are you certain, if we find none it will be certain death from thirst." He said he was certain and they went on. Two days later the guide remarked that they appeared to be at the proper place, and he turned aside a few hundred feet, dug down into the sand, and there was water. The locality was without any landmark that a westerner could fix for identification, simply a few square yards in a limitless waste. "Where did you learn of this water?" "Oh," said the guide, "Three years ago I was passing along here, and found this water pocket by accident." He has never been there before or since. The most precious things in Arabia are wells. If a caravan route is crooked, the reason for it is simply a water supply.

The roaming tribe therefore makes its camp by water supply and pasturage. They pitch their tents by putting up poles of quite unequal length, (for a Bedouin has no care for uniformity,) and stretching the tent cloth of goat or camels' hair over them, leaving half of one side open--a curtain is drawn ~~over~~ over the women's side. They change the opening several times a day to keep the air clean. * Rasman reports that the air in winter is like wine and that there are no flies. They stay ^{in camp} only as long as pasturage lasts, often moving daily. The tribe may be small with only 50 tents and 1,000 camels, or like the great Ruala tribe, 35,000 people with 2,000 or more tents and 600,000 camels. But large or small the procedure is the same. During their stay they fill all their water bags and water well their camels. When they are ready to leave, "they fold their tents like the Arabs" first collapsing the props, wrapping the tent cloths around them, and packing them on camels. They have little else to move, a few pots, a wooden bowl, and bags of grain or rice, and they are gone. In less time than an American circus requires to strike their tents, the Bedouin tribe ~~has~~ cleaned up its camp, gathered

As they set up their tents, the
Children pitch theirs beside
their parents, so that near
relations ~~are~~ ^{stay} together. This
relation of ^{tents} - a fixed relation, they
always keep at every encampment
families staying in the same relative places for
~~some time~~ ^{sometimes} When large, herds ^{horizontal} ^{formation}
travel, they spread out ^{horizontally} over
a broad area. They cannot
travel in long lines, as those
behind would be choked with
dust, ^{and would get no feed} They travel in broad
lines, not one behind the
other.

the herds and silently ^{steal} ~~stolen~~ away.

I speak of the silence, for every traveller speaks of the silence, the breathless silence of the desert ~~places~~.

While in camp the men sit or lie idly before their tents, just sitting and thinking, while the flocks eat; the women do what little there is to do to prepare a simple meal. They never wash, they never change their clothing, even at night; they just wear out and drop off. So the work in camp is largely in putting up and taking down tents, and eating. But tomorrow they will move on into the unknown leaving only the darkened stones that have served for a cooking hearth.

The women ride on camel litter.

The Arab camel man walks all day with the herds, driving the camels over the rocky rocks, through ~~roads~~ the heavy sand on a 12 or 16 hour trek. They are incomparable walkers. They have too, an uncanny ability to read the almost obliterated prints in the sand. "Now, what do you think of this," announces one of the caravan guides, "Ibn Khalid's K caravan passed along here four days ago, he had 12 camels and 5 men." "Were they well loaded?" "No, only three of them were loaded at all and the loads were light. - Two were carrying dates and the third rice. Yes, and his fine white camel, that he bought from Ibn Ali has gone lame." So he keeps track of his friendly or hostile fellow travellers, for everybody is travelling here and there constantly. Hunger and thirst of themselves and their animals driving them always on and on.

The history of desert life is also one of constant raiding. There are many robber bands who commit any kind of violence. But aside from these professional robbers, the neighboring tribes raid each other. It takes a long time for a young man to raise a herd of camels, the only way he can grow rich quick is to steal up on a camp at night and take all the camels he can safely take away. A missionary tells of a man who came ^{to stay at the hospital} with his wounded brother ~~for~~ help. The brother was without property, and his

loyal brother was a man of wealth. After he had been there some four months, the missionary said to him, "I understand that in your country you own considerable property. Are you not afraid that while you are gone so long, your district may be raided and all that property taken?" "Oh," he replied, "it has probably all been stolen by this time. It doesn't trouble me at all. I will go and steal somebody else's. Who knows, perhaps I may have more than I had before."

While in camp, the herdsman is supposed to watch over them, but if ^{camels} ~~they are~~ stolen, it doesn't seem to trouble anyone. ~~If theirs are stolen~~ they can make a raid and ~~start~~ ^{steal} some more. Every tribe as they move about seems to be planning a raid on another tribe. To quote again from the historian Hitti, "This brigandage lies at the base of the economic structure of Bedouin pastoral society. It is a sort of national sport. In desert land where the fighting mood is a chronic mental condition, raiding is one of the few manly occupations." One of the poets expresses it this way, "Our business is to make raids on our enemies, on our neighbor, and on our brother, in case we find none to raid but a brother."

Travellers are also in grave danger of professional robbery
The traveller Musil tells of a personal experience: "They robbed us of everything we had and divided the spoils, they put on our clothes, leaving us naked, loaded our bags and baggage on our camels and drove off. The nearest certain source of water was fifty miles away, but this lay near a route much favored by raiding parties. Not having a drop of water we could not prepare dinner. We all feared thirst."

Since the days of Ishmael, "the Arabians hand has been against every man, and every man's hand against him."

Among the desert tribes
But it all comes down to this keen competition for water and pasturage, around which conflict centers, and which has split the desert population into warring tribes.

This same cause however has produced also their supreme virtue of hospitality. In the face of a stern and malignant nature there is also a common consciousness of helplessness which has developed the sacred duty of hospitality. However dreadful as an enemy the Bedouin may be, he can be a loyal and generous friend. There is always in every household the most cordial hospitality to the guest or the stranger. "Honor the guest, even though he be an infidel" runs an Arab proverb--and it is strictly obeyed. The Arabs tell of a thief who after looting the place found an apparently valuable small gold box. Curiously opening it, he found one box inside another until he came to a fine white powder, tasting to see what it was he found it was salt. Salt being the bond of hospitality, of which he had unwittingly partaken, he replaced all the stolen articles and departed.

Every traveller among the Bedouins, who has lived with them over great lonely stretches of desert, tells how their safety has been made sure, how they have been fed when the tribe was hungry, how small animals, hares, jerboas, etc., caught on the trail, have been given to them even if the sheik went without. They praise this constant friendship and care, this deep sense of hospitality which the Bedouin shows to his guest.

Speaking of food: The diet of these desert Arabs consists of a handful of dates and a drink of camels milk as a day's rations. Bread is a luxury and meat even a rarer one. Flour is taken on long journeys and baked in the ashes, and also wheat. An old camel is occasionally killed and gives a taste of meat to a large number. From camel's milk is made a sort of cottage cheese kneaded into little cakes and baked dry in the sun. Now and then an armored lizard will be captured. ^{causing} Much rejoicing at the kindness of Allah. Desert rats (and rattlesnakes) are esteemed. On rare occasions a gazelle will furnish a rare ^{eat} feast, and ostriches are found in certain places at certain times. Truffles grow in the sand if they are fortunate enough to find them. But even at the best, there is probably

all the time

no community in the world that lives so close to the starvation line as the Bedouins. Here is a meal prepared by Musil when on an exploring trip. "I dug a small hole in the ground, laid a waterproof cloth in it. Threw in 5 handfuls of flour and some salt, placed a bowl of water near by and ordered Mizel to mix the dough. Without washing his dirty hands he poured in water and kneaded the dough. I gathered stones and started the water boiling over the fire, then threw in 4 handfuls of wheat and let it cook slowly. Then Mizel brought the dough, tossing it up and down and slapping it to make it wider and thinner, until the cake was an inch thick and 12 inches wide. Then he threw it skillfully on the hot ashes and raked hot ashes over it. In half an hour it was baked. The men poured some butter on the peeled wheat and supper was ready. The native men ate with great relish, licked their fingers and wiped them in the sand. And so a desert meal."

This same traveller told of a cloud of locusts swarming over them. Soon the big fat reddish locusts were roasting at every fire. Boiled, they tasted like insipid cabbage, but roasted he said they tasted crisp outside and like tender spinach inside, in neither case like meat. The women made smoke screen, drove the locusts into it, and dried loads and loads of them to carry along with them.

The clothing is scanty, pictures have made familiar the long shirt fastened with a belt, and an upper flowing garment. Over the head is a shawl held by a cord bound around the head. Trowsers are not worn and footwear is rare. This clothing is never washed. Cleanliness is a luxury, when every drop of water is prized, and the Bedouins are dirty beyond words.

But water must be saved even at the price of personal filth, parasites and disease. The women wash their hair in camel's urine, but the men apparently do not wash at all unless in some large rain pool.

Water, water, water. No life possible without it. On war expeditions or during raids, the commander sees that each person obtains an equal amount. At sunset he picks up a pebble, puts it in a pot, and pours water over it, until it is covered. This is every man's share. If a raid leaving a water pool fears that water will be exhausted before they can again come to water, they have a way of teasing the camels to overdrink many gallons while they fill every bag they have. If the water does reach exhaustion, they kill their fattest camel, cut out the paunch and squeeze the liquid into a leather bag allowing it to cool and settle. The water is fairly drinkable. The one who related this said he had drunk the water on 8 occasions, and that every one in his party had tasted it at least once.

A man in autumn or winter can go without water for as long as three days, but in summer for only one day and one night. The camel can go in winter for about 25 days, and in summer for 3 or 4 days.

The camel is a wonderful beast. The desert would not be a habitable place without it. There is an old quotation "The Arab prospers only where the camel prospers." The part which the camel has played in Arabian life is shown by the fact that the Arabic language is said to include some thousand words relating to the camel, its breeds, its condition, stages of growth and habits. The Bedouins of our day refer to themselves as the "people of the camel," and to the camel as the "ship of the desert."

The camel is the Bedouins constant companion. He is his beast of burden; his cavalry, the camel corps of a Bedouin warrior is an impressive sight as they set out on the march, and their fine white camels can outdistance the fleetest Arabian horse.

The Bedouin eats the flesh of the camel, he drinks its milk, he covers himself with its skin, he makes his tent of its hair. He uses dried Camel's dung for his fuel and its urine for a hair tonic. *And a medicine*
The wealth of a sheik is computed in terms of camels. Certain times of the year the nomads visit

the Arab villages and there is active trading in animals, wools, goat's hair, butter and cheese. But most of the camel trading is done by Damascus and Cairo merchants. They send their agents throughout inner Arabia with letters to the sheikhs or Princes where they expect to buy. The agent sets up his own white tent beside the sheik's black one, who treats him as a guest as far as protection goes. The Bedouins bring their camels to the white tent and usually sell for cash. If the agent buys in the inner desert, the agent may stay on for many weeks with the tribes from whom he has purchased camels, which he brands, until that tribe moves toward the settled country along in June. If he is with a tribe which does not go to the settlements, then he drives from tribe to tribe until he gets to a tribe that is moving toward a settlement. The agent runs the risk of raids, even in the tribe he is with, so he employs in every clan a brother to whom he pays 4 or 5 pounds and who must replace every camel stolen by a member of his clan.

The Bedouins still practice the ancient art of hunting by falcons, which they use to hunt desert birds, or small game. They pay \$7.50 to \$18.00 *for* each *falcon* to the settlers, and they themselves do the training.

The women and children: Polygamy is almost unknown among the Bedouins of the desert, and divorce is rare. It is quite different among the wealthy and among the settlers. Some of the merchants are reputed to average a new wife every month, and the custom of the country allows any man four wives and as many concubines as he wants. He may divorce at will and sell any concubine. Perhaps it is the hard conditions of life that keeps that poor nomad a monogamist. We might expect to see especial care spent on children. But the world of the Arab does not revolve about children. Most of his children die because of unsuitable food, and ignorance of the parents, for the dirt and disorder beggars description.

When a baby is born it is bathed in camels urine, which by the way is described as smelling sweetly

*the dung too used as fuel
is round odorless hard balls sign
of a marble*

of herbs and aromatic plants. Then the mother, with the assistance of women friends, swathe the little body in a plaster of dried camel dung and old rags; A measure considered indispensable by the Bedouin for the newly-born baby's protection. No wonder two thirds of them die. The same poverty that prevents polygamy, makes women partners in all activities. There are no secluded women and the result is a real comradeship between husband and wife. She can follow him to war as his commissary department, or will even take up weapons. The most beautiful family life in Arabia is found among the Bedouins.

Among the more powerful tribes, there are strict laws governing the choice of a wife. They guard the purity of their blood, as indeed do all of the tribes. A man may not intermarry with a weak tribe which has to pay tribute to a stronger tribe. Such a tribe loses ~~their~~ ^{its} social standing by paying tribute, although they may be as honorable and have as long a genealogical ~~tribe~~ ^{able} as the powerful tribe. Nor can they recover their standing for generations after paying tribute or tax.

Craftsman
No one may marry a mechanic from the outside, because he may have mixed blood. Nor can they marry a slave or negro, or into a tribe that is suspected of having negro blood. If any one should do so he or she would be killed by their kin, because there can be no defilement of blood. There is an ancient custom in the great Ru'ala tribe that a woman marry the nearest permissible relative (son of their father's cousin.) If she refuses, he has a right to kill her rather than let her marry elsewhere. If he does not want her, yet she must have his consent to marry another. If he refuses, and the lovers elope and go to another tribe or settlement, they will be pursued and killed. There is ~~such~~ a tale called a "Bedouin Tragedy" in a number of "Asia" which I read.

of such an incident

But until she is married, the Bedouin girl enjoys more freedom than ^{any} other Moslem women. She is permitted to have suitors and visitors to her heart's content.

Organization: The clan organization is the basis of Bedouin society. Every tent represents a family and families group themselves together in adjoining tents. An encampment of various families constitutes a clan, and a number of kindred clans constitutes a tribe. If a member of a clan commits murder within the clan no one will defend him. If he escapes he becomes an outlaw. No worse calamity can befall a Bedouin than to lose his tribal affiliations, although it is permissible for an individual to transfer his allegiance to another chieftan if he desires. The head of a tribe is a sheikh, usually hereditary and in the natural course of events ^{the succession} passes to the oldest son. The sheikh is an absolute monarch, no legislature embarrasses him, nor any courts of justice. He makes the laws and administers justice, and he has the power of life or death. This office of sheikh is to be found everywhere, whether in small groups of poverty stricken nomads or ⁱⁿ the great and powerful confederacies of tribes. If a sheikh conquers another tribe or a number of tribes his government is simply an extension of the local sheikh. *7a Confederacy*

The Bedouin is an incurable individualist. He gives his loyalty to his tribe and to his leader, but if this leader isn't a man of courage and bravery, he stands in the ^{danger} way of assassination. It is all a very loose tribal organization, with a one man administration, but with it all there is a sense of freedom and equality, a real democracy not found anywhere else. There is a complete absence of the caste system. Everyone is equal, there is no feeling of superiority or inferiority.

The War makes changes: *(Not only among the Settlers but among the nomads)* After living in the free air of the desert with these Bedouins, it is not without regret that we read of radical changes coming upon the desert and its people. A little more than 25 years ago, the Bedouins were living as did Abraham. They were the undisputed lords of the desert. But now momentous changes are rapidly *coming* ~~spreading~~. A motor road has been built from Beirut to Damascus and across the Syrian desert to Bagdad. Out in the sands has been built an inn, resembling

an English country inn, and here the passenger motors stop and motor trucks do the work of camels. Airplanes fly over on regular air routes. A pipeline has been built from the Irak oil fields to Mediterranean parts. The sheikhs ^{of Northern Arabia} are now going out in their motor cars to inspect their camel herds, and to find pasturage. Even camel breeding has almost ceased to be profitable. Colonel Lawrence had to pay 200 pounds for a camel that can now be had for 15 lbs. A new epoch of Bedouin life is being ushered in by the assignment of land, by irrigation projects, by elementary education and instruction in hygiene. The ancient East has met the modern West and degeneration has set in among the tribes, as western civilization is so summarily thrust upon them. *They can now own a car and run into the villages, spend a wild night and bring home diseases*

The Bedouin who has always hated farming is now forced by conditions to farming and settled life. "The old raiding days are gone" said one old sheikh, "and the sooner we recognize it the better. As soon as we start a little raid the government comes around with fast cars and says "no more", and where shall we sell our camels, they don't want camels now." But the change must come, radio, airplane, and motor will revolutionize the desert, even if it destroys the romance and picturesqueness. Perhaps they will in time destroy the pain and hunger and thirst, the poverty and filth. But Carl Rosman says "The true Bedouin will pass away with the camel, just as did the American Indian with the buffalo."

This refers mainly to the northern desert tribes, but in the interior seem to be less affected where the tribes still roam and live their roaming life

Religion in Soviet Russia

Perhaps no part of the Bolshevik program brought so deep a revulsion of feeling against them as their declared intention to completely uproot Religion. The whole Christian world was shocked both within and without Russia. It created so deep a prejudice, lasting throughout the years of church persecution, as to befog other parts of their program.

An enormous body of literature has been written about it, by men of all nations, books, magazines & criticisms, explanations, histories. But practically everything if not condemnatory is at least unsympathetic.

I cannot give you a long list of authorities which I have consulted, without apology, much reading and research work is impossible for my eyes.

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November, 1945

e Bible:

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as the Society is sending to the supporters of its work
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lable at their cost of 10¢ each including mailing en-
ner, if you wish to give them to your friends, Sunday
lass.

should never talk about more than one thing, I am sure
nd, as you leaf through the pages of the calendar, the
task which confronts the Society in these days and years

gestion and ask for your assistance? Two years ago we
and members for names of others who might be interested
od News of the Bible. Never has a list brought such splen-
e one so provided.

Christian message is to be spread abroad, new friends must
n that essential enterprise.

good enough to take a minute or two to list the names and
ew people who should be interested on the back of this let-
in the enclosed envelope? Or better yet, interest some-
ng the cause, calling attention to the information on the
e Society and its work and offering the envelope to return

additional envelopes we will gladly furnish them.

on to you for what your own help has meant to the Bible Cause,

2

The Library staff and Mrs Macdonald
have been very kind in sifting out
material, books and clippings, but
while I realize how many gaps there
are in my story, and how much is
left out for lack of time, - an hour
is so short. - I hope I have put
together a connected outline.

I have used our friend
Mr Vernadsky, Chapters in Sherwood
Eddy's Challenge of Russia, the
Supremacy Bulletin of the Federal
Council of Churches, the Courier of the
World Council of Churches, good
articles in the Christian Century, but
especially a volume by Paul Anderson
called People, Church & State in
Modern Russia. Paul Anderson knows
the Russian Church from Novosibirsk to
the Black Sea, in city cathedrals, in ancient
monasteries, and village chapels. He wrote
his book at the request of the London
Religious Book Club. in 1944

But most useful of all is a
little volume written by a Russian
called 'The Christian Church and
the Soviet State'. It was
published in 1942 by a very old English

other government action.

The program of activities must at all times remain flexible. The Office will have to concern itself much of the time with the consideration of proposals made by others without due recognition of those in

One principle will, however, control all action. The Association's Office, will seek no advantage for itself, no special privilege; it will work for the improvement of libraries as agencies for the dissemination of information, the diffusion and advancement of knowledge, and the extension of library service to all of the people of the United States.

Important planks now in the Association's platform are:

1. Disposal of surplus property to educational agencies including such priorities and special price concessions as are specified for in the Surplus Property Act (Public Law 457).
2. Transfer of surplus Army and Navy library books (if there are any) to the states for use primarily in extending library service in rural areas.
3. Recognition by government of the essentiality of library service in any research program.
4. Inclusion of library employees in Federal Social Security.
5. Adequate provision for libraries in any public works program advanced.
6. Maintenance of low postal rates on books shipped to or by libraries.
7. Federal aid for demonstrations of public library service and toward Federal assistance in the establishment, maintenance and equalization of library service for all of the population.
8. An improved program of Document distribution which will recognize as primary outlets for the dissemination of information and as repositories for reference and research materials.

Organization 3-4

"Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge". He says his material is documented, and gives his sources, ~~some of it from Soviet official sources~~. He says his book is "Considering" how far Russian Christianity has survived tyranny four years of the godless state by what means survival has been achieved, and what are the present position and future outlook. These are just the things we want to know and so I have quoted liberally from him.

(I did not use Edgar Snod for Dr Rowe in his review said that his chapters on religion were the poorer part of his book)

Now I want to begin the story backwards, for that is the way I first began reading.

This summer an article appeared in a Sunday Tribune

WETOCO POULTRY FARM

RUFUS F. STRONG, Manager
TELEPHONE: 8F2

ONAMIA, MINN.

Based on an interview with
 Fr Dzubay of St Mary's Russian
 Church here in Minneapolis
 regarding the ~~history~~ return of
 the American Russian Church to
 the Authority of the Patriarch of Moscow.
 It was the first time I ~~had~~
 realized how far the restoration
 of the Church in Russia had gone.
 So I called Fr Dzubay, who has
 been very active in Russian Relief
 here. I used to make a point
 when I was in the library of knowing
 the Priests of foreign groups, and
 of going occasionally to their churches.
~~You might be surprised to know~~
~~how many Slavic Churches we have.~~
~~I occasionally went to the Russian~~
~~Orthodox Church, and while the whole~~
~~congregation stood, I was usually given~~
~~a seat in the choir loft where~~
~~they had the most wonderful~~
~~A Cappella choir.~~ I didn't get
 much from him about Russia
 and he told me that little, ~~confidentially~~
 He wanted to tell me how he had
 modernized his church, ^{since I was there} so people could
 sit. He told me about the

WETOCO POULTRY FARM

RUFUS F. STRONG, Manager
TELEPHONE: 8F2

ONAMIA, MINN.

6

marvellous Russian youth movement
in the U.S., ~~whose monthly journal~~
~~he urged me to take~~. He told me
of the demands of the Moscow Church
and the refusal of the American Church
to accede, but he also said all
of which I had read in the Christian
Century, but he did tell me that the
~~American~~ Church really wanted to have ~~the~~ ^{an} ~~autonomous~~
Patriarchal head, when terms could
be agreed upon. I tell of terms demanded
for reunion.
~~This threw quite a light on the~~
~~come back and present status of~~
~~the Church in Russia.~~ Christian Century
The Articles in the Christian Century
of April & May 1945, relate the recent
revival of the All-Russian Orthodox
Church and the changed attitude
of Stalin toward the Church: to
which I will again return. ^{Cooper}
In the World Council of Churches ^{Leaflet}
for Sept. there is a statement
from Church delegates to the London
Conference, (read) The Russian
delegates reported that their Church
required no help from outside as
the Soviet Govt would rebuild the
destroyed churches. (I believe

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~~These delegates came from the Evangelical & Baptist churches, which later suffered as much persecution as the Orthodox Church, because their membership increased tremendously as the Orthodox Churches were destroyed. I wrote to find out about it, but have not heard.~~

When Jerome Davis was here in October speaking to the Foreign Policy Assn., he said that the Govt had already rebuilt about 250 churches. All these sources gave me a new view, and having ~~now having~~ realized that a great change has really taken place, ~~with this in mind~~ we can be encouraged, while we study the terrific clash between Church and State in which so many churchmen perished for their beliefs, and the terrible tragedy & struggle which seems unbelievable in our modern world. Perhaps no religious persecution was ever before perpetrated on so widespread an area, and so determinedly over so long a period.

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8.

And now having begun at the end of the story, I will go back to the beginning of the Russian Church. (Pretty much from Vernadsky.)

The Russian Slavs of the Middle Ages were nature worshippers, living in small scattered communities, given to hunting and simple agriculture with no political unity.

The Scandinavian traders, traveling through to the Black Sea, gradually conquered them and united them under the House of Rurik which lasted several centuries with capital at Kiëff. They also introduced Christianity in 988, under the Grand Duke Vladimir. That was a dramatic day in Russian history when Vladimir forced the nation to be baptized. Three mighty states were vying with each other to win Russian allegiance, - Rome, Constantinople and the Moslem Arabs. I quote - The

Russian rulers carefully studied the competing faiths and at last Duke Vladimir decided to bless his nation with the light of the

Christian
Century

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words as transmitted by Orthodox
 Candles Reflected from Golden Orthodox
 robes through the fragrant mist
 of orthodox incense, on condition
 that the Byzantine Emperor
 at Constantinople, the resplendent
 center of Orthodoxy at that time
 should give Vladimir his daughter
 as wife: "if not" thundered the Russian
 Duke, quivering on the verge of
 conversion, "I shall sack your City"
 So Vladimir got the young lady
 and the Russians got Christianity
 A mass baptism was prepared
 on the banks of the river and
 companies of heathen passed
 into the stream and came out
 Christians. ~~The~~ A famous
 Russian Chronicler called it
 "A sight beautiful to behold". ^{quoted from}
 And the Church thus born at Kieff ^{Christian Century}
 was nearly 1000 years old at the
 time of the 1917 Revolution.
 And the church thus born by order
 of a militant Duke has always
 been a militant one, ~~the better~~

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~~Rival of Rome and Catholicism~~
the defender of the faith, so that
Moscow came to be the center of
the Orthodox faith - the Third Rome.
~~Disregarding the last 'In latter years'~~
They set out to free the little ~~states~~
Christian States from the Moslems
and in time that brought them
into conflict with other great powers
and was the chief cause of the Crimean
war. Such a church was not
likely to lie down meekly under
~~the Bolshevik orders~~.

~~But to return again~~, Vladimir
New Russian church became a
province of the Patriarchate of
Constantinople. For more than
two centuries all Russian church
primates and bishops were Greeks
sent directly from Constantinople,
refined and cultivated men who
dominated the barbarian Dukes
and Princes. ~~These~~ ^{These} Greeks were not
interested in political matters and
there was no connection between
church and state. The church
sought co-operation with the civil
authorities, but opposed any claim
of one upon the other. The bishops

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were granted many rights and privileges and estates to gain their support for this Prince or that. And being learned and cultured men they must have exercised a lasting influence on the people, and on the character of the church officials.

During the Mongol invasion of the 13th century, when the Russian State collapsed, the church increased. The Mongolians recognized the Church's right of self-government and freed the clergy from any taxation. Again the princes courted the church to support their own power. And so the church grew in power, wealth and importance. ^{St. Petersburg + Moscow had become the head of the Russian church instead of Constantinople}

But not to prolong this very sketchy outline we come down to Peter the Great when a great change came to the church.

Peter was a great reformer. He was the Czar of the State he would become Czar of the Church. The Church was too strong, he would

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Curb it. He abolished the Patriarchate which continued to be abolished until the Kerensky Regime. He created in its place the Holy Synod or Sobor as the ruling body and he himself through his authorized representatives decided all church policy. Though he did not interfere with its doctrine

Ever since Peter's time, the Russian Church has been closely controlled and dominated by the State.

Although controlled by the State the Russian Church ~~had become~~ ^{became} a magnificent church. Its dominion reached over the enormous territory of Russia. Its membership was estimated at 110 millions. In 1914 there were 57000 churches and 23000 chapels served by 112000 priests. (You probably cannot remember these figures except to realize the enormous ^{in area and in power.} of this great church) ~~with 500 monasteries & 479 convents with~~

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The landed estates covered 19 million acres, it owned besides its church buildings and monasteries, numberless homes and commercial enterprises, its annual income reached nearly 50 million pounds and its bank deposits seized when the Bolsheviks nationalized the banks reached *800,000,000 pounds or 2 billion dollars. Their headquarters had been moved to Moscow, and as a state church without a patriarchate, it did not yield in authority to Constantinople.

~~By the side of this picture of power, wealth and~~
 The church had flourishing branches of the Russian church in America, England, Persia, Syria, Japan & China.

By the side of this picture of power, wealth and expansion must be placed the not less brilliant picture of its spiritual activity and its great social influence.

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