FAMOUS PEACE PLANS OF HISTORY

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FAMOUS PEACE PLANS OF HISTORY

THESIS

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By

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PREFACE

The wide-spread study and discussion of world peace plans during the last two decades indicate that thoughtful people everywhere recognize that world organization is a necessary requirement for permanent universal peace.

The purpose of the present thesis, therefore, is to trace the development of the idea of world organization to secure world peace. An endeavor is made to give a brief survey of the best known peace plans of history with a critical evaluation of the contribution of each to the ideas embodied in the League of Nations and the United Nations.

I am indebted to many authors of peace schemes for ideas about world peace--ideas so freely exchanged for centuries that it is difficult to trace their origin. I also wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. L. W. Newton, author and head of the Department of History of North Texas State Teachers College, whose respect for historic facts and loyalty to the spiritual things of life made his help inspirational and invaluable.

Marguerite K. Plummer
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

The Significance of Permanent Universal Peace

Permanent universal peace is the greatest idea ever envisaged by human intelligence. It embodies the highest concepts and ideals of human existence. It represents the greatest hopes and aspirations of every living heart—of humanity itself. Organizing the world to secure permanent universal peace is at the same time the most challenging, the most difficult, task ever attempted in human history. Since World War II has threatened to destroy civilization itself, it is the earth's last best hope. Free men everywhere are determined that this, the most destructive war in all human history, shall not have been fought in vain. They are determined to so organize the world that future wars will be impossible and the peace secure. They are resolved that unscrupulous leaders with military might shall never again be permitted to threaten the forces of liberty and endanger civilization.

The Imperative Need for Universal Peace Now

Science the determining factor. Mankind must decide now whether man's intelligence, his ingenuity, and his creative abilities shall be utilized for the benefit and welfare of man or for his ultimate destruction. There is
no escape from this decision now. Science, the newest thing in human history, has seen to that! Science has changed the arts of peace and is now revolutionizing the technique of war. This transformation is not a mere interlude in the history of mankind. It will go on with increasing power in the future: therefore, its bearing upon a study of world peace cannot be ignored. All future wars, like the recent one, will endanger the economic life of all civilized nations, as well as the freedoms within them. War today threatens to destroy civilization itself. Man must now destroy war or war will destroy him. No nation can adequately protect itself so long as the war system exists against a force that is bound to conquer the forces of nature and thus change the entire basis of national security. To live in freedom under the threat of war waged under these conditions is impossible.¹

The Atomic Age enters. An event of tremendous significance for the future of mankind has taken place. The atomic bomb has been demonstrated. A new era begins! This presents convincing evidence that man must evolve an effective plan for keeping the peace or look forward to possible annihilation. This is, indeed, "one world."

¹J. T. Shotwell, The Great Decision, pp. 11-15, 37, 90.
The Purpose of This Study

Recognizing that world organization is a necessary requirement for universal peace, the student's purpose in this study is to trace the development of the idea of an international organization to secure perpetual peace through some historic movements, precedents, and proposals, looking toward the goal of permanent peace; to show how man's intense longing for permanent peace has persisted despite war, and how philosophers and men of vision have for six centuries made definite plans to realize the goal of permanent peace; to indicate why some peace plans of the past were not effective, and why the greatest of all plans, the League of Nations, failed to achieve all that was expected of it. The means used to accomplish this purpose is a survey of the outstanding plans for peace since the fourteenth century, with a critical evaluation of each plan. The student by this means intends to indicate the problems that must be faced in the creation of an acceptable, effective world organization to secure universal peace.

Limitations on the Study

It would be impossible to enumerate, much less describe, within the limits of this study all the peace plans that have been proposed through the long history of the race; therefore, those plans were selected which the student thought most representative. No attempt is made to portray peace
plans before the fourteenth century, but it is proposed to examine rather critically representative plans from about the fourteenth century to the present time. The League of Nations will be scrutinized at length because it embodies the great concepts of the earlier schemes and is without the most serious defects of the previous proposals.

Procedure

The procedure followed in this study divides the pertinent material in the following manner: Chapter I is composed of introductory comments relative to the subject. Chapter II is a brief chronological survey of the most important peace plans from the fourteenth century through the beginning of World War I, with emphasis only on such plans as have a bearing, however remote, on an effectual world organization. Chapter III is a discussion of the culmination of these plans in the League of Nations, followed by a critical analysis of this great plan in the light of subsequent events. Chapter IV is a study of plans of recent date with special emphasis on the United Nations. Chapter V is a brief conclusion.

Historical Background

The idea of an international organization to guarantee peace is not new. Definite, written plans have been proposed for centuries, and before written proposals there were established practices of federation and arbitration.
earlier plans were simple in their conception and organization and failed to provide for change, which is the universal law of history. They were, therefore, inadequate to meet the needs of a complex, ever-changing society in a modern, interlocking world. A study of these earlier plans, however, reveals that each contained within it the idea of cooperation and the conception of union to maintain peace—a worthy contribution to the realization of a League of Nations or a United Nations.

From a study of the peace plans of history, it seems evident that the authors of peace proposals realized that their schemes must be built upon the political order of the day in order to be acceptable and that they must be in tune with the historical development of international cooperation. Hence we find medieval plans reflecting the idea of the unity of civilization, or Christendom; later, when national states developed, the idea emerged that representatives of the international organization should do the will of their respective kings or princes; and, finally, when democracy came of age, the idea developed that delegates represented the national governments whose leaders were responsible to the people who, in many cases, elected them. Since public opinion determines national policy in a democracy, it was realized that this force was needed in support of any peace

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2S. J. Hemleben, Plans for World Peace through Six Centuries, pp. 183-188.
proposal. Therefore, organized public opinion found expression in peace societies and stimulated governmental action for world peace and popularized every step toward international security.

Recent peace plans, in contrast to the earlier inelastic proposals, were designed to keep step with ever-changing conditions by providing for amendment and revision. Since the equality of sovereign states was considered fundamental to the peace of the world, every peace plan since the Grand Design of Henry IV has favored the principle of federation rather than the super-state. Now, as a result of World War II, many statesmen see the need of scaling down national sovereignty to the extent that a world organization might have the power to enforce the peace against an aggressor nation.

While there was a divergence of opinion on the part of the authors of peace plans as to the strength and membership of the international organization that would contribute most toward maintaining universal peace, all projects called for a central organization, either permanent or periodic. Thus we see the idea of union to maintain peace running through all the peace plans of history—an idea destined to grow in importance as man became more.

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3 Ibid., p. 183.
enlightened. Peace advocates sought to correct the weaknesses in plans by the establishment of permanent political machinery for a closer union, but the modern world remained indifferent to their plea until the crisis came in 1914. Then statesmen and political philosophers realized how futile it was to depend upon such former procedures as

(1) a system of alliances to maintain the balance of power, which served only to draw all the great nations into conflict;

(2) arbitration, not employed where "national honor" was at stake; and,

(3) arbitrary agreements between rulers, such as the Concert of Europe, which had no permanent authority for dealing with emergencies. Since there was no organization with authority to call a conference in 1914, nations took independent action and war followed.\(^5\)

It seems logical, therefore, that subsequent peace plans should demand compulsory arbitration of disputes for pacific settlement between nations. New schemes recommended the use of force, if necessary, to secure a moratorium while the dispute was under consideration, and introduced a new feature—economic sanctions. The fear that civilization might be destroyed unless some "Society of Nations" were definitely organized, forced a consideration of the idea envisaged years earlier. The League of Nations, infinitely complex and elaborate in comparison with earlier proposals,

\(^5\) Hemleben, _op. cit._, pp. 189-192.
was established at the close of World War I as the hope of mankind. Today, in 1946, humanity's hope of permanent peace is bound up in the United Nations, which embodies the basic ideas of the League of Nations. It has been asserted that the League of Nations, born out of war, gave the world the light of organized international cooperation. Once given life, such a spirit can never die. It may be smothered for a while by war, but it cannot be stifled permanently. One writer observes that for a decade the League prevented war, the most destructive of deep-seated human institutions, established and glorified for centuries, without force. That was the greatest miracle performed in the history of the race.

So many peace plans have appeared since the beginning of World War II and such wide publicity has attended each that some comment seems necessary. The current ideas about peace and war expressed in these recent plans are not new, but may be traced in unbroken continuity through the history of all peace plans. It seems that the idea of a League of Nations evolved simply and gradually from a modest beginning to a final complete organization, runs through all current suggestions for world peace, and is

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8Chapter IV of this study is devoted to a study of recent peace plans beside the League of Nations and the United Nations.
most fully expressed in the United Nations, the most recent of all plans.

That there is evidence of looking to the future with faith and courage is shown by the almost unanimous acceptance of the United Nations Charter by the nations of the world. This seems to indicate that the people of the world are determined to salvage the good, discard the bad, and create a new order of peace for all people on a sounder basis than men have yet known. The United Nations Charter is not perfect. Like the American Constitution, it will be expanded and improved to meet the needs of a growing, changing world.

The idea, the innate, prayerful longing for peace and security has been in the mind, the heart, and the soul of man throughout the ages; but, as Franklin observed, "God governs in the affairs of men . . . is it possible that even an empire can arise without His aid?" Perhaps, at last, through united effort, "The world's great age begins anew; the golden age returns."  

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CHAPTER II

PLANS PREVIOUS TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

A study of the development of the idea of world organization to secure universal peace is not revolutionary or new. Research on the subject reveals that it has been the dream of sages and statesmen for centuries. It may be traced in unbroken continuity through historic movements, precedents, and proposals looking toward the goal of permanent universal peace. It has gained momentum after each major world conflict. It has, perhaps, reached its highest peak today following World War II, if one may judge by the multiplicity of literature appearing in the subject.

Historic Trends toward World Organization

A study of world history reveals that the idea of human freedom expresses itself in ever-expanding social institutions and governmental organizations, the ultimate goal being unity. The historic trends toward world organization began with the family, and has extended upward through the

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3Nicholas Doman, *The Coming Age of World Control*, pp. 119-125.
clan, the tribe, the nation, the empire, federated states, and has culminated in the League of Nations and the United Nations. These trends toward world organization have largely been an unconscious, undirected expansion until comparatively recent times when mankind began consciously to direct the development of social and governmental institutions toward the desired goal of world unity and peace. China furnishes an example of a nation where all the steps toward unity can be traced in the written history of the nation, including loyalty to the ideals of the League of Nations.⁴

Historic Precedents

Instances in which groups of city-states or nations have cooperated for common purposes through political organization of shorter or longer duration form precedents for world organization. Among these may be cited the Achaean League, composed of twelve Greek city-states functioning as a super-government from 368 to 146 B. C.; the American Federal Union (1776-1787), which paved the way for the union of states in the Western Hemisphere; and the Swiss Federation, composed of twenty-two cantons, formed in 1846. The League of Nations, created in 1919, represented the first world-wide expression of solidarity of

mankind. The British Commonwealth of Nations, which came into being in 1926 and received final sanction in the Statute of Westminster adopted in 1931, is another example of precedent in peace organization. 5

These precedents in the field of international leagues, unions, alliances, and federations indicate that world organization is not new and that it is desirable.

Historic Proposals for World Organization

The world is indebted to the ancient Greeks for the idea of federation for peace and for the use of arbitration and the arbitration treaty. Since the Greek city-states were each independent of the other, the Delphic Amphictony furnished an approach to the idea of a league of nations. The approach to world peace achieved under the Roman Empire could hardly be considered international, since Rome recognized no equals. The Pax Romana represented an enforced national peace, and there was no plan for arbitration in such a system. 6

When the Roman Empire disintegrated, the Universal Church kept alive the idea of the unity of civilization, which was a real force throughout the Middle Ages. With the rise of the spirit of nationality and the development

5 Talbott, op. cit., p. 288.
6 Hemleben, op. cit., pp. 185-188.
of the modern national state system, the political philosophy of the Middle Ages with its recognition of the natural law and the compact, was discarded by rulers who substituted a philosophy based on Roman, not moral, law. The sovereign state became the judge of its own conduct and obligations in the international order, and peace advocates proposed federations of kings and princes, who depended upon the system of alliances and the doctrine of the balance of power for the preservation of peace. However, this system encouraged secret diplomacy, which aroused distrust and tended to disrupt mutual faith and dependence, so necessary to peace. Consequently, because of the great need for them, a number of peace plans were proposed but not enforced at this time.

Historic Proposals (1300-1600)

De Recuperatione Terre Sancte.--Pierre Dubois is considered the medieval herald of many modern plans of world organization for universal peace. He wrote his chief work, De Recuperatione Terre Sancte, between 1305 and 1307, but it was first published in 1611. He proposed a federation of Christian sovereign states. Believing that war was

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8 Elizabeth V. Souleyman, The Vision of World Peace in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century France, p. 3.
the principal obstacle to progress, he suggested a council of nations to decide all quarrels by arbitration. In case of disagreement by the council, nine judges were to render a decision, three selected by the council to represent each contestant and three from among the ecclesiastics. Appeals might be carried to the Pope. Dubois was a pioneer, since he was the first to propose (1) that an international court of arbitration should be founded; (2) that kings and a general council institute a boycott against a state making war; and, (3) that concerted military action be taken against any aggressor state. He, too, was one of the earliest proponents of international education so popular today.

While Dubois was a pioneer in some respects, he was not entirely original. His plan embodied ideas that were current in Europe at that time. However, he "seems very modern" in his prevision of the future. While the greater part of his contemporaries advocated a revived Roman Empire with a universal monarchy, he seemed to foresee the rise of the sovereign state. He proposed a council of nations to settle quarrels between nations by means of arbitration. While his contemporaries advocated Pan

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9 Knudson, op. cit., p. 21.

10 Hemleben, op. cit., p. 4.
Christian organizations, Dubois called for a federation. One writer states that Dubois was "the first doubting Thomas in the universalist camp to express misgivings concerning the feasibility of a world state."^{11}

Defensor Pacis.--Defensor Pacis was another outstanding political treatise of the fourteenth century, attributed by scholars to the joint authorship of Marsiglio of Padua and John of Jundun.^{12} The purpose of the treatise was an attempt to establish the supremacy of the Empire and its independence of the Holy See. It rejected any claim of papal supremacy over temporal affairs, over kings, lords, and princes. It maintained that, since peace was indispensable in its benefits to society, the main object of the state should be to secure peace.

The essay examined the origin and development of the church, the supremacy of the Roman papal system and its relation to civil powers, and asserted the rights of the state as against the church. It suggested that the supreme authority of the church should be a council selected by the different Christian lands; that the pope be elected by the people or their delegates. The discussion of this representative system was, perhaps, its greatest contribution. It has been called "one of the most remarkable treatises that remain to us from the Middle Ages."^{13}

^{11}Knudson, op. cit., p. 120.  
^{12}Beales, op. cit., p. 23.  
^{13}Viscount James Bryce, The Holy Roman Empire, p. 225.
The Plan of William of Ciervia.--A peace plan of 1315 by William of Ciervia and John Sylvagius, Chancellor of Burgundy, (first mentioned in Editor's Preface to Erasmus' The Complaint of Peace to Which Is Added; "Antipolemus" or "The Plea of Reason, Religion, and Humanity against War") called for a congress of kings at Cambray to consist of Emperor Maximilian, Francis I of France, Henry VII of England, and Charles V of Spain and the Low Countries, who were to promise to keep the peace with each other. The failure of this plan to keep peace throughout Europe because "certain persons" profit by war caused Erasmus, at the suggestion of John Sylvagius, to write his Complaint of Peace.

Querela Pacis.--Erasmus's Querela Pacis (original title, "Querela pacis, rendique gentium objectae profligalaeque"), written about 1517, should be studied and observed because it had such great influence on the contemporaries of Erasmus. Believing that kings were the instigators of war, he directed his plea to them, calling for a united Christendom. Erasmus suggested that the people, not the heads of governments, should declare war.

\[\text{15 Ibid., p. iv.}\]
\[\text{16 Ibid., p. 16.}\]
\[\text{17 Ibid., p. 55.}\]
He had little faith in treaties; therefore he suggested arbitration as a means of settling disputes. His emphasis upon arbitration was his greatest contribution in the interest of peace. His work failed to prevent war, but it did attract many to the cause of peace who furthered the work by offering more detailed plans for accomplishing the task.

One writer has observed that Complaint of Peace is fresh and convincing material for peace workers today. Erasmus recognized two classes of war, the just and the unjust. He approved of defensive war, such as war to repel invasion or to keep the peace.

De Monarchia.--Dante Allighieri, a contemporary of Dubois, inaugurated a project in 1559, called De Monarchia, which championed a supernatural world, or a vast political universal civilization. He wrote:

We shall not find at any time, except under the divine monarch, Augustus, when a perfect monarchy existed, that the world was everywhere quiet. And then mankind was happy in the tranquility of universal peace. This, all writers of history, this, the Scribe has deigned to attest.

Dante proposed a revived empire with a universal emperor to stop the quarrels and endless strife and restore peace. Believing that Saint Augustine had pointed the way centuries

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18 Arthur D. Call, "The Will to End War," Advocate of Peace, LXXXVI, No. 5 (May, 1924), 299.
19 R. W. Church, "De Monarchia," Dante and Other Essays, p. 96.
earlier under an empire binding nations of the world together in peace; he, therefore, proposed to restore the universal order. Church sees prophetic thinking in Dante's plan which, he says, showed a desire for justice in civil society—an idea that was not recognized in Dante's time. "The divinations of the greatest men have been vague and strange and none have been stranger than those of the author of 'De Monarchia'."  

Dante found in Greek philosophy the theory of merely human society which he adopted in its ideal form—a single authority, unselfish, irresistible, which could make all smaller tyrannies to cease and enable every man to live in peace and liberty—simply what each separate state of Christendom has by this time more or less achieved."  

Dante maintained that nations and states have their own peculiarities and should be governed by different laws; but that in matters common to all men one monarch should rule; that just as there is one God over mankind, so there should be one supreme monarch to effect political union. He proposed separation and independence of the church from the state, maintaining that the emperor derived his powers directly from God.  

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21 Church, op. cit., p. 97.  
22 Ibid., p. 94.  
23 Ibid., pp. 93, 96-98.
One authority says of Dante's scheme:

Dante's philosophical treatise, medieval in its conception and glorious in its spirit, was impossible of fulfilment, for the subsequent appearance of national states marked the passing of cosmopolitanism.\textsuperscript{24}

Dante's \textit{De Monarchia} was referred to by another writer as "an epitaph instead of a prophecy."\textsuperscript{25} That he adhered to the idea of the pre-eminence of the Roman people is shown in his treatise:

\begin{quote}
I grieve over kings and princes agreeing in this only, to be against their Lord and His anointed Roman Emperor. . . . But I cry out to break the bonds of the ignorance of such kings and rulers, to show them that the human race is free from their yoke.\textsuperscript{26}
\end{quote}

Peace Projects: 1600-1800

\textit{Emeric Cruce}.--Emeric Cruce presented in 1623, in his work, \textit{The New Cynesas, or Discourse of the Occasions and Means to Establish a General Peace and Liberty of Commerce throughout the Whole World}, one of the most completely formulated peace plans of early modern times. As the title indicates, the plan was designed to bring peace to the entire world. Cruce suggested a permanent council of ambassadors to settle disputes arising between nations. He proposed to include in this confederation men of all

\begin{footnotes}
\item[24] Hemleben, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 94.
\item[25] Bryce, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 280.
\item[26] Church, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 98.
\end{footnotes}
religious faiths—Christians, Mohammedans, Jews, and pagans. The ambassadors of sovereigns could plead their cases before the whole assembly, which had the power of judgment. In order to give authority to the decision, the republics such as Switzerland and Venice were to be invited to render advice. Combined action might be taken against any sovereign who refused to abide by the decision of the assembly. 27 Venice was recommended as a suitable place for the assembly meetings because of its location and neutrality. 28

Members of the congress were to pledge themselves to abide by its decisions:

All the said princes will swear to hold inviolate law that would be ordained by the majority of votes in said assembly, and to pursue with arms those who would oppose it . . . by gentle means if it could be done, or, in case of necessity, by force. 29

Kings, by appealing to the assembly, could be protected from rebellion or insurrection within their territories.

Cruce appealed to the monarchs:

. . . to make reason and justice reign. Peace maintained, holds you in grandeur, in respect, and in safety, . . . war . . . often takes them away, together with honor and life. . . .

28 Ibid., p. 104.
29 Ibid., pp. 120-122.
30 Ibid., p. 124.
And, he said, "War is waged to obtain peace." 31

Cruce pointed out the futility and the danger of nations engaging in war, by attempting to show that even when "at the height of their prosperity, a reverse of fortune will overthrow them suddenly, and from sovereigns will make them slaves. . . . Histories testify, experience verifies that war rather hazards the reputation of a Prince than augments it." 32 Cruce did not approve of religious wars. He thought that religion was used as a pretext. 33 His conception of trade and commerce in relation to peace shows that in some respects he was ahead of his time. The development of commerce, he thought, might, by making nations dependent upon each other, discourage resort to war. He considered the development of industry and commerce and their related subjects as essential in securing peace; therefore, he preferred building canals and moderation in taxing imports and exports. He believed that the merchant was a good-will ambassador between nations. 34

Cruce made some interesting observations and recommendations on diverse subjects related to world peace. For example, he discerned that extreme nationalism caused conflict

32 Ibid., pp. 28-30.
33 Ibid., pp. 18-20.
34 Ibid., pp. 58-60.
and that domestic tranquility was essential to peace.
He discussed the merit system, regulation of trials, projects for recreation, unemployment, and education. He regarded enlightenment as essential to an orderly, peaceful world. 35

One writer has said of Cruse's plan:

True universalist spirit can be found in the projects of only a few Utopians. The "New Cyneas" of Emile Cruse reveals such a spirit. This author envisaged a universal organization that included Turks and Asiatics as well as European Christians. Cruse's design is the worthiest spiritual precursor of a democratic universal order in the twentieth century. 36

The Rights of War and Peace.--Hugo Grotius wrote De Jure Belli ac Pacis (The Rights of War and Peace), in 1625. In it he proposed the settlement of disputes by a specially called congress of the "Christian" powers of Europe and included a system of sanctions to compel recalcitrant nations to abide by decisions made by the congress. Believing that wars were undertaken for the sake of peace, and that any dispute might give rise to war, Grotius said that it would be proper to treat all quarrels "between nations as an article in the rights of war: then war itself will lead us to peace, as its proper end." 37 His plan for organization was incomplete,

35 Ibid., pp. 244-248, 214.
36 Doman, op. cit., p. 122.
perhaps because his chief interest was to humanize warfare, but his proposal did help in the future development of the principle of the pacific settlement of disputes between nations. To quote A. D. White at the Hague Conference in 1899,

the germ of arbitration was planted in modern thought when Grotius wrote . . . "maxime autem Christiani regis et civitates tenentur hanc inire viam ad arma vidanda." 38

David J. Hill said of Grotius's The Rights of War and Peace:

The masterpiece of Grotius is something higher and nobler than literature. Its publication makes an era in the history of nations, for, out of the chaos of lawless and unreasoning strife, it created a system of illuminating principles to light the way of sovereigns and peoples in the paths of peace and general concord. 39

Grotius sought to give a catholicity to his doctrine by showing that the laws he is endeavoring to formulate have, in fact, been accepted in all times by all men. 40

The Grand Design.—One of the most celebrated peace plans of history is known as The Grand Design of Henry IV, (Grand Dessein). The scheme is attributed to Henry IV of France by his minister, Maxmilian de Bethune, Duc de Sully, but it is believed by some scholars to be the work of Sully

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40 Ibid., p. 10.
James Brown Scott has said that the significance lies not in the authorship, but in the fact that it ascribed to Henry views which were agitating the public mind and which had been voiced by the New Cynos of Cruce fifteen years earlier. The New Cynos was apparently Sully's model. Scott has also stated that

The so-called Design of Henry IV is without question the most famous of the many projects advocating a federation of states in order to secure and to maintain peace between nations. The project is in very truth the classical project of international organization, and it has been both the inspiration and the foundation upon which well-wishers of their kind have consciously or unconsciously raised their humbler structures.41

The Grand Design was predicated upon the idea that there was "nothing so pernicious as religious liberty." Therefore, each nation was to be strengthened in its choice of one of the three recognized religions—Catholic, Protestant, and Reformed or Calvinist: all other sects were to be suppressed and all people, even princes, who refused to conform were to be forced out of their European homes and lose possession of their holdings. Europe was to be divided equally among fifteen powers and a grand council created to judge all differences between the nations.

The armed forces necessary to support the association of nations were to be contributed by the princes in proportion to their abilities, as determined by the general council. Territory in Asia and Africa conquered by the common army and navy was to be bestowed upon the different princes. The Austrian Empire was to be reduced to the Kingdom of Spain, apparently in order to achieve equality and to keep Austria from achieving universal monarchy, which would incite envy or fear on the part of every other European power and eventually result in disturbing the peace, but in reality to divest Austria of the Empire.

Whether this council which was to determine the civil, political, and religious affairs of Europe was to be one or divided into three, and whether it was to be movable or permanent was to be determined by expediency and convenience. Regional councils could be formed, but appeals were to be carried to the general council which made the final decision. Decision of the great council was to be irrevocable, since it issued from the combined authority of the sovereigns.

Force was the key-note of Henry's Grand Design to secure the peace of Europe. The plan had certain inherent weaknesses which would have been fatal to its execution, such

42 Hemleben, op. cit., pp. 36-37.
43 Scott, Introduction to Wm. Ladd, op. cit., p. xvi.
as attempting to control the rise and fall of nations for the benefit of France; attempting to establish a status quo despite the fact that change is the universal law of nature; and proposing to thrust the Turk out of Europe. The states could "never have been anything but meaningless in the light of the history of nationality."\footnote{Hemleben, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 38-39.} The re-partition of Europe would likely have provoked a war or provided fertile soil for future wars.

In comparing The Grand Design with earlier plans like Dante's \textit{De Monarchia}, one notes that the day of a world state had passed and that authors of peace plans realized that world peace had to be based on the organization of independent states; that the universalist philosophy of medieval thinkers had been disputed and displaced by the idea of a new international order brought about by the emerging of monarchical and national states. In consequence of this, the idea of international organizations as opposed to universalist or imperial solutions began to spread.\footnote{Doman, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 122.}

The Grand Design was the most influential of all similar plans since it served as a model for the Abbe de Saint-Pierre, William Penn, Rousseau, and perhaps others. No project of a league to enforce peace carried with it more prestige with the builders of similar projects.\footnote{J. S. Hemleben, "Henry Fourth's Plan for a League of Nations," \textit{Alumnae News} of the College of New Rochelle, pp. 9-10.}
The Grand Design was an attempt to reconcile the two opposing demands, national sovereignty or independence and world organization. Apparently that arduous task was too difficult for solution at the time of the formulation of the plan.

Penn's Peace Plan.—William Penn in 1693 presented a scheme for preventing war entitled An Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe. This plan called for a "Grand Parliament" of Europe, made up of the representatives of the sovereign princes who would convene annually or bi-annually to formulate rules of justice which they were to observe. All disputes arising between sovereigns, unless they were settled privately, were to be submitted to the Parliament in written form by the complaining party. All decrees of the Parliament were to be enforced by military force if necessary.\(^48\) Penn maintained that wars fought to preserve or keep or to recover what rightfully belonged to a country were permissible, but that wars fought for the purpose of exploiting or dominating weaker neighboring states were not allowable. He, therefore, maintained that the first cause, which is defensive, and the second, which is offensive, were suitable to be submitted to the Parliament. Emphasizing justice, he said:

\(^{48}\)Old South Leaflets, pp. 5-6.

\(^{49}\)Ibid., p. 6.
Peace is maintained by justice, which is a Fruit of Government, as Government is from Society and Society from Consent.  

This statement indicates that Penn's view of the origin of society was in keeping with the views held by the intellectuals of his day.  

The two sources for Penn's plan were the Grand Design and the Confederation of the Netherlands. Penn believed that the unity through a confederation of princes would secure the peace because no one prince could oppose the will of the group: that disarmament would follow, and that the money saved for preparedness or defense could be used to promote commerce and understanding among people and nations. Penn's peace scheme was similar to the Grand Design in that it called for a strong federation, but it differed in that it was not to "be preceded by a political manoeuvre." That was the merit of Penn's plan.  

The Plan of Charles Irenée Castel de Saint-Pierre.--In 1712 Saint-Pierre of France published his first sketch of a scheme to guarantee peace. To this volume he gave the

50 Ibid.  
51 V. J. Lewis, "Wm. Penn," New Commonwealth, II (Sept., 1934), 177.  
52old South Leaflets, pp. 5-6.  
53 P. C. Hicks, The New World Order, p. 70.  
54 Wm. Penn, An Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe, pp. 20-21.
title Mémoires pour Rendre la Paix Perpetuelle en Europe. A two volume edition was published in 1713 under the title Projet pour Rendre la Paix Perpetuelle en Europe. The English translation was published in 1714, the title of which indicates that Henry IV was recognized as "the inventor of the plan." A third volume, published in 1717, completed the work. It was entitled Le Projet de Traite pour Rendre la Paix Perpetuelle entre Souverains Chrétiens. In 1729 the first issue was made of Abrégé du Projet de Paix Perpetuelle. The latter appeared in a new edition in 1788.

Saint-Pierre, like Sully, evidently thought that ascribing the idea of his plan for peace to Henry IV would lend prestige to his scheme and recommend it to European sovereigns as nothing else could. Saint-Pierre proposed to create a federation by having the sovereigns sign a permanent treaty of alliance. Once created, the union was to have power over sovereigns. States created as a result of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) were to be represented in a "perpetual Congress or Senate by the deputies of their sovereigns." All princes were expected to join the league in order to obtain the security of peace within and

56 Ibid., p. 15.
57 Ibid., p. 106.
58 Ibid., p. 103.
without their dominions that the union offered; but if one did refuse, he could be compelled by war to join the group or be dispossessed. The federation could make war on one of its members that failed to live up to its covenant. 59

All members and associates of the League of Europe were to contribute to the League expenses, the amount to be determined according to its revenues. Any matter of importance to the security was to be decided by the Senate, but judgment was not to be pronounced until each deputy learned the orders of his sovereign and communicated them to the Senate. The association was to appoint commissioners to investigate disputes arising in connection with colonial claims and the Senate, after hearing the report, was to give the verdict. If a state was left without a lawful successor to the throne, the association was to nominate a successor or turn the government into a republic.

Analyzing the plan of Saint-Pierre, one notes that the union was to be established by a treaty of alliance to which the sovereigns affixed their signatures. Peace was thus to be ushered in by the stroke of the pen. The council was given real strength in the power to levy

59 Ibid., pp. 143-144.

taxes, to pass laws that were binding, and to punish offending members. The sovereigns were left great powers, however, for the delegates were responsible to their royal masters. Like the *Grand Design*, Saint-Pierre's plan provided for a league of kings, not peoples, a league of governments, not nations. The plan was representative of eighteenth century political conceptions.

One writer has observed that:

> There is much prophetic insight in the suggestions of the Abbe de Saint-Pierre, who proposed a political organization in which all the constituent states would be placed in a condition of mutual dependence . . . the ultimate safeguard for the common civilization of Europe.\(^{62}\)

It is significant that Saint-Pierre wanted to use the league to interfere in the internal affairs of a member-state to suppress revolt—a step further than modern writers appear willing to go in order to secure the peace.

**Rousseau's Project for Perpetual Peace.**—In 1751, the work of Saint-Pierre was revived by Jean Jacques Rousseau in *A Project for Perpetual Peace*, published as a summary so that the plan might be conveniently read and, therefore, more widely appreciated. Rousseau's plan was translated into English and published in London in 1761, with a

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second edition presented to the British reading public in 1767.\textsuperscript{64}

The Rousseau plan proposed a confederation of European states with a permanent congress or diet to legislate for the well-being of Europe. This congress was to settle all disputes by arbitration or judicial pronouncement. The confederation was to have the power to outlaw or proceed against a state that refused to abide by the decision of the congress. \textsuperscript{65}

Rousseau presented convincing argument in justifi- cation of Saint-Pierre's purpose, which was to show the need for an international organization for the negotiation of peace and the peaceful settlement of disputes. Whereas Saint-Pierre would initiate his grand alliance by persuasion, Rousseau would apparently initiate his by force, as Henry Fourth proposed to do earlier in the Grand Design. With reference to Henry's method of execution, he wrote; "a war destined to be the end of all war was about to usher in eternal peace."\textsuperscript{67} This reminds one strongly of Woodrow Wilson's expression used in connection with World War I—"a war to end wars."

Rousseau did not believe in divine right; therefore, he did not expect to see permanent peace established un-

\textsuperscript{64}Ibid., p. 460.  \textsuperscript{65}Scott, Intro. to Ladd, p. xxxi.
\textsuperscript{66}Ibid., p. xxxiv.
til the downfall of the monarchs had been affected. However, he believed that peace would restore the brotherhood of enlightened humanity and that a league to enforce peace was practicable. Dickinson, in comparing the plans of Saint-Pierre and Rousseau with the League of Nations established after World War I, points out that their federation was perpetual, whereas members of the League of Nations might withdraw and that the early league permitted what modern nations are not willing to permit—namely, interference by a league in the internal affairs of the member-states. With a modern ring, Rousseau speaks of Europe as a community "which none of the component nations can renounce without causing shock to the whole frame."

The chief value of Rousseau's project was in making clear the need of an international organization for the negotiation of treaties and the pacific settlement of disputes between nations, which also was the purpose of Saint-Pierre's plan.

A Plan for an Universal and Perpetual Peace.—Jeremy Bentham's Plan for an Universal and Perpetual Peace, written from 1786 to 1789, was published in 1843. His chief proposal was for the establishment of an international court

68 Ibid., Intro., p. xviii.
69 Ibid.
70 Hemleben, p. 82.
of justice whose decrees were to be enforced by public opinion. The court was to be constituted by each power sending one delegate and a substitute; meetings were to be open to the public; and wide publicity given to the opinions reached. If necessary, an offending state could be put under "the ban of Europe." Bentham was the first eminent peace advocate to rely upon public opinion to coerce recalcitrant states, and one of the first to stress disarmament as a prerequisite for international peace. He rested his argument on morality, not force. Force creates fear; justice engenders trust and esteem and makes peace possible, he believed. He proposed that nations should renounce their colonies.

Zum ewigen Frieden.--In 1795, Immanuel Kant published a peace tract, Zum ewigen Frieden. Like Saint-Pierre's plan, it was in the form of a treaty, ready for the signature of nations. English and French editions were published in 1796. The plan created enormous interest, and, according to Nicholas Murray Butler,

Every page of this precious essay will bear reading and re-reading in the light, not only of the times in which it was written, but also

71 Scott, op. cit., pp. xxxiv-xxxv.
74 Jeremy Bentham, New Commonwealth, V, No. 3 (Dec., 1941), 41.
in the light of all that has happened since and all that is going on at this very moment.\textsuperscript{75}

Kant's peace scheme was based on the same idea that was held successively by Saint-Pierre, Penn, Rousseau, and Bentham—a general confederation of European states.

Kant believed that perpetual peace was an idea not impossible of attainment if nations had constitutional governments, for he assumed that the consent of the people would be necessary before a prince could decide to go to war.\textsuperscript{76} He believed that the law of nations should be based upon a federation of free states.\textsuperscript{77} He believed that justice will reign not only in the state, but in the whole race when perpetual peace exists between nations.\textsuperscript{78} He wrote:

The more highly developed the individuals who form a state, the more highly developed is its consciousness of its obligations to other nations.\textsuperscript{79}

Kant's proposals embodied ideas that are modern. For instance, his attack on imperialism which did not develop

\textsuperscript{75} Immanuel Kant, \textit{Perpetual Peace}, Introduction by Nicholas Murray Butler, p. \textit{vii}.

\textsuperscript{76} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 18-23.


\textsuperscript{78} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 55. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{79} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 3.
fully for almost a century; his opposition to national indebtedness while the international credit system was yet in its infancy. Only England and France had constitutional governments when he proposed that all nations should have them. While his plan eventually was unproductive, some of his proposals were embodied in the Fourteen Points of World War I period. One author points out:

Kant's proposal in regard to absolutism, armaments, war laws, secret diplomacy, self-determination, intervention, methods of warfare, and a league of nations, if carried out, would have made the war of 1914 an impossibility.80

Projects of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century

Bolivar's Plan.--Simon Bolivar, in 1815, proposed a permanent league of the American states. Independent states of the Western Hemisphere were entitled to membership. While this plan did not immediately bear fruit, it paved the way for the Pan American Union and conferences of American states, which in a restricted field represent outstanding achievements in international cooperation for common purposes. Since it involves no curtailment of national sovereignty for the members, this plan of Pan American Union might serve as a pattern for regional organization in a world plan. However, one author has stated: "Thoughtful

advocates of world peace will not propose regional blocs to attain peace in a world of universal ideologies. 81

**Saint-Simon Plan.**--Claude Henri, Comte de Saint-Simon, in collaboration with Augustin Thierry, published in Paris in 1814, a peace plan which called for a parliament for each nation and a general parliament for all Europe, which was to have the power of judgment in international disputes and examine all questions of European concern. The parliament was to be similar to the English Parliament. The plan called for a king, but failed to say how he was to be selected. 82 It was overshadowed by the Congress of Vienna and the Triple Alliance. Simon was advanced in his ideas of self-determination of nations. He had some realistic schemes for promoting universal peace. 83

**The Holy Alliance.**--In 1815 Emperor Alexander I of Russia announced to the world the scheme of the Holy Alliance, a league of kings, not a league of nations, in the modern understanding of the word. 84 The plan was outlined by Alexander and showed itself as an outgrowth of his early training under Harpe, a fervent disciple of Rousseau, who

81. Doman, op. cit., p. 256.

82. Hemleben, op. cit., pp. 96-97.


had been influenced by Saint-Pierre and Henry IV. The Alliance was based on the precepts of justice, Christian charity and peace, and it was hoped that signing it might lead the princes to regard themselves as fathers in dealing with their subjects, and lead them to render assistance to each other. All European monarchs signed it except the British King, the Pope, and the Sultan, who was not eligible because not a Christian.

The Tsar endeavored to get the United States to join the Holy Alliance and while the plan "awakened a responsive chord in certain circles in the United States," American disapproval of it was sustained because of the undemocratic nature of the scheme. Former President John Q. Adams expressed strong objections to the plan in a letter to William Ladd. He said the poisonous ingredient was the unlimited sovereignty of the parties of the league, and that was autocratic. The plan included no executive or legislative body; in fact, it made no plan for specific organization, but it did contain the idea of a unified Europe in which state justice and good-will might take the place of suspicion and intrigue.

Ladd's plan—one of the most noted peace plans of his scheme was modeled on American institutions and American ideals of democracy. In addition to the congress or legislature, Ladd proposed the establishment of a world court as the judicial branch of the Congress of Nations. The functions of the executive, Ladd left to public opinion.

Unlike his predecessors, except Bentham whose work was not published until later, Ladd proposed to abandon force and depend upon moral power alone for enforcement. Later writers adhered to his division of the judicial and legislative functions, leading to the distinction between justiciable and non-justiciable disputes by providing that the former be referred to the court and the latter to the Congress. The main purpose of Ladd's plan was to prevent or to limit itself to the relations between nations, to establish principles of international law by compact, and to promote plans for the preservation of peace.
were to be limited to those referred to it by the mutual consent of the parties involved. Decisions were to be written as arrived at by the majority and the verdict was to be written. Cases were to be judged by the interpretation of existing treaty laws passed by the Congress. The court could offer its mediation in any difficulty that threatened to disturb the peace of the world. One duty of the court was to suggest topics favorable to peace to the Congress.

Ladd's plan was more in accord with the newer democratic principles than the previous plans. It was supported by the American Peace Society, which was organized in 1828, and widely acclaimed abroad. It was introduced into the peace conferences of Brussels, Paris, Frankfort, and London by his disciple, Elihu Burritt.

Lorimer's The Institute of the Law of Nations.—The most noteworthy peace plan of the latter part of the nineteenth century was proposed by James Lorimer in the Institutes of the Law of Nations, published at Edinburgh in 1884. He proposed an international government with a separate executive. He called for proportional disarmament. There was to be an exchequer. All nations were invited to join.

The legislative department was to consist of a chamber of deputies elected by the six great powers, England, France,
Russia, Austria, Italy, and Germany. A bureau chosen from this chamber elected a president annually. 94

The judges of the world court were appointed for life by the bureau, fourteen in number, six of whom were chosen from the great powers. The tribunal consisted of a civil and a criminal branch, with cases instituted by an Attorney General and a Public Prosecutor, respectively. Cases were instituted in the name of the government in whose territory the events occurred. 95

In order to enable the international government to enforce the enactments of the legislature and the decrees of the court, each nation was to supply a contingent of men or an equivalent in money, when the legislative branch deemed necessary, thereby creating a small international army. Lorimer's idea of an international society with its own officials is similar to the recent proposal of Ely Culbertson. Each called for a standing military force and a limited use of the national forces of the state.

One writer says of Lorimer's project:

. . . This scheme shows that Lorimer was a man of vision and its elaboration is not the work of a dreamer, but arose from a desire to put his ideas into concrete shape. . . . The world has moved a long way in the direction Lorimer pointed out, but there are still lacking some of the institutions which he predicated as necessary for a

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94 Ibid., pp. 279-282. 95 Hemleben, op. cit., p. 122.
complete and workable system of international organization.\textsuperscript{96}

**Concert of Europe.**--While some endeavors cannot be called projects to preserve international peace, due to their relationship to successive plans for world peace, some attention should be given them. They are namely, the Concert of Europe, the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague, and the Central American Court of Justice. During the nineteenth century, while peace projects went unheeded, the Concert of Europe kept alive the principles of association, based upon and regulated by treaties, and constituted a league of nations for the preservation of peace.\textsuperscript{97} It made a real contribution to the development of international cooperation through conferences and congresses. It was a union of the great powers to which Turkey was admitted in 1856, and it established the tradition of recognizing the common interests among nations and paved the way for the Hague Conferences.\textsuperscript{98}

**The Permanent Court of Arbitration.**--The first Hague Conference was called by the Tsar of Russia and was attended by representatives of twenty-six countries. It adopted a resolution to restrict expenditures for arms; approved

\textsuperscript{96} A. Pearce Higgins, "James Lorimer," *Judicial Review*, XLV, No. 3 (Sept., 1933), 254.

\textsuperscript{97} S. P. Duggan, Ed., *The League of Nations*, p. 68.

\textsuperscript{98} W. A. Philips, *The Confederation of Europe*, p. 275.
efforts to humanize warfare; and created a Permanent Court of Arbitration. Scott says:

The Conference itself was more important than its labors because it showed the possibility of twenty-six nations meeting in conference and agreeing upon measures of interest to the world's welfare. An idea is generally greater than its realization.

Forty-four nations attended the Second Hague Conference, at which the principle of compulsory arbitration was recognized as necessary to world peace.

Prior to World War I, fifteen cases had been submitted to the Hague Court for arbitration, representing problems which diplomacy had been unable to solve. Manley A. Hudson, an authority on international justice, remarked: "The Permanent Court of Arbitration has in the course of thirty years made a great contribution ... Its influence extends far beyond the actual cases that come before it."

The Central American Court of Justice.--This court was established at the Washington Conference in 1907 by five Central American states with the cooperation of the United States and Mexico. The contracting parties agreed to submit all disputes to the court, including for the


first time in history, questions involving "national honor and vital interests." The Court met at Cartago, Costa Rica, in 1908, and consisted of five members appointed by the legislatures of the five republics. Individuals were allowed to appear before the court even if their governments did not espouse their causes.\textsuperscript{103} In the ten years of its existence, the Court gave judgment in nine cases of which two "aroused political opposition." Legally, this Court enjoyed considerable reputation.\textsuperscript{104}

\textit{War and Peace}.—William Jay's plan entitled \textit{War and Peace} provided for future treaty agreements between nations not to resort to war, but to support their claims in arbitration by friendly powers and to abide by the decisions.\textsuperscript{105} According to Scott, the treaty signed with Great Britain in 1794, the first signed under the Constitution, represented Jay's contribution to his friend Franklin's request for a plan. This treaty introduced arbitration into the modern practices of nations.\textsuperscript{106} Jay hoped that arbitration treaties signed by the United States might be an incentive to other nations to sign similar treaties with each other until

\textsuperscript{103}International Conciliations, No. 239, p. 288.
\textsuperscript{104}P. E. Corbett, Post-War Worlds, p. 65.
\textsuperscript{105}Wm. Jay, War and Peace: The Evils of the First and A Plan for Preserving the Last, pp. 79-82.
\textsuperscript{106}Ibid., Introduction, p. iv.
every Christian nation would help guarantee the peace by establishing a tribunal for the adjustment of international disputes and prevent forcible resistance to its decrees, so that,

. . . such a court, formed by a congress of nations in obedience to the general wish, would, next to Christianity, be the richest gift bestowed by Heaven upon a suffering world, will scarcely be questioned by any who have patiently and candidly investigated the subject.¹⁰⁷

The Great War Period: 1914-1919

The Bryce Plan.--Peace programs reached a new high peak during the early part of the twentieth century, or World War I period (1914-1919). A few of the best-known are considered here. The horrors of war led to such expressions of feeling as that used by Viscount Bryce: "If we do not try to end war, war will end us."¹⁰⁸ In 1915, Bryce drafted a scheme to eradicate war by enlightenment. He drafted his plan and invited criticism or suggestion. He wished first to submit it to the great powers, larger South American states, and lesser powers. The Bryan treaties between the United States and other powers was a starting point. These treaties provided for resort to a permanent commission when all other methods of arbitration failed.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 96.
¹⁰⁸Viscount James Bryce, Introduction to Viscount Grey et al., The League of Nations, p. 18.
A study of the plan reveals that it provided for the use of economic sanctions or pressure against a recalcitrant state; that it conferred no executive power upon the council of conciliation; and that it distinguished two classes of disputes and two methods of settlement. Justiciable disputes, such as disputes over the interpretation of treaties, international laws, or the existence of facts that might show a breach of international obligation were to be referred to an arbitral tribunal. According to Bryce's own estimate, the merits of the plan were that the union was not limited to Europe; that it bound the signatory states to submit to peaceable settlement before resorting to war; and it created an impartial and permanent council for the discussion of questions most likely to disturb the peaceful relations between nations. Bryce's plan influenced European and American opinion considerably.

Peace Societies.--The British League of Nations Society, organized in 1915, launched a plan similar to the Bryce plan. The Society was founded to advocate an agreement among civilized states which would serve as a basis of permanent peace among them by providing for the peaceful settlement of disputes, for mutual defense, and the observance of treaties and international law. Neither the Bryce plan

\[110\] Ibid., pp. 14-16.
nor this plan provided for a world-wide league, but they did provide for the defense of the member states against non-members, with war as a last resort. In 1918, the League became a part of the League of Nations Union.

The American League to Enforce Peace was formed at Philadelphia in 1915. Having received the endorsement of eminent statesmen, it became one of the most influential agencies of the period toward the prevention of future wars. It was approved by President Wilson, Charles Evans Hughes, Secretary of State and later Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and former President Wm. H. Taft, who became president of the League. It published collections of all speeches made at conferences. Its platform included the following proposals: To secure the maintenance of peace by use of economic and military force; justiciable disputes were to be submitted to a judicial tribunal for hearing and judgment; all other disputes were to be submitted to a council of conciliation for hearing, consideration, and recommendation. Conferences were to be held to formulate and codify rules of international law which were to govern the decisions of the international tribunal unless a member state dissented.113

111 Edith M. Phelps, Comp., A League of Nations, pp. 48-49.
113 Ibid., II, 703-717; and 790-792.
No provision was made to enforce the decisions of the judicial court or council. Force was to be used only when a member attacked another. It provided for adjustment of disputes but did not say that war could be abolished. It differed from the British plan in that no provision was made for carrying out decisions. Withdrawal was impossible from the British League plan, but permissible in the American. The press gave the League favorable notice.\textsuperscript{114}

The American League of Free Nations Association, another peace society, had for its main purpose the promotion of President Wilson’s ideals and policy at the Peace Conference and thereafter. Through a league of nations they hoped to achieve security which is the protection of national esteem and the equality of economic opportunity. The security and rights of each member were to rest upon the strength of the entire league, which was pledged to use its entire strength to insure satisfactory international arrangements. The league favored popular representation of even minority groups in an international legislative body.\textsuperscript{115}

The Fabian Society of England offered an elaborate which called for an organization based upon a constitution. Its plan provided for an international council, a high court,

\textsuperscript{114} J. S. Bassett, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 40.

and a secretariat.\textsuperscript{116} It recommended the use of blockade, curtailment of loans, and other economic sanctions for recalcitrant states.\textsuperscript{117} It resembled the plans of other peace societies in the procedure of arbitration and judicial action and in its objection to secret diplomacy; it differed in providing a secretariat and in suggesting that the council codify international law.

The Union of Democratic Control was a similar organization whose plan involved nationalization of armament manufactures, the open door policy in trade, and freer commerce between nations. It condemned the peace settlements and was severely criticized by the British press for its stand that the Central Powers were not solely to be blamed for the war.\textsuperscript{118}

The Community of Nations proposed a unique plan, the central idea of which was a new world order based on consent not coercion. Besides the usual courts and a council, this plan called for a Congress of National Representatives to promote common interests and suggested periodic meetings of foreign secretaries to exchange ideas.\textsuperscript{119}

The British League of Free Nations had a plan which followed the course of the other proposals except that

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\textsuperscript{116} E. R. Pease, \textit{The History of the Fabian Society}, pp. 4-6. \\
\textsuperscript{117} L. S. Woolf, \textit{The Framework of a Lasting Peace}, pp. 95-123. \\
\textsuperscript{118} H. M. Swanwick, \textit{Builders of Peace}, pp. 39-40. \\
\textsuperscript{119} L. S. Woolf, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 124-125.
\end{flushright}
Germany was not to be admitted to membership until she gave up the idea of world domination; states could sue or be sued in the supreme court; the council was to codify international law; questions of raw materials, health, migration, tariffs, and armament were to be taken under advisement.\(^{120}\) Viscount Grey was its first president. It merged with the League of Nations Society to form the League of Nations Union.

The League of Nations Union offered a program almost identical with that of the League of Free Nations Association, except that it was actively engaged in spreading information concerning a league of all peoples "able and willing to give effective guarantees of their loyal intentions to observe its covenants."\(^{121}\) In other words, the Union appealed to all people desirous of ending war forever to join them. The League was to assume the responsibility of trusteeship for undeveloped races.

The Nederlandshe Anti-Oorlog Raad (Dutch Anti-War Council) was formed at the Hague in 1915 by representatives from Austria, Germany, Great Britain, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and the United States.\(^{122}\)

\(^{120}\) Latane, op. cit., II, 818-819.

\(^{121}\) Hemleben, op. cit., p. 171.

\(^{122}\) G. L. Dickinson, Introductions to Problems of the International Settlement, p. vi.
Since meetings were difficult in time of war, it was agreed to collect information and make reports on international relations to be used for discussion of problems of a durable peace. The minimum program offered called for an expansion of the Hague Conferences into a permanent organization with regular meetings, while the English League of Nations Society and the American League to Enforce Peace "tacitly ignored the Hague."  

In France, the Association de la Paix par le Droit was perhaps the most successful peace society. The program was similar to that of the Central Organization for a Durable Peace. The Association favored the employment of an international police if necessary to complete the work of the Hague Conferences and urged that the Allies call a general convention to bind themselves to submit all disputes not settled diplomatically to a permanent commission of inquiry and conciliation. Another society in France was called Ligue pour une Société des Nations and engaged mainly in an effort to popularize the League of Nations.

Societies endorsing a league of nations were also established in Switzerland, Italy, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and other countries.

The Great War period of 1914-18 was productive of a multitude of schemes and endorsements of groups and individuals. However, since the United States, Great Britain, and France had taken a leading part in drawing up the Treaty of Versailles, which included the Covenant of the League of Nations, special attention has been given to plans issuing from these countries. Great political philosophers and statesmen expressed the hope that the war might be made the last one by the united efforts of people in establishing a league of nations for world peace. President Wilson, the most important exponent of the idea of a league, received almost universal assent from European governments to the idea in 1917. The Paris Peace Conference therefore unanimously adopted the Covenant of the League of Nations.
CHAPTER III

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Origin

The League of Nations was created at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, at the close of the First World War. The League provided for the first time in history a permanent institution to coordinate the common interests of nations. This marked a turning point in international relations since such cooperation had previously been irregular or spasmodic, and, therefore, inadequate to meet the needs of a growing, shrinking, changing world.\(^1\)

While the tragedy of war had hastened the creation of the League, the idea had developed gradually, as evidenced by historic peace plans and movements that have been surveyed.

The basic ideas embodied in the Covenant include not only the aspirations of intellectuals who proposed schemes for perpetual peace, and created and organized public opinion to meet the challenge of international anarchy, which had led so often to war in the past, but the desires and yearnings of the masses everywhere as well.\(^2\)

While none of the previous plans had gained support enough

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\(^1\)John I. Knudson, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

\(^2\)Ibid., pp. 19-20.
then to be accepted and given a fair trial, they did, nevertheless, contribute certain basic concepts that were embodied in the League. The idea of security against aggression through unity had been attempted for a long time following wars; but the chief objective was usually to "prevent change in any form which in the very nature of existing conditions was impossible and therefore destined to fail. . . . One notes on the other hand, . . . the Covenant was framed with the definite purpose of meeting new problems . . . the League was designed to be sufficiently flexible to meet varying conditions in a dynamic world."3

Enlightened public opinion made itself felt through league movements in a widespread demand for universal peace. According to Theodore Marburg

The most important events in the league-of-nations movement were, in historic order, William Howard Taft's acceptance of the presidency of the American League to Enforce the Peace (April 18, 1915), Viscount (then Sir Edward) Grey's open advocacy of the plan (May 3, 1916), President Wilson's public pronouncement in favor of the principle (May 27, 1916), the formal and official commitment of the Allies to the principle (January 10, 1917), and the significant beginning made in the form of the Versailles Council (November 29, 1917). There followed next the official commitment of the United States.5

3Ibid., p. 20.
4Ibid., p. 23.
Wilson's Part in Founding the League

Woodrow Wilson's contributions to the founding of the League of Nations were perhaps the greatest made by a single individual, since,

As a leading figure and chief executive of the United States, his voice carried far. Moreover, he presented the subject with extraordinary power. Trained in the study of institutions and principles of government, able, in the light of his knowledge of history, to discern great currents in world affairs, he imparted to his utterances unusual breadth and penetration. They stirred the imagination of men. They should live as great public documents, genuinely philosophic.\(^6\)

Wilson, in the different speeches that he made, beginning in 1916 and continuing until the League was established, laid down the fundamental principles upon which a lasting world peace might be built. He saw clearly that America had no choice or freedom of action but to seek security by association with other countries when German aggression started, and he asked that some common force be "brought into existence which shall safeguard right as the first and most fundamental interest of all peoples and governments . . ."\(^7\)

Many other basic principles were formulated by Wilson, enunciated by him, and later embodied in the Covenant:

\(^6\)Ibid.

\(^7\)Ibid., p. 764.
In the last analysis the peace of society is obtained by force. When action comes, it comes by opinion, but back of the opinion is the ultimate force. 8

Participation of the United States and other nations in such a league would tend to free them from narrow groupings with selfish aims and confer upon them real liberty— in the surrender of license, there is freedom, not entanglement. 9

Again he says:

A general association of nations must be formed ... based upon justice and nationalities. The governing principle of self-determination of people, which means making this truly American principle universal by providing a guarantee of political and economic independence and territorial integrity will be invoked by the League. 10

He asserts elsewhere that the people of the United States, in his opinion, cannot "with honor, withhold the service to which they are now about to be challenged. That service is nothing less than this—to add their authority and their power to the authority and force of other nations to guarantee peace and justice throughout the world." 11

Mr. Wilson believed that if justice were maintained throughout the world, there would be no oppression.


10Ibid., Address on January 8, 1918.

11Latane, op. cit., quoting an address made January 23, 1917.
Therefore, he proposed setting up appropriate institutions and adequate organizations for maintaining world peace. He said:

Henceforth inviolable security of life, of worship, and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed to all people.\textsuperscript{12}

Later he said:

The world can be at ease only if its life is stable, and there can be no stability where the will is in rebellion, where there is no tranquility of spirit and a sense of justice, of freedom, and of right.\textsuperscript{13}

Then his famous declaration, "The world must be made safe for democracy."\textsuperscript{14}

It has been remarked of Wilson's speeches in behalf of the League that,

... beginning with his great message of January 22, 1917, he has voiced the true spirit of America more profoundly, more concisely, and more eloquently than any other man has done, or, perhaps, could do.\textsuperscript{15}

The famous Fourteen Points represented a summary of Wilson's previously expressed thoughts. On September 27, 1918, in a speech, Wilson made these declarations:

\textsuperscript{12}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 765. Quoting an address, January 22, 1917.

\textsuperscript{13}Woodrow Wilson, \textit{Messages and Papers}, I, 353.

\textsuperscript{14}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 381. An address delivered April 2, 1917.

\textsuperscript{15}Theodore Marburg, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 765.
There can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations. . . . No employment of boycott . . . except as the power of economic penalty by exclusion from the markets of the world may be vested in the League of Nations itself as a means of discipline and control. . . . All international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made in their entirety to the rest of the world.\textsuperscript{16}

According to Marburg,

The utterances of President Wilson, in addition to laying down cardinal principles of the first importance, and stating the case for a League of Nations in a striking and convincing way, shortened the war by helping to win over the peoples of the Central Powers to a true conception of their own interests.\textsuperscript{17}

The Organization of the League of Nations

The League of Nations organization divided the body into four parts which were to function according to the general purposes laid down in the Preamble:

1. A Council to consist of five permanent members, the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan.

There were to be four other members to be elected by the Assembly from the members of the League. They were to meet at least once a year.\textsuperscript{18}

2. An Assembly to include all members of the League--each

\textsuperscript{16} Woodrow Wilson, "War and Peace," I, 257. An address delivered September 27, 1918.

\textsuperscript{17} Latane, op. cit., p. 756.

nation not to have more than three representatives and only one vote. These representatives were to meet at stated intervals.

3. A Permanent Secretariat: A Secretary-General, selected by the Council, and other secretaries appointed by the Secretary General with the approval of the Council.  

4. A Permanent Court of International Justice. The purpose of the Court was to hear and determine any dispute of an international character. It might also give advisory opinion upon any question referred to it by the Council or the Assembly.  

The Preamble states the principles which were to govern the relations of the member states of the League in dealing with each other:

In order to promote international cooperation and to secure international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war . . .

The Covenant of the League of Nations proposed to establish international law as the actual rule of conduct between nations and to have

The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression,

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19 Ibid., Article 3 of the Covenant.  
20 Ibid., Article 14 of the Covenant.  
21 Ibid.  
22 Knudson, op. cit., p. 373.
the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. 23

The membership of the League of nations fall into three categories. The first comprised the original "Charter" members, signing the Treaty of Versailles. The second included "invited states" that were neutral. Thirteen of these became members. Other self-governing states, dominions, or colonies were eligible if two-thirds of the Assembly agreed, but only if they guaranteed to observe international obligations. The membership was twenty-four at the first meeting of the Council and increased to fifty-eight. The United States was the only great nation that did not join, the Senate having failed to ratify the treaty of which the Covenant was a part. Withdrawal was permissible after two years notice had been given. Germany, Japan, and Brazil withdrew from membership. 24 Russia was deprived of her membership for violation of her obligations against another member, Finland, in 1941.

The principal organs of the League are, as mentioned above, the Assembly, the Council, and the Secretariat. The Assembly and the Council initiate movements, carry on investigations, discuss them and decide upon a course

24 Ibid., pp. 45-46.
of action, but the binding force of these decisions was left to the member states and it was they who gave validity to such decisions. It was not the League that made the laws but the states.

The Assembly work was done mainly by committees which dealt with constitutional questions, technical organizations, armaments, budget administration, social problems, and political questions. Assembly action might be taken in the form of a resolution, recommendation, or agreement to be submitted to the member-states for approval. The Assembly's chief function was to influence public opinion through debates. Independent action might be taken on control of the budget, election of non-permanent members of the Council, admission of states to League membership, and the election of judges to the Permanent Court of International Justice. It might also consider the revision of treaties and must ratify amendments to the Covenant. 25

The Council was to consist of five permanent members (the major Allies named above) and four non-permanent members elected periodically by the Assembly. The seat intended for the United States was given to Germany in 1926. The non-permanent membership was eventually increased to nine. The Council, like the Assembly, might deal with any matter within the sphere of the League.

However, the Council was regarded as the executive organ due to the duties placed upon it by the Treaty of Versailles. The duties included the approval and appointment of the Secretariat and the formulation of plans for the reduction of armaments. The Council alone was given the right to formulate plans for the establishment of the Permanent Court of International Justice. It could expel a member for violating the Covenant. It recommended military and other measures that members were to contribute to defeat an aggressor. It received mandatory reports. Unanimous approval must have been given to amend the Covenant.

The members of the Secretariat, in addition to the usual duties of keeping records, notifying members of meetings, keeping a journal of procedure and official documents, often assisted in the administration of decisions.

Besides these regular organs of the League, there existed a number of auxiliary organs.

The Permanent Court of International Justice was established in accordance with the provisions of Article 14 of the Covenant of the League. The permanent seat of the Court was the Hague.

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Interpretative Comment on the League

Interpretative comment on the League of Nations by authorities on international affairs written in the light of subsequent events and with a desire to make the League or some other plan workable in achieving world peace, reflect valid public opinion on the subject. In general, they seem to indicate a belief that absolute national authority defeated the purposes of the League. To cite a few:

In 1930, W. E. Rappart, an authority on international relations said:

The growing interdependence of nations, combined with the increasingly devastating technique of war have led at least some of us to appreciate more clearly than we did in 1914 the wicked doctrine of absolute national sovereignty. That doctrine as an ideal is condemned today by most far-sighted student. . . . To exalt national sovereignty as a guiding principle of future solution towards peace would be a disastrous error. 27

In 1941, Clarence K. Streit said:

This government-to-government system is the old king-to-king system disguised as a sacred "sovereign-to-sovereign national system. It produces the diplomatic understandings and alliances that entangle you in war. You do not get away from it by organizing the nations as a league. The League of Nations experience showed that, and it is the best thing ever done by nationalism—that a league not only operates on a government-to-government basis, but it keeps all the paraphernalia of diplomacy intact, alliances, national armaments, tariffs, and so on. 28

C. K. Streit, Union Now with Britain, p. 55.
In 1943, Ely Culbertson, stated in the introduction
to his own peace plan, *Total Peace*, that,

Architects of the League of Nations sought
to reconcile two incompatible principles:
the principle of unlimited sovereignty of
nations and the principle of sovereign
law over nations. 29

With the viewpoint of winning the peace, he points
out that,

The noble ideal of Wilson—the principle of col-
llective security based on some kind of world
organization which was impossible in the past,
is now possible of achievement if the World
Federation Plan which provides for reconciling
nationalist and internationalist concepts
is accepted. 30

Culbertson remarks further:

This inner contradiction was inherent in all the
past systems of collective security from the first
plan of Pierre Dubois in the 14th century to the
League of Nations. 31

Doman, as a representative of the super-national view-
point has written:

The League of Nations, instead of becoming the
primary category in world politics, was relegated
to second rank, and it became the reflex of a
series of national domestic policies. . . .
The League never had a chance to mobilize super-
national solidarity in critical times. 32

Doman points with hope to the more recent viewpoint

31 Ibid., p. 25.
32 Doman, op. cit., p. 158.
expressed in 1941 in the joint declaration of Roosevelt and Churchill which states:

Since no future peace can be maintained if . . . armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten or may threaten aggression, . . . the disarming of such nations is essential.\(^{33}\)

He contrasts this with Article 8 of the Covenant which reads:

The members of the League of Nations recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments.\(^{34}\)

Another writer, John I. Knudson, offers the following criticism, much of which is favorable to the high cause of the League. He says:

The League of Nations as an organization has no policy of its own, and is not a seat of government, except that it affords a convenient meeting place for the member states to gather and formulate programs of action. The League represents certain high principles toward which the nations may strive. . . . Tangible results are not always realized, but definite courses are charted, enabling nations to reach an orderly haven of world society.\(^{35}\)

In defense of the controversial Article 10 of the Covenant, Fleming states that,

The League of Nations provides a basic law, a code of obligations, and methods for the settlement of international disputes and agencies for

\(^{33}\)Ibid., p. 189.

\(^{34}\)Ibid., p. 189, 190.

\(^{35}\)Knudson, op. cit., Introduction, p. xiii.
putting these methods into practice. It is not a Super state, but a union of sovereign states where all states have the same rights and obligations. The Monroe Doctrine furnishes convincing proof that Article 10 would act as a preventative of war.\textsuperscript{36}

According to Marcel Hoden who was long associated with the League,

The destruction of the League was an integral part, indeed the most important and necessary part in the deliberate design of the totalitarian states --Germany, Japan, and Italy--to divide, weaken, and immobilize the peace forces of the world, and thus open the door to dominating the world.\textsuperscript{37}

All the opposition to the League was not in the enemy camp, for G. W. Johnson recalls:

Wilson failed because he could not alter the country he was leading and his country was not equal to the burden he imposed upon it. \ldots Facts about the League we know which show the irony of rejecting it:

a. The League was a plan.
b. It was the only plan presented.
c. Without any plan, our prosperity, security, and happiness were within twenty-four hours in more deadly peril than they were in 1917.

It is hard to imagine any circumstances under which participation in the League of Nations scheme could have brought us to a much worse pass than that non-participation brought us to by 1941.

Laski comments on the failure of the United States to participate in the League by saying:

\textsuperscript{36} D. A. Fleming, The United States and the League of Nations, p. 523.


The history of the Treaty of Versailles makes the lesson clear that in treaty-making, consultation of the President with vital figures in the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs is pivotal to the successful verification of any treaty that arouses serious debate. "That Senator Lodge, the leader of the opposition to Mr. Wilson in the Senate, was moved by the meanest personal considerations in the excess of which he allowed himself to go is, of course, made plain by the amazing letter to Mr. Henry White which he allowed himself to write before the Peace Conference began to sit."

In 1940, Archibald MacLeish said:

The American people seem to be upon the point of accepting, without challenge and almost without debate, a proposition which may profoundly affect the future of the world they are to live in.

The essential elements of the proposition, he points out, are these: that, since Mr. Wilson started out to make peace with his eye on a set of principles, expecting the facts to conform, and failed; we should start out this time with our eyes on a set of facts and let the principle do the conforming. MacLeish disagrees with this, maintaining: "The whole history of civilization is a history of effort—to compel the so-called logic of fact to conform to a human, a moral purpose—to compel the consuming logic of fire to conform to the purpose of light."

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41 Ibid.
Nicholas Doman, in a brief introspection of the League of Nations, with reference to the universal world order that he sees coming if we are ever to have world peace says:

The League was the logical, technical culmination of the humanitarian progress of the nineteenth century. . . . When the scourge of the First World War bereft the people of the world, they were ready to commit themselves even to the principle of an international organization in which the national sovereignty would have been severely abridged. But as soon as peace was re-established, the good-will and the determination to dispense with the national peculiarities and fallacies were greatly reduced. Hence the League took the shape of a typical nineteenth century government, enlarged to planetary proportions—a League to preserve and not to end sovereignties.42

The League was the most systematic and monumental of international experiments; it was the last major democratic experiment of an international character and was perhaps the prologue to a supernational universal organization. . . . The League . . . represented the boldest of innovations in international politics; yet it fell short of the postulates of the twentieth century.43

Doman, who is an advocate of a supernational, not an international structure, closes his discussion on a note of pessimism for he concludes with the statement: "International organizations are bound to fail, and no one can say how many more chances the democratic world will be given to build a supernational structure."44

42 Doman, op. cit., pp. 154-155.
43 Ibid., pp. 156-157.
44 Ibid., p. 159.
The Closing Years of the League of Nations

The League of Nations for the first time in history provided the world with a system of international government, based upon a written constitution and subject to change by amendment. The League brought to the world a basic law, a code of obligations, methods for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, and agencies for putting those methods into practice. Respect for the sovereignty, independence, and dignity of each state was proclaimed and established. Under this system no state had the right to resort to violence; problems were studied and discussed in order to solve them fairly; and mutual assistance against aggression was provided. Attempts had been made to correct the weaknesses; for instance, the Protocol for the Separation of the Covenant from the World War Peace Treaties was opened for signature on September 30, 1938. Moreover, the Bruce Committee, which was appointed to study the best methods of dealing with the non-political or technical problems, made its report on August 12, 1939, recommending a draft constitution for the Central Committee for Economic and Social Questions. The report advised that non-members be allowed to collaborate in the social and economic activities of the League. This report also contains a summary of the humanitarian work of the League.
In 1939, the League of Nations established an emergency commission with plenary powers to meet the impending crisis of war in Europe. When war came, this committee, at the request of forty nations, including the United States and Brazil—non members—determined to carry on in a neutral way non-controversial matters. The League's policy was broadcast to New York on October 21, 1939. The League was to adapt its work to meet the crisis. In April, 1946, after the United Nations Covenant was approved, the League voted to disband.

Before voting itself out of existence, the League of Nations made plans to transfer agreements made between the League and various nations to the United Nations Organization; to transfer the funds of the League of Nations to the treasury of the United Nations, and to permit that organization to take over the Geneva headquarters of the League.
CHAPTER IV

SOME RECENT PEACE PLANS WITH
EMPHASIS ON THE UNITED NATIONS

Introduction

While the League of Nations provided the world with an international government based on a written constitution, subject to change by amendment, enlightened people everywhere were aware of the dangers lurking in the international situation, and in democratic countries insight and discussion sought an answer which might prevent the impending disaster of another world war. Despite the great achievements of the League in humanitarian work, it lacked the central control and authority for the maintenance of peace against the impact of National Socialism and Fascism. World War II was the result, to a certain extent, of the weakness of the League. However, it had given the world a degree of safety for the space of a decade. Consequently, statesmen, students of political philosophy, and thinkers in every walk of life have sought to guarantee a more lasting peace for the whole world through the advancement of various plans for universal peace.

The plans are of two kinds: those advising the federal idea of the states, which has been gathering strength since the early twenties of this century; such as Civitas Dei.
the plan of Lionel Curtis; Union Now, the plan of Clarence K. Streit; and the super-state idea of the universalists, embodied in Total Peace by Ely Culbertson.

Givitas Dei

In considering designs for a world order capable of maintaining peace and outlawing war, the great work of Lionel Curtis entitled Civitas Dei,1 or World Order, is fundamental to all thought on the subject. Maintaining that the primary question in any plan of action is the purpose, he suggests that the nature and form of international organization must be determined by what men believe to be the purpose of life itself and man's function in the scheme of life. He reviews the history of thought and political forms of governing to show that there is one purpose in life and, therefore, one principle upon which man can build a successful world institution.

The thesis of the Curtis study is that to engender in men a desire to serve each other is the end and object of human existence. History is the story of the gradual discovery that

... men grow to perfection in so far as they base their relations on the infinite duty of each to all. Men rise in stature, however, and understanding in proportion to their awareness of their unity and identity with other men.

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Men achieve freedom and peace as their loyalties and their sympathies become progressively identified first with the family, then with the tribe, the state, the nation, the hemisphere, and finally expand to include the whole world.\(^2\)

The nature of the social organism in which man lives is the most powerful in releasing him from the fears of ignorance and the selfish urges of pure animalism. Any political organization, therefore, should be designed to provide for freedom and opportunity for the individual to develop his sense of common interest with all mankind. It should be based upon the direct participation and responsibility of the individual.

It should be a commonwealth in that sense; and the perpetual striving and ultimate purpose cannot be anything but a commonwealth of the world. One purpose, one interest, one loyalty, the brotherhood of man is the only goal that enlists the life forces of the youth of the world. It is the sole realistic business of statesmen, politicians, and planners.\(^3\)

Curtis concludes that the approach to this ideal order must be gradual and groping because man will be reluctant to discard his conception of the nation, and the obsession that he can obtain benefits from national grouping. The maximum possibility he believes is that two or more advanced commonwealths might by an immense spiritual effort consciously merge their sovereignty into one international

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 35.

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 38.
commonwealth. He suggests that Australia or New Zealand, or both, in connection with the United Kingdom, try the experiment and demonstrate the principle that if a minimum of sovereignty is relinquished to the union, the members benefit and peace is possible. His scheme would provide (1) a legislature elected by and responsible to the people, (2) having final authority over peace and war and foreign affairs, and (3) having power to levy taxes directly on the people to exercise these powers. He would have an executive to enforce the legislative mandate; but he would leave to negotiation the distribution of voting power, the burden of taxation, and constitutional details. He would have the new international commonwealth extend a standing invitation to all nations holding the same purposes and beliefs to join. This plan ultimately will bring universal peace.

That Curtis realizes how imperative is the need for effective international government is revealed in these words:

I can point to no time which appears so fraught with disaster to the human race as a whole as the present, the moment of which I am bringing this book to a close. . . . We have now reached a stage in the growth of civilization which cannot go further and is doomed to go back, until we dis-

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4 Lionel Curtis, op. cit., p. 167.

5 Ibid., p. 143.
cover the means of passing from the national to the international state.\textsuperscript{6}

Curtis maintains that the power and authority necessary to world government can be drawn "only from the citizens, whose loyalty to the world community must transcend any local allegiance... The League of Nations... failed in its world mission of peace because the states members were allowed to retain their sovereignty and the exclusive title to the loyalty of their nationals."\textsuperscript{7} This is the essence of a mere league, which twenty years of experience with the League of nations has demonstrated was not enough to prevent war.

\textbf{Union Now}

The main thesis of Streit's plan, called \textit{Union Now} is the same as that of \textit{Civitas Dei}. P. E. Corbett, the historian, compares them briefly:

Neither writer sees any hope of peace in a mere League of Nations which only preserves intact the sovereignty of its states which... must depend for action upon forces which remain under the control of the state... Streit proposes at once a much larger federation than Curtis dares to suggest as a beginning, and goes into details of organization which Curtis leaves entirely to others.\textsuperscript{8}

\textsuperscript{6}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{7}P. E. Corbett, \textit{Post-War Worlds}, pp. 42-43.
\textsuperscript{8}Clarence K. Streit, \textit{Union Now with Britain}
\textsuperscript{9}Corbett, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 44.
Streit sees some similarity between his ideas and those of Curtis, whose work he describes as "monumental" and the work of a statesman "who for a generation had been the outstanding British champion of federal union."\(^{10}\) On the other hand, Esther E. Lape considers Curtis far more abstract than Streit, with a closer approach to real political philosophy in his writings.\(^{11}\)

The proposition set forth by Streit in *Union Now* is a federal union of the fifteen North Atlantic democracies, including the self-governing dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations. This scheme is a development of the American principle of federal union. Membership at first would be limited to the democratic countries, but open to all countries later so that they might qualify and affiliate.

Streit's scheme proposes a genuine union of peoples, with a constitution, a legislature, an executive, and a judiciary, adopted from the American system. For the presidency, Streit substitutes a board of five which delegates executive action to a premier of its own selection, who, in turn, appoints his cabinet. If the premier loses the confidence of either house, the board must dis-

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\(^{10}\) Streit, op. cit., pp. 181-182.

miss him and appoint another. The board can dissolve con-
gress or either house of it, and call for a new election
in the interest of harmony.

R. W. Page says of the Streit plan:

Logically it presents a concrete scheme to accom-
plish at a stroke the objectives advocated and
dreamed of by all authorities. . . . Streit has
either the courage or the foolhardiness to dis-
regard the fears which have led others to tread
softly and limit their immediate steps to what is
believed to be accepted politically by a pagan
population.11

According to P. E. Corbett,

The histories of the United States, Switzerland,
and Canada have been drawn into service to show
how competing autonomies can be reconciled by
the divisions of functions and powers between a
central, federated government and the government
of federated states or provinces.12

Streit's plan proposes to extend the principle of
federation across national boundaries by establishing
an international government directly responsible to the
citizens and with powers in its prescribed sphere inde-
dependent of the separate national governments. It

. . . raises the issue as to whether international
outlook and action can be achieved in an organiza-
tion built on purely national governments. It
leads at the same time to a formidable dilemma
which arises as soon as one asks the question
whether federal union means a federation of all
nations of the world or of only some.13

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American Academy, p. 55.
12 P. E. Corbett, op. cit., p. 31.
Another author has observed of Streit's plan and other similar ones, calling for and built upon the idea of an international federal union for the purpose of achieving world peace and world democracy, that they fall short of the goal if they are limited to democracies and relate only to peace because the world is shrinking as rapidly as it seems to be. Such plans, he says,

... are laudable attempts in the right direction, yet after a correct diagnosis, they fail to apply the required cure. Their historic significance lies not in their projected materialization but in their educating effects on communal psychology, in their shifting the focus of the body politic away from the national state. By encouraging an international psychology, they tend to undermine the ideological barriers separating the citizens of the various states.\textsuperscript{14}

\textbf{Total Peace}

Next, Ely Culbertson in \textit{Total Peace}, written in 1941, presents a carefully thought-out and complete plan which has provoked considerable discussion on the subject of world peace. It is a very comprehensive and detailed plan. The philosophy which prompted the development of the plan is the belief that in this age of total war, nothing less than total peace will do. This means the kind of peace that will safeguard the sovereignty of nations and establish by means of a system of collective defense

\textsuperscript{14} Doman, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 171-172.
the basis of permanent world peace. **Total Peace** is an elaboration and an improvement on an earlier plan of Culbertson's called **Summary of World Federation**; it is worked out in great detail for the United States, but it is adjustable to any nation willing to pool its resources in the plan.14

The plan calls for collective defense and an international police, strong enough and mobile enough to prevent aggression anywhere in the world. Recognizing that any future system of collective security must meet the requirements of effectiveness and acceptability, Culbertson proposes to reconcile old principles of power politics with the new principle of collective security. He believes that the United States, or any nation, might give up the sovereign right to wage aggressive war if fully safeguarded by a world constitution and her own armed forces and strategic bases.

By developing new conceptions of American power politics, which constitute the "nationalist basis" of American foreign policy, and new concepts of collective defense, which constitute the "international basis" of American foreign policy, and integrating both in a higher synthesis of the World Federation Plan, he reconciles the two principles.

14Ely Culbertson, **Total Peace**, Author's Preface, iii-iv.
The nationalists demand that the United States be made strong enough to be practically independent; but the internationalist would have her protect herself by participating in an international organization with a strong police force and cooperate with other agencies in rebuilding the world and providing for the common defense of all. By using both solutions, Culbertson believes his plan will be both effective and acceptable. By establishing a positive ideal, he hopes to maintain unity, which is necessary to win and keep the peace. 15

In seeking a way to accomplish this, Culbertson "discovered" the clue to the solution in the two-way army of the United States. The National Guard or state militia in time of peace serves as a state defense force; but in time of war, it becomes a part of the collective defense force against foreign danger. By applying this principle to the international police force, he proposes to make it a two-way army. The international police force would, therefore, consist of national contingents armed with heavy weapons, recruited from the citizens of the country and subject to the orders of its national government in peace, but in war it would automatically form a part of the international police force.

In addition to these national contingents, there would

15 Ibid., pp. 14-17.
be created a special mobile corps (international contingent) made up of regiments of small nations at the direct disposal of the international organization in war and peace, stationed on extra-territorial bases to function as "shock troops" of the international police force, with the national contingents as reserves. The sole purpose of the international force would be to prevent two states engaging in war.

This solution consists of a system of composition and distribution of armed forces so arranged that the existing relative strength of the great powers is not diminished, while, in addition, a powerful new collective strength made up of small nations is established against future aggressors. Culbertson sent his new formula to thousands of experts who found little to criticize; therefore, he decided that he had worked out an effective plan—the World Federation Plan, which embodies new concepts and features which might also make it acceptable.\(^{16}\)

The Constitution of the World Federation

I. The Structure of the World Federation

a. The world shall be divided into eleven Regional Federations

1. Nine Sovereign Regional Federations

   (1) Pan-American

   (2) British

\(^{16}\) Ibid., pp. 26-29.
(3) Latin European
(4) Germanic
(5) Middle European
(6) Middle Eastern
(7) Russian
(8) Chinese
(9) Japanese

2. Two Temporary Autonomous Regional Federations
(1) Malaysian (Until it becomes sovereign, it shall be under the trusteeship of the United States.)
(2) Indian (Until it becomes sovereign, it shall be under the trusteeship of Great Britain.)

b. Representatives of the member Regional Federations shall form the government of the World Federation with limited rights. Each Region is a natural economic, cultural, and psychological unit, consisting of sovereign states, which retain all their sovereign rights—even the right to join or not to join the World Federation. Each gives up only the right to wage a war of aggression. The most populous state, called the Initiating State, joins the World Federation in behalf of its region. Each Region is held together by its regional government.
II. Membership in the World Federation
   a. Membership in the World Federation shall consist of two kinds
      1. Regional Federations which have joined it
      2. Those sovereign states of the member Regional Federations which have consented to form a part of the member Regional Federations
   b. No initiating state can withdraw or be expelled.

III. Founding and Governing of the World Federation
    a. The World Federation shall come into existence when two or more Regional Federations become members.

IV. The Conditions of Peace Settlements with the Defeated States

V. The Territorial Settlement of the World
   a. World Territorial Table (as of 1936)
      1. Describes Composition of Regional Federations and the Frontiers of All Sovereign States and Their Possessions
   c. Territorial settlements, when agreed upon, shall not be changed except with the mutual consent of the states concerned or by a plebiscite or by arbitration of the World Court of Equity.
VI. Restoration of Sovereign States and Establishment of Representative Governments

VII. The World Police: the Quota Force Principle

VIII. Organization and Powers of the Permanent Government of the World Federation

a. The Three Branches

1. Executive—a President with His Cabinet

2. Legislative—Two Houses

3. Judicial—a World Supreme Court and a World Equity Court

IX. Organization and Powers of the Regional Governments

Culbertson maintains that for the first time in history lasting peace is possible. He says:

Lasting peace has become theoretically possible because science has revolutionized the structure and the technique of modern weapons, developing a new age of heavy fighting machines. . . . For the first time in history it has become possible to disarm the world by segregating the decisive, deadly engines of destruction in the hands of a few. These few may be . . . conquerors, or the trustees of a world cooperative of nations. It is the last possibility—collective defense—that carries with it the hope of everlasting peace.17

Philip C. Nash has said:

Mr. Culbertson, in his brilliant book Total Peace, has outlined a perfect world organization, better than any other complete blueprint I have seen. If it were possible . . . to set up his organization "in toto," I believe it would work and probably be better for the world than anything

17 Ibid., pp. 19-20.
we are likely to get. . . . As Professor Schuman has said about the Culbertson plan—"It is impossible to criticize the details helpfully because the structure is so ingenious, so integrated, as it stands that it is almost irrelevant, not to say irreverent, for anyone to suggest knocking off a portico in one place or adding another somewhere else." 18

Steps Leading to the United Nations

The idea of a United Nations gradually took shape during the Second World War, which has been defined as a "war against conquest and conquerors." 19 A spokesman for the British Commonwealth declared in 1940:

The failure of the League of Nations was largely due to a lack of central control which could harmonize the freedom of each with the proper functioning of the whole human society. . . . As between man and man there shall be justice; as between nation and nation there shall be the rule of law, the absence of force, and the maintenance of peace. 20

The joint declaration issued by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill on August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter, has come to be accepted as the basic creed of the United Nations. The Atlantic Charter asserted the principles upon which the two great democracies based their hopes for a better future world—the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they will live—the restoration

19 Corbett, op. cit., p. 7.
20 Ibid., p. 8. Quoted from a broadcast by Gen. Smuts from Capetown on July 21, 1940.
of sovereign rights and self-government of those people that have been forcibly deprived of them by the aggressor nations—a permanent system of security. The Yalta Communique of February 12, 1942 made clear the intentions that changes would be carried out according to the Atlantic Charter. The Moscow Declaration of October 1, 1943, calling for a general international organization was signed by the diplomatic representatives of China, Great Britain, Russia, and the United States. Another step toward the United Nations organization was taken when leaders of Britain, Russia, and the United States, in conference at Teheran, Iran, in November, 1943, decided to welcome all nations "as they chose to come, into a world family of democratic nations." The Declaration of the United Nations re-affirmed the Charter. It has been authoritatively stated:

The Moscow Statement (Nov. 1, 1943), issued jointly by the U. S., the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and China declared that "they recognize the necessity of establishing ... a general international organization ... for the maintenance of peace and security."

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22 Vera Michaels Dean, The Four Corner Stones of Peace, p. 28.
The idea of a new association of nations was designated as "the United Nations" on January 1, 1944, by President Roosevelt. On that date, Britain, China, Russia, and the United States signed the United Nations Declaration. Then twenty-two other nations signed, thus pledging their nations to support the principles of the Atlantic Charter, and to use their resources against the enemy. Before the San Francisco Conference of 1945, twenty more nations had signed this agreement.

Again, at Dumbarton Oaks near Washington, on October 7, 1944, a statement was made by statesmen of the same four powers making definite plans for a new world order. The published record shows that attention was concentrated on the problems of establishing the machinery of international security by organization. Agreement was reached on several important points:

There should be established an international organization entitled the United Nations. Its main purpose should be to "maintain international peace and security." To achieve this end, it "should take effective collective measures . . . to bring about by peaceful means adjustment . . . of international disputes that may lead to a breach of the peace." Membership should be open to all peace-loving states. The four main organs of the organization should be a General Assembly, a Security Council, an International Court of Justice, and a Secretariat.

The Security Council should be empowered to investigate any situation likely to lead to endangering the peace of nations and to suggest measures to prevent or put an end to such situations. The Council should function continuously.

The Security Council should be composed of representatives of each of the five permanent members—Great Britain, France, China, the United States, and the Soviet Union. It should be composed of one representative of each of the other nations. The Assembly should be charged with the responsibility of maintaining peace and security. It should be composed of representatives of all nations. It should function in two fields: security, and economic and social. The Security Council cannot recommend any action in the sphere of security which is reserved by the various duties of each division can be briefly summarized:

1. The General Assembly should be composed of representatives of all member nations. It should function in two fields: security, and economic and social. The Assembly cannot recommend any action in the sphere of security which is reserved by the
the maintenance of international peace and security and to take measures necessary. When non-military measures proved inadequate, the Security Council, with the advice and assistance of the Military Staff Committee should decide what use to make of the land, sea, and air forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. The Dumbarton Oaks Documents did not preclude the existence of regional arrangements, provided that such arrangements are consistent with the purposes and principles of the organization. Regional agencies should function within, not outside the United Nations.

3. The principal judicial organ of the proposed organization should be an International Court of Justice, modeled after the Permanent Court of International Justice established in 1919.

4. A Secretariat should include a Secretary General and such staff as may be required. The Secretary-General should be the chief administrative officer of the organization. He should make an annual report, and bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter that might threaten international peace and security.

27 Ibid., pp. 156-158.  
28 Ibid., pp. 158-159.  
29 Ibid., pp. 168-167.
According to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, military problems that concern security should be handled by the Security Council; economic, social, and other humanitarian problems should be handled by the General Assembly or under its authority, by the Economic and Social Council. The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals were made available to the people of all countries for study. The Document was not, like the League Covenant, linked to any peace settlement that might be reached at the end of the Second World War. 30

The Acting Secretary of State of the United States said:

Much work still remains to be done before a set of completed proposals can be placed before the peace loving nations of the world as a basis of discussion at a formal conference to draft a charter of the projected organization for submission to the governments. . . . But the document . . . is sufficiently detailed to indicate the kind of an international organization, which in their judgment, will meet the imperative need of providing for the maintenance of international peace and security. 31

But he warns,

We cannot hope to attain so great an objective without constant effort and unfailing determination that the sacrifices of this war shall not be in vain. 32

The United Nations

The San Francisco Conference.—The United Nations was created at the San Francisco Conference which met in the city of San Francisco on April 25, 1945, and continued in session until June 26. Fifty United Nations which had declared war on Germany or Japan, or both, were represented. The specific purpose for which these representatives had met was to draft a charter on the basis of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals of October 9, 1945. The conference functioned on two planes. The technical experts whose task was to draft the constitution of a world organization sought with determination to concentrate on the building of that international machinery, and to avoid discussion of controversial political and economic issues, such as Russia’s intentions in Europe and Asia, the future of the colonies, the treatment of Germany, and the relation between regional and collective security. Nevertheless, these issues pressed for consideration in the thoughts of the political leaders, especially after V-E Day when their attention was inevitably focused on the problems of peace. Yet, despite serious differences of opinion, the conference proceeded to draft the Charter (the constitution) of the United Nations in accordance with the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

The "Big Four" presented different views concerning the nature of world security. President Truman, in his speech
opening the conference, stressed the responsibility of the
great powers to serve, not dominate, small nations. The
Chinese Foreign Minister T. V. Soong, who became the spokes-
man for the small nations, pleaded for the creation of
order based on law. British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden
declared that the great powers could make a two-fold con-
tribution: by supporting the international organization;
and by setting up standards of international conduct. M.
Molotov, the Russian representative, stressed the effective
authority of the international organization and the need
for giving it adequate military force to prevent aggression.
France was admitted to the ranks of the "Big Five," and the
intellectual clarity of the French contributed to the success
of the negotiations.33

The Charter of the United Nations.--The Preamble states
the general purpose of the United Nations:

to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war . . .
to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights . . .
to establish conditions under which justice . . . can
be maintained . . .
to promote social progress and better standards of life
in larger freedom . . .

33 Dean, op. cit., pp. 53-58, 61. Copy of the Charter of
to achieve these ends the member nations undertake to practice tolerance and live together in peace...

to unite their strength to maintain international peace and security.

The Purposes and Principles.—The purpose is as stated:
To maintain international peace and security in conformity with principles of justice and international law—respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms—self determination of peoples.

The principles are as stated: Sovereign equality of members—members shall fulfill obligations—settle international disputes by peaceful means—members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action and refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventative or enforcement action—no intervention in domestic jurisdiction of any state, but this principle shall not prejudice application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter.

Membership.—The original members of the United Nations shall be states which, having participated in the United Nations Conference of International Organization at San Francisco, or having previously signed the Declaration of the United Nations of January 1, 1942, sign the present

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34 Ibid., Charter of the United Nations, Chapter I.
Charter and ratify it in accordance with Article 110 by means of their respective governments. Membership shall be open to all other peace loving states which accept the obligations contained in the Charter. A member may be expelled for persistent violation of the principles of the Charter. 35

Organs.—There shall be established as the principal organs of the United Nations: a General Assembly, a Security Council, an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council, an International Court of Justice, and a Secretariat (And such subsidiary organs as found necessary). 36

The General Assembly.—The General Assembly consists of representatives of all member nations of the United Nations and is to meet annually. Most of the work is handled by committees. Any subject mentioned in the Charter may be discussed except one that is being handled by the Security Council. The Assembly is a deliberative, not a legislative body. The policy-making activities of the General Assembly cover such matters as promoting respect for human rights, improving living conditions of the people of the world, and improving the methods of maintaining the peace of the world. The Assembly matters are investigated, discussed, and have recommendations made for the peaceful

35 Ibid., United Nations Charter, Chapter II.
36 Ibid., United Nations Charter, Chapter III.
adjustment of any situation regardless of the origin which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations.

The Assembly receives reports from all other parts of the organization, including the Security Council, at least once a year. Moreover, the Council must keep the Assembly posted on what it is doing. The Assembly elects non-permanent members of the Council and members of the Social and Economic Council and the Trusteeship Council. It shares in the election of the judges of the Court of International Justice and of the Secretary General. The Assembly also has "the power of the purse." It decides how much each member state must contribute, approves the budget, and makes appropriation of the treasury funds.

The General Assembly's functions are distinct from those of the Security Council. This is a contrast to the League where there was often duplication. In contrast to the Dumbarton Oaks Document, the Assembly may call the attention of the Council to situations which are likely to endanger international peace. The most important contrast, however, in the provisions is that the Secretary General shall notify the Assembly of any matters concerning international peace and security with which the Council is dealing, and if it ceases to deal with such matters, the Assembly must be notified. If the Assembly is not in
session, the Secretary General notifies the members of the United Nations. 37

The Security Council. —The Security Council of the United Nations shall consist of eleven members of the United Nations. The United States of America, the Republic of China, France, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be the permanent members of the Security Council. Its non-permanent members shall be elected from the members of the United Nations for a term of two years. Each member of the Security Council shall have one representative. The Council functions continuously. The Military Staff is also to sit continuously. This is an improvement over the League of Nations Council which was to "meet from time to time." 38

The chief responsibility of the Security Council is the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations. The specific powers granted to the Security Council for the discharge of these duties are laid down in Chapters VI, VII, VIII and XII of the Charter. They include provisions for enabling the Council to effect the settlement of disputes, to take action with respect to

37 United Nations Charter, Chapter IV.
38 United Nations Charter, Chapter V.
threats to the peace, breaches of peace, and acts of aggression; to utilize regional arrangements to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes; and to exercise control over strategic areas including the terms of trusteeship agreements and their alterations or amendments. Moreover, the Security Council may offer settlement for disputes, cut off a disputing state, or, if all other methods fail, use arms against an aggressor.\textsuperscript{39}

The use of force provision was strengthened in the Charter in comparison with the previous provisions. The Charter states that the member nations are to specify the armed forces, assistance and facilities they are to place at the disposal of the organization "as soon as possible on the initiative of the Council," and not after "concluding among themselves," as the Dumbarton Oaks Document had provided. To the "facilities" granted by member states have been added in the Charter "rights of passage necessary for the purpose of maintaining national peace and security."\textsuperscript{40}

The Security Council is the core of the Charter. The coalition of great powers who assume the responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security claim the authority necessary to discharge this responsibility.

In contrast to the League Covenant, which provided for eventual disarmament, the Charter emphasizes not disarmament,

\textsuperscript{39} \textit{United Nations Charter}, Chapters VI, VII, VIII, XII.

\textsuperscript{40} \textit{United Nations Charter}, Chapter VII.
but effectual international security enforcement measures
to be followed by stabilization and regulation of national
armaments.

The International Court of Justice.—The International
Court of Justice was established as the principal judicial
organ of the organization in accord with the Dumbarton
Oaks Proposals. A special committee of jurists convened in
Washington prior to the San Francisco Conference, drafted
a document which may be regarded as the statute of the
Permanent Court with modifications. Fifty United Nations
signed this statute at San Francisco and it is annexed to
the Charter. By re-constituting the Court, it was possible
to exclude former members not members of the United Nations.

The new statute, as compared with that of 1919, shows
three modifications: namely, a change in the name of the
Court; inclusion of the Court in the framework of the
organization; provision for the election of its fifteen
members by the General Assembly and by the Security Council
for nine-year terms from a list of persons nominated by
national groups in the Permanent Court of Arbitration.

The new Court will be located at the Hague. The juris-
diction of the Court extends to cases which parties refer
to it—some states under the optional clause of Article 36
of the Statute declare they recognize as compulsory the
jurisdiction of the Court in four categories of legal
disputes—and it may give advisory opinions on any legal question at the request of any body authorized by the Charter to make such a request. The Charter in Article 36 states: "Legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court." The Court is open only to states not to individuals. 41

The Executive Branch.—The Secretariat consists of a Secretary-General, eight Assistant Secretary Generals, and a large force of helpers. The duties of the Secretary-general are: to act as secretary for all organs of the United Nations Organization; to make annual reports on the work of the Organization to the General Assembly; to be chief administrator; and to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which threatens the peace of the world. The first Secretary is Tryge Lie, a Norwegian. 42

Miscellaneous Provisions.—Amendments shall come into force for all members of the United Nations when adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the members of the United Nations, including all permanent members of the

41United Nations Charter, Chapter XIV. Also, Statute of the International Court of Justice, Conference Series No. 71 found in Dean, op. cit., Appendix B.

42United Nations Charter, Chapter XV.
Security Council. A general conference may be held for amending the Charter. 43

The Charter shall be ratified by the signatory states in accordance with the respective constitutional processes. The ratifications shall be deposited with the government of the United States of America, which shall notify all members and the Secretary-General. The Charter comes into force upon the deposit of ratifications of the Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America, and by a majority of the other signatory states. A protocol of the ratifications shall be drawn up and copies communicated to all signatory states. 44

The Official Language. The present Charter, of which the Chinese, French, Russian, English, and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall remain in the archives of the Government of the United States of America. The representatives of the governments of the United Nations have signed the present Charter at the city of San Francisco on the twenty-sixth of June, one thousand nine hundred and forty-five. 45

43 United Nations Charter, Chapter XVII.
44 Ibid., Chapter XIX.
45 Ibid., Chapter XIX.
Discussion of the Charter

The Yalta Conference.—The conference at Yalta in the Crimea was in the nature of a preliminary peace conference. In the light of the experience of the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 in trying to draw up the Covenant of the League of Nations and at the same time settle the political and territorial questions, it was thought advisable to discuss the terms of the proposed United Nations Charter before the time for negotiating peace treaties arrived. At Yalta also was set the time and place of the San Francisco Conference. The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals was, of course, the major step in the careful planning which had preceded the San Francisco Conference; however, at Yalta certain issues were discussed and clarified. Chief among these was the change from a unanimous vote of the membership as had been the case of the League on vital questions to a "qualified majority." 46

A Comparison of the Charter with the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.—The Charter strengthens the enforcement authority of the organization; it also contains a Preamble, which tends to "humanize it and liberalize its terms." According to one author's summary, the Charter

... broadens the objectives of the United Nations organization; expands the powers of

46 Dean, op. cit., pp. 25-34.
the General Assembly; enhances its position, ... extends the jurisdiction of the organization by establishing an international trusteeship system for dependent peoples, to be administered by a Trusteeship Council; and seeks to integrate bilateral and regional security arrangements into a system of collective security.47

This trusteeship system is more flexible than the League of Nations mandate.

A Comparison of the Charter with the Covenant of the League of Nations.--The Charter of the United Nations and the Covenant of the League of Nations are alike in some respects; for instance, each provides the machinery to prevent war--to provide justice--to settle international disputes by peaceful means, and to promote the welfare and human rights of the people. It takes more than machinery, however, to make any plan work effectively. The new United Nations, unless given the proper spirit, will be useless in spite of the high ideals embodied in its charter. The long-time planning, the wide-spread publicity and discussion of the United Nations represent the combined consciousness of countless individuals since it was launched while the war was raging and people were intensely interested in preventing another war. This gives the Charter the advantage over the Covenant, which was sprung "ready-made" upon the people after the First World War had closed. That

47 Ibid., p. 75.
the "inarticulate" masses who fight the wars have become more articulate seems evident from the way the representatives of the smaller nations took full advantage of their privilege to be heard at the San Francisco Conference and turned the Conference into a world forum in pressing their demands. Since people are more inclined to accept and work for what they have helped create, it is thought that this public opinion definitely in favor of having a plan to prevent war may prove to be the spirit or moral backing necessary to make the new plan work better than the old.

James T. Shotwell, in referring to the structure of the United Nations Organization and the policies to be followed in achieving world peace and security, recently said:

I think you share with me a feeling of gratitude to those . . . who are working on human betterment. I would like just in passing to recall to your minds the fact that these subjects at least in the detail in which they are now being envisaged, were not in the Covenant of the League of Nations nor within the preview of the League itself. It had the mandate system which was a better system than a critical world was ready to acknowledge. It worked . . . as a pioneer in a region not yet explored.  

He points out that the problem of the government of dependent people has been properly placed in the Charter under the Social and Economic Council. On disarmament and elimination of war, he asserts that the difficult issue has been recognized in the pronouncements of governments.

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as to the ultimate objective beyond the United Nations Organization; that we have learned through League experience since 1919 that the problem of the elimination of war is at bottom one of moral intelligence and purpose and must be shared by all nations. "All history shows us that the only way to maintain a consistent gain in the field of morals is by erecting institutions of an impersonal character representing society as a whole in which we can embody these ideals." Furthermore, he says, there must be willingness to accept the judgment of the community:

We threw overboard the League of Nations which we had led the world to accept in 1919; if later we reject the United Nations Organization for something else, never again will nations have any confidence in our stability and judgment.

Shotwell points out that in the Charter there are clauses that are sufficiently broad to enable us to cover unexpected exigencies, particularly: Article 22, which says the Assembly of the United Nations may establish such organs as it finds necessary for the maintenance of peace and security, and for the transaction of all things under the Charter; and Article 29, which gives the Council the same power to create the necessary organs. But, he warns that the people must be alert to the exact, definite policy of the United Nations Organization, lest they follow the lead of critics who know less, but still give a negative

\[49\] Ibid.
verdict as some did in the case of the League of Nations in past years.

Shotwell says that Article X of the League—the thing that kept the United States out—was never invoked in the history of the League, except on one insignificant item; but that Article XL, which states that "war anywhere in the world, or the threat of war anywhere in the world was a matter of concern to all" was a real revolution in diplomacy. Article XI stated in part, "and the Council shall take such measures as it deems necessary to maintain peace and authority."

"That omnibus article . . . was the article under which the League stopped two wars and perhaps a third," he says. Furthermore, Shotwell states that the League could have proceeded under that article to apply sanctions in the cases of Manchuria and Ethiopia.

The writer concludes by pointing out:

The only way by which we can encompass the problems of war and peace today is through the institution which we have now created and induced the world to accept, and which is a part of the public law of this country by ratification. Remember, treaties are the supreme law of the land. The organization of the United Nations is a part of the structure of our government.

The world has under the Charter the means for creating the pertinent institutions for going ahead in peace and security. After ratification by twenty-nine states,

50 Ibid., pp. 13-14.
including the great powers who sponsored it, the Charter became public law of the world on October 25, 1945. 51

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Research into the development of the world peace idea reveals that man has, for centuries, made definite plans designed to eliminate war and establish permanent, universal peace on earth. From a critical study of the outstanding peace plans of history, it is believed to be evident that even though the authors of schemes did not agree as to the strength, the membership, or the form of the international organization, all projects called for a central organization, periodic or permanent. It is also evident that the idea of union to maintain peace is embodied in all peace plans of history—an idea destined eventually to culminate in the League of Nations in 1919, and finally in the United Nations in 1945. Recent peace plans, when contrasted with early plans, are more elastic in providing for amendment and revision. Since the quality of sovereign states was considered fundamental in maintaining international peace, most projects from the Grand Design of Henry IV to the twentieth century favor the principle of international federation. Since the Second World War, however, most authors of peace proposals and statesmen see the need of scaling down national sovereignty to the
extent necessary to make the world organization effective in preventing aggression anywhere in the world.  

The great peace plans—even the League of Nations and the United Nations—provide only the method and the machinery for conducting world affairs. Constant intelligent and conscious effort must determine how the machinery is used. Their value and their success will depend largely on faith in their efficacy and the will to peace.  

While the great peace plans of history went unheeded until the twentieth century, some progress was made toward the goal of universal peace when a distinction was made between just and unjust war; since the supporters of each side claimed that justice was on their side, it was difficult to determine disputes according to justice. However, general progress in morals in modern times was reflected in the trend leading to the pacific settlement of disputes between nations and in treaties which helped lessen the scope and the horrors of war. Finally aggressive war has been branded as a crime against humanity.  

When reviewed in historic perspective, it becomes evident that even though "grand designs" for universal

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peace were numerous, there was little that might be regarded as new in them. The Grand Design combined regional and general organization in much the same way as projects produced in our own day. Another modern touch is that Sully considers Russia too barbarous for inclusion in his universal and "very Christian republic." In Sully's age and even earlier, there were many projects of European or world union whose detail resembles that of the League Covenant or drafts to improve the League most surprisingly. Thoughtful men have for centuries sought peace and in their search have drafted great schemes that won the intellectual admiration of their fellow men. None of these great plans were put into practice, however, until 1919, after the First World War, when the nations joined in a general society for the orderly conduct of international relations.

The Covenant to which they had subscribed bore detailed resemblance to some of the long line of unrealized projects reaching back to the Renaissance—"evidence that even the disregarded thought of study may have a part in determining the shape of things to come." 4

While the idea of collective security is found in all peace projects, the trend has been gradually toward a stronger central organization, particularly following wars

3 Corbett, op. cit., p. 28.
4 Ibid., pp. 28-29.
when the need is urgent. Among the various suggestions for a new world order circulating today, among peace plans proposed as a means of preserving civilization and maintaining universal peace, is the idea of international federation—organized on a regional or a world wide basis. The belief that the application of the federal principle of government to the international scene on a world basis has been embodied in some peace plans which have been widely acclaimed by various peace organizations, some of international scope.

Another favorite type of peace plan offered for appraisal is the universal body, or super-state, created with the consent of the people of nations. From a study of these historic projects, it appears evident that for some time people time people have been moving toward more—not less—world government. W. Rappart briefly outlines the trend when he observes that

In the evolution carrying the nations of the world from isolation to real federation three successive phases may be distinguished: The first phase is free and spontaneous cooperation which in the political field led to the defensive and offensive alliances of different types; the second phase is voluntary and self-imposed organization of which such unions and alliances were the prototypes and of which the League of Nations is the most perfect instrument and the most recent expression. The source of power and all decision still rests with the individual nations, but they agree under certain conditions to conform their respective policies to a certain accepted principle, . . . They bind themselves to submit to the verdict of a foreign
authority. This may be said to "foreshadow the third phase of this evolution, the final phase of world government."

That the need of world government is imperative is shown by such wide-spread comment as the following:

The proposition that some form of universal association wielding effective authority over certain branches of human activity is not only desirable but a necessary condition of peace, finds strong support among politicians and political scientists alike. . . . Sketches of such an association have been offered by statesmen in official pronouncements, and blueprints have been drafted by scholars. These are being circulated among groups in different countries and are undergoing an examination quite without precedent in distribution and intensity.

Viewed in the light of subsequent historical events, world government is now imperative. An eminent authority stated immediately after the demonstration of the atomic bomb that it is no wonder that there is an instructive demand for world government to avert the danger of universal suicide. He recalls that at the San Francisco Conference it had been proposed that no change be made in the Charter for at least ten years.

But time is not measured by years . . . on Aug. 6, at Hiroshima, centuries passed in the twinkling of an eye. Whatever amendment is needful to adjust the Charter to the atomic age can and should be made now. . . . This machinery is now either antiquated or inadequate. Science has taken supreme command of human affairs. . . . this fact must be recognized and provision made for it in the Charter.

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6Corbett, op. cit., p. 32.
7Shotwell, op. cit., p. 815.
He maintains that

Science had made world government inevitable. We must build the structure of an enduring peace for everyone knows that the alternative is universal destruction.\(^8\)

A statesman's challenging reasons for making the new United Nations Organization work are presented by Sumner Welles. He says in part:

The objective toward which the nations must move is the ultimate establishment through the United Nations of a world government founded upon law and representative of the true principles of international democracy. ... If the U. N. O. is now utilized by all the participating countries, it can lay foundations for world reconstruction, for human progress, and for peace among nations.

Another statesman's view of the Charter, the United Nations, and our responsibilities:

We must live by the Charter. ... We must act as a great power, not only in order to preserve our own security, but in order to preserve the peace of the world.\(^10\)

Perhaps man's great dream of perpetual universal peace is destined to remain mainly in the prayers and aspirations of the inarticulate people who fight the wars and do the work of the world, but it will not be because the world has lacked leadership in pointing the way to the goal, as

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\(^8\) Ibid., pp. 811-812.


\(^10\) J. T. Byrnes, "We Must Live by the Charter," Vital Speeches, p. 327.
evidenced by the great peace proposals of history. Yet
"Hope springs eternal in the human breast," and, as Victor
Hugo said so long ago, "There is one thing stronger than
all the armies in the world, and that is an idea whose
time has come."
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