

## References

Entries mostly refer to works listed in the bibliography. Those works referred to explicitly in the text are not repeated here.

### *Chapter 1. The Need for World Federation*

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Levi1983   | 7. Brown1989, pp. 16-17                            |
| 2. SIPRI1995  | 8. <i>New Scientist</i> , 16 December 1995, p. 14  |
| 3. Nathan1968, p. 336                               | 9. <i>The Australian</i> , 27 May, 1996            |
| 4. Houghton1996                                     | 10. <i>Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 6 February 1996 |
| 5. <i>Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 8 May, 1996       | 11. Wells1922, Vol. II, p. 754                     |
| 6. <i>Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 23 February, 1996 |  |

### *Chapter 2. Some Snippets of History*

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Bartlett1968, p. 87                             | 20. <i>ibid</i> , p. 122                            |
| 2. Millard1959, p. 111                             | 21. <i>ibid</i> , p. 150                            |
| 3. Grotius1625, p. 35                              | 22. Quoted in Wittner1993, p. 307                   |
| 4. Penn1692, p. 4                                  | 23. <i>ibid</i> , p.307                             |
| 5. Hemleben1943, p. 79                             | 24. <i>ibid</i> , p. 144                            |
| 6. Quoted in Millard1969, p. 112                   | 25. <i>ibid</i> , p. 321                            |
| 7. Kant1795  | 26. <i>ibid</i> , p. 321                            |
| 8. UHJ1986, pp. 25 & 38                            | 27. Nathan1968, p. 634                              |
| 9. Walker1993, p. 823                              | 28. Crutzen1982                                     |
| 10. Woolf1916, p. 167                              | 29. Sagan1990                                       |
| 11. Woolf1916, p. 75                               | 30. Baratta1989, p. 380                             |
| 12. Dupuy1973, p. 78                               | 31. SIPRI1995                                       |
| 13. Walters1952, v. 1, p. 27                       | 32. Morgenthau1973                                  |
| 14. Northedge1986, p. 83                           | 33. Quoted in Wagar1963, p. 15                      |
| 15. Churchill1948                                  | 34. Mitrany1943, p. 31                              |
| 16. Nathan1968, p. 4                               | 35. Suter1986                                       |
| 17. Lecture at MIT, 25 Nov. 1947; see Bartlett1968 | 36. Mendlovitz1975, Falk1975, Galtung1980, Falk1982 |
| 18. Nathan1968, p. 376                             | 37. Beres1974, p. v                                 |
| 19. Reves1945, p. 121                              | 38. WCPA1977  |

### *Chapter 3. The United Nations*

- |                         |                        |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. UNDP11989, p.1       | 5. <i>ibid</i> , p. 19 |
| 2. UNDP11995, p. 308    | 6. <i>ibid</i> , p. 21 |
| 3. <i>ibid</i> , p. 253 | 7. UNDP11989, p. 4     |
| 4. <i>ibid</i> , p. 17  | 8. <i>ibid</i> , p. 3  |

9. Luard1982, p. 101
10. Simons1994, p. 112
11. SIPRI1995, and companion volumes
12. UNDP1995, p. 21
13. Simons1994, p. 205
14. UNDP1989, p. 3
15. *ibid*, p. 3
16. *ibid*, p. 10
17. UNDDA1988, p. 2
18. *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 13, 1995
19. UNDP1992, p. 124
20. Hazzard1973, p. 218
21. Urquhart1990
22. Simons1994, p. 239
23. *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 25 and May 1, 1996
24. Walters1952, Vol. I, p.134
25. Baratta1987, p. 38
26. Suter1981, p. 45
27. Heinrich 1992
28. Quoted by Hanna Newcombe, in Barnaby1991, p. 89
29. Barnaby1991
30. Segall1992
31. Boutros-Ghali1994, p. 281

#### Chapter 4. Europe

1. Zurcher1958, p. 19
2. *ibid*, p. 20
3. R. Mayne, in Bond1996, p. 33
4. *ibid*, p. 39
5. T. Jansen, in Bond1996, p. 98
6. Mayne1970, p. 173
7. J. Pinder, in Bond1996, p. 9
8. Wright1965, p. 1542
9. Mayne1970, p. 169
10. *ibid*, p. 178
11. Harrison1974, p. 8
12. Mayne1970,
13. *ibid*, p. 258
14. *ibid*, p. 272
15. Wistrich1989, p. 39
16. Eurostat1995, p. 12
17. *The European*, 2-8 May, 1996
18. *ibid*, 11-17 April, 1996
19. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 February, 1996
20. Eurostat1995, pp. 32-57
21. *ibid*
22. EPDGR1991
23. *ibid*, p. 30
24. *ibid*, p. 31
25. EPDGR1991, p. 27
26. Council1992, p. 138
27. Millard1969
28. Council1992, p. 4
29. *The European*, 16-22 May, 1996
30. Tindale1991
31. *ibid*, p. 11
32. Mitrany1943, p. 72-3
33. Harrison1974, p. 39
34. Mackay1969, p. 140
35. *ibid*, p. 81
36. A. Marc, *L'Europe en formation*, 100, July 1968, p. 2
37. Haas1958, p. xiv
38. Harrison1974, p. 90
39. E.B. Haas, *International Organization*, XXIV, 4, 1970, p. 627
40. e.g. George1991
41. Milward1993

#### Chapter 5. Principles of World Federation

1. Baratta1987
2. Wheare1964, p. 2
3. Council1992, p. 3
4. Sir Winston Churchill,
- House of Commons,  
11 Nov. 1947
5. Gastil1987
6. Karatnycky1995

7. Bowie1954
8. Millard1969, p. 61
9. *ibid*, p. 58
10. For a detailed discussion, see Newcombe1983
11. *ibid*, p. 91
12. Streit1939, pp. 18-19
13. Capotorti1986, p. 17
14. Walker1993, p. 174
15. Millard1969
16. Council1992
17. See Newcombe1992, pp. 92-96
18. Bryce1888, v. I, p.467
19. General Assembly, Twenty-Ninth Session; quoted in Ferencz1983, Vol. II, p.868
20. Capotorti1986, p. 73
21. Amnesty1985
22. Amnesty1995
23. Fontaine1992, p. 15
24. Tocqueville, v. 1, p. 181
25. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 Feb. 1996
26. Walters1993, p. 174
27. *ibid*, p. 350

### *Chapter 6. Problems and Objections*

1. Morgenthau1973, p. 487
2. *ibid*, p. 489, abridged
3. *ibid*, p.491, abridged
4. Penn1692, p. 13, abridged
5. Claude1956, p. 258
6. quoted in Schell1984, p. 39
7. Niebuhr1949, pp. 225-228, abridged
8. *ibid*, p. 231, abridged
9. *ibid*, pp. 231-232, abridged
10. Mitrany1943, p. 155
11. Mendlovitz1975
12. Claude1962, p. 265ff, abridged
13. *The European*, 18-24 July, 1996
14. For evidence of the peacefulness of liberal democracies see Doyle1983, or Rummel1991
15. Gilmore1946, p. 209, abridged
16. *ibid*, p. 212
17. Huxley1946
18. Huxley1950
19. Schell1984, p. 87
20. *ibid*, p. 96, abridged

### *Chapter 7. How Do We Get There From Here?*

1. Zacher1993
2. Deutsch1988, p. 277, abridged
3. Etzioni1965, pp. x-xi
4. *ibid*, p. xvii
5. Russett1967, p. 227
6. *ibid*, p. 233, abridged
7. Boutros-Ghali1994
8. Urquhart1995
9. NATO1989
10. Europa1996
11. NATO1989, p. 185
12. Wooley1988, p. 131
13. Deutsch1957, p. 103
14. Millard1967, pp. 184-5
15. *Newsweek*, June 18, 1996
16. Survey by the Americans Talk Issues Foundation, *The Christian Science Monitor*, July 31, 1991
17. This quotation was previously used by Inis Claude: Claude1956, p. 449

## Suggestions for Further Reading

### *Chapter 1. The Need for World Federation*

Arguments for world federation can be found in any of the writings on world federalism to be discussed in the following chapter. The World Order Models Project team have attempted a systematic formulation in terms of four or five 'world order values', outlined in *A Study of Future Worlds*, by Richard Falk, or *On the Creation of a Just World Order*, edited by Saul Mendlovitz. The arguments were reviewed more recently by Ronald Glossop in *World Federation? Areas which cry out for international regulation* were also discussed in the final chapter of the textbook by Walter Jones on *The Logic of International Relations*. A useful discussion from a European perspective is given by Christopher Layton in his paper *One Europe, One World*.

The issues of peace and disarmament are central to all works on world federalism. The United Nations has commissioned a report in this area known as the Palme Report, *Common Security*. Ecological issues are likewise discussed in the Brundtland Report, *Our Common Future*. The population issue is vividly argued in Paul Ehrlich's well-known book, *The Population Explosion*, and he and his wife have also discussed the environmental crisis in *Healing the Planet*. A well-known early discussion of global problems is the Report to the Club of Rome, *Reshaping the International Order*, co-ordinated by Jan Tinbergen.

### *Chapter 2. Some Snippets of History*

A detailed history of peace projects and schemes for world federation up until the First World War is *Plans for World Peace through Six Centuries*, by S.J. Hemleben. Some of the early projects are reprinted, with commentaries, in the series *Peace Projects of the Seventeenth Century, Eighteenth Century, etc.*, from the Garland Library of War and Peace, edited by B.W. Cook, S.E. Cooper and C. Chatfield. An extensive commentary from a sceptic's viewpoint is given by F.H. Hinsley, *Power and the Pursuit of Peace*. The texts of many peace treaties, peace plans, and arms control agreements (or extracts therefrom) are given together with a few introductory remarks in *A Documentary History of Arms Control and Disarmament* by T.N. Dupuy and G.M. Hammermann. The book *A History of Peace* by A.C.F. Beales gives a history of the organized peace movement from 1815 up to 1930. *Swords into Plowshares* by Inis Claude is a classic study of the growth of international organizations.

The story of the foundation of the Baha'i faith is told in *The Baha'i Faith* by W.M. Miller, and *The Baha'i Religion*, by Peter Smith. Their current attitudes to world government are outlined in the booklet *The Promise of World Peace* from the Universal House of Justice, and *World Peace and World Government* by J. Tyson.

The history of the League of Nations is recounted in detail by a former Deputy Secretary-General in *A History of the League of Nations* by F.P. Walters. An academic history, analyzing the reasons for the failure of the League, is F.S. Northedge, *The League of Nations*. A lively and brief account is given by J.A. Joyce

in *Broken Star*.

Works on the life and times of Aristide Briand are mostly written in French or German. An American work, with references, is *Briand's Locarno Policy*, by E.D. Keeton.

A Pulitzer-Prize-winning account of the atomic scientists' involvement with the Bomb is Richard Rhodes, *The Making of the Atomic Bomb*, and its sequel *Dark Sun: The Making of the Hydrogen Bomb*. The argument over the Hbomb is recounted in H.F. York, *The Advisors: Oppenheimer, Teller and the Superbomb*.

The history of the peace, nuclear disarmament, and world federalist movements after World War II is being written by L.S. Wittner in a three-volume work entitled *The Struggle Against The Bomb*, which is likely to become a standard reference in the field. Unfortunately, only the first volume, *One World or None*, was available at the time of writing, which carries the story up to 1953. I have relied on it heavily in my account of this period. Two other useful references in this area are Wesley T. Wooley, *Alternatives to Anarchy*, which covers the American scene, and Hanna Newcombe, *World Unification Plans and Analyses*. Joseph Baratta has compiled a bibliography on U.N. reform and world federalism in *Strengthening the United Nations*, and has written a journal article on *The International History of the World Federalist Movement*. Keith Suter's *A New International Order* is an excellent little book on these same themes. Barbara Walker's recent collection of extracts *Uniting the Peoples and Nations* provides an excellent overview of the history of the world federalist movement.

Descriptions of the nuclear arsenals built up by the superpowers are given in K. Tsipis, *Understanding Nuclear Weapons*, and a journal article by B.G. Levi, *The nuclear arsenals of the US and USSR*. Up-to-date figures are given in the SIPRI Yearbook, *World Armaments and Disarmament*. An authoritative source giving texts and commentaries on Arms Control and Disarmament Agreements has been published by the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and an independent viewpoint is given by Jozef Goldblat, *Agreements for Arms Control: A Critical Survey*.

An excellent survey of the various academic viewpoints in this area is given by L.R. Beres and H.R. Targ in *Reordering the Planet*. A more recent political science textbook which contains an extensive and valuable discussion is *The Logic of International Relations*, by Walter Jones.

A useful reference source, with a bibliography but also with many gaps, is the *World Encyclopedia of Peace*, edited by E. Laszlo and J.Y. You.

### Chapter 3. The United Nations

A great deal of information about the United Nations is contained in the organization's own publications, such as *Basic Facts about the United Nations*, from the UN Department of Public Information. The Secretary-General produces an annual report, for instance *Building Peace and Development* by Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1994).

A history of the UN has been written in two volumes by Evan Luard, *A History of the United Nations*, and a more recent account, marred by a distinctly anti-American bias, is *The United Nations*, by Geoff Simons. A review of UN peacekeeping efforts is given in *The Blue Helmets*, from UNDPI.

A very useful earlier work, discussing many of the issues of interest here, is *Toward World Order* by A. Vandenbosch and W.N. Hogan. A vivid account of the

problems in the UN Secretariat up to 1970, as mentioned in the text, is Shirley Hazzard's *Defeat of an Ideal*.

A bibliography of proposals for UN reform is given in *Strengthening the United Nations* by Joseph Baratta, and a brief earlier account appears in Keith Suter, *A New International Order*. A more recent review has been given by Daniele Archibugi (1993). Barbara Walker gives extracts from a number of schemes in *Uniting the Peoples and Nations*.

#### Chapter 4. Europe

The European Union also produces a great deal of information about itself, principally through the Office for Official Publications of the European Communities. I have referred particularly to *Europe in Figures* from the statistical office Eurostat. A very useful introductory booklet is *Europe in Ten Lessons* by Pascal Fontaine.

A history of the early years of European integration from an insider's point of view is *The Recovery of Europe* by Richard Mayne, and another from an American point of view is *The Struggle to Unite Europe 1940-58* by Arnold Zurcher. Jean Monnet's own account is given in his *Memoirs*. Later works are *Cautious Revolution* by Clifford Hackett, and *The Politics of European Integration in the Twentieth Century* by D. Arter. An excellent history, containing a comprehensive survey of the literature, is *The Community of Europe*, by Derek Urwin. Very recently, a book profiling the major actors in the drama has appeared in *Eminent Europeans*, edited by Martyn Bond, Julie Smith and William Wallace.

A review of academic theories of European integration circa 1974 was given in *Europe in Question* by R.J. Harrison, as mentioned in the text. *The Logic of International Relations* by Walter Jones is again very useful in this area. A more recent discussion is S. George, *Politics and Policy in the European Community*. An alternative viewpoint is presented in Alan Milward et al in *The Frontier of National Sovereignty*, also mentioned in the text.

A useful little book analyzing the present deficiencies of the European Union, and arguing the need for further integration cogently and in detail is *After 1992: The United States of Europe*, by Ernest Wistrich, who was Director for seventeen years of the British section of the European Movement. New discussions of these topics are appearing all the time: we have mentioned for example the discussion paper called *Beyond Economics: European government after Maastricht* prepared for the Fabian Society by Stephen Tindale and David Miliband.

#### Chapter 5. Principles of World Federation

Very few works on world federalism have attempted to identify principles as we have done here. Guy Héraud has done so in *Les Principes du Fédéralisme et la Fédération Européenne* discussed at the end of the chapter. *Federal Government* by K.C. Wheare is a standard reference. The classic account of the American system is James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*. A detailed comparative study of five different federations was compiled by the American Committee on United Europe in *Studies in Federalism*, edited by Robert R. Bowie and Carl J. Friedrich.

Some of these principles were anticipated in a famous treatise by the great liberal economist Friedrich von Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom*, in 1944. Every word of his last chapter on 'The Prospects of International Order' still rings true today.

The concept of democratic government has been explored in detail by David Held in his recent book *Democracy and the Global Order*. The current state of democracy and civil rights around the world is surveyed each year by the Freedom House group in *Freedom in the World*. Human rights are also surveyed in The Amnesty International Report each year.

#### *Chapter 6. Problems and Objections*

Some important critiques of the early proposals for world government are referred to in the text. Hans Morgenthau discusses the problem of national sovereignty in his classic textbook *Politics Among Nations*. Reinhold Niebuhr emphasizes the lack of community feeling and “social tissue” in his essay *Illusions of World Government*. The problem of enforcement of international law is extensively treated in another classic textbook by Inis Claude, *Power and International Relations*, and a further sceptical discussion appears in his book on international organization, *Swords into Plowshares*.

Most advocates of world federation attempt to counter the anticipated arguments from the sceptics. Two examples have been quoted from William Penn three hundred years ago. A more recent example is J. Tyson’s little book *World Peace and World Government*, which addresses various arguments “To the Sceptics” and “To the Fearful”. A very extensive discussion of the arguments on both sides is given by Ronald Glossop in *World Federation? A Critical Analysis of Federal World Government*.

#### *Chapter 7. How Do We Get There From Here?*

The transition problem has been discussed by the study group CURE in Everett Millard’s book *Freedom in a Federal World*, and various options were considered there, including UN reform and Atlantic Union. A WOMP perspective has been given by Richard Falk in *A Study of Future Worlds*, as mentioned briefly in Chapter 2. Ronald Glossop prefers the route of UN reform, rather than a union of the democracies. Textbooks on international relations do not generally go so far as to discuss the transition problem in any detail.

Works on UN reform have already been quoted in Chapter 3. Important works on regional integration include the seminal book by Ernst Haas, *The Uniting of Europe*, and the case studies in *Political Unification*, by Amitai Etzioni. Another early work is *International Regions and the International System* by Bruce Russett. Treatments of the subject may be found in many recent textbooks on international relations, such as Karl Deutsch, *The Analysis of International Relations*. Other works relating specifically to the European case have already been referred to in Chapter 4.

Information on NATO may be obtained from the NATO Information Service, such as *The North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Facts and Figures*, or the NATO Handbook. An early multi-disciplinary study which advocated further integration based on NATO is K.W. Deutsch et al, *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area*. The history of the Atlantic Union movement is recounted in *Alternatives to Anarchy*, by Wesley T. Wooley.

## Bibliography

- Amnesty1995: *The Amnesty International Report* (Amnesty International Publications, London, 1995)
- Angell1911: Norman Angell, *The Great Illusion* (Heinemann, London, 1911)
- Archibugi1993: D. Archibugi, *The Reform of the UN and Cosmopolitan Democracy: A Critical Review*, *Journal of Peace Research*, No. 3, 301 (1993)
- Arter1993: David Arter, *The Politics of European Integration in the Twentieth Century* (Dartmouth, Aldershot, 1993)
- Baratta1987: J.P. Baratta, *Strengthening the United Nations: A Bibliography on U.N. Reform and World Federalism* (Greenwood, Westport, 1987)
- Baratta1989: J.P. Baratta, *The International History of the World Federalist Movement*, *Peace and Change* 14, 372 (1989)
- Barnaby1991: Frank Barnaby (ed.), *Building a More Democratic United Nations; Proceedings of the 1st. International Conference on a More Democratic U.N.* (Frank Cass, London, 1991)
- Bartlett1968: *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations*, 14th. ed., (Macmillan, London, 1968)
- Beales1931: A.F.C. Beales, *The History of Peace* (G.Bell, London, 1931)
- Bentham1789: Jeremy Bentham, *Plan for an Universal and Perpetual Peace* (1789), see Cooper1974
- Beres1974: Louis Beres and Harry Targ, *Reordering the Planet* (Allyn and Bacon, Boston, 1974)
- Bond1996: M. Bond, J. Smith and W. Wallace (eds.), *Eminent Europeans* (Greycoat Press, London, 1996)
- Boutros-Ghali1994: Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *Building Peace and Development* (UNDPI, New York, 1994)
- Bowie1954: R.R. Bowie and C.J. Friedrich, *Studies in Federalism* (Little, Brown; Boston, 1954)
- Brown1989: Lester R. Brown (ed.), *State of the World 1989* (W.W. Norton, New York, 1989)
- Brundtland1987: *Our Common Future*, Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, chaired by Gro Harlem Brundtland (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1990)
- Bryce1888: James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, 3 vols. (Macmillan, London, 1888)
- Capotorti1986: F. Capotorti, M. Hilf, F.G. Jacobs and J-P. Jacqu e, *The European Union Treaty* (Clarendon, Oxford, 1986)
- Carlsson1995: Ingvar Carlsson and Sridath Ramphal (chairs), *Our Global Neighbourhood; Report of the Commission on Global Governance* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1995)
- Carson1963: Rachel Carson, *The Silent Spring*, (Hamish Hamilton, London, 1963)
- Carter1978: President Jimmy Carter, *Report on the Reform and Restructuring of the U.N. System* (1978)
- Childers1994: E. Childers and B. Urquhart, *Renewing the United Nations* (Dag Hammarskj old Foundation, Uppsala, 1994)
- Churchill1948: W.S. Churchill, *The Second World War* (Cassell, London, 1948)
- Clark1966: Grenville Clark and Louis Sohn, *World Peace through World Law* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1966)

- Claude1956: Inis L. Claude, Jr., *Swords into Plowshares* (Random House, New York, 1956)
- Claude1962: Inis L. Claude, Jr., *Power and International Relations* (Random House, New York, 1962)
- Cook1972: B.W. Cook, S.E. Cooper and C. Chatfield (eds.), *Peace Projects of the Seventeenth Century* (Garland, New York, 1972)
- Cook1989: *Forging the Alliance: NATO, 1945-1950* (Martin Secker and Warburg, London, 1989)
- Cooper1974: S. Cooper (ed.), *Peace Projects of the Eighteenth Century* (Garland, New York, 1974)
- Coudenhove1923: Richard N. Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Pan-Europa* (Pan Europa Verlag, Vienna, 1923)
- Council1992: Council of the European Communities, *Treaty on European Union* (Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Brussels, 1992)
- Cousins1961: Norman Cousins, *In Place of Folly* (Harper, New York, 1961)
- Crucé1623: Emeric Crucé, *The New Cyneas* (1623) (reprinted Garland, New York, 1972)
- Crutzen1982: P.J. Crutzen and J.W. Birks, *Ambio* 11, no. 2-3 (1982)
- Dante1312: Dante Alighieri, *De Monarchia*, transl. F.J. Church (Macmillan, London, 1879)
- Davis1961: Garry Davis, *The World is my Country* (Putnam, New York, 1961)
- Deutsch1957: K.W. Deutsch et al., *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1957)
- Deutsch1988: K.W. Deutsch, *The Analysis of International Relations*, 3rd. edition, (Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1968)
- Doyle1983: Michael Doyle, *Kant, liberal legacies and foreign affairs*, *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 12, pp. 205-235 and 323-353 (1983)
- VanDoren1987: Carl Van Doren, *The Great Rehearsal* (Viking Penguin, New York, 1987)
- Dubois1306: Pierre Dubois, *De Recuperatione Terre Sancte* (reprinted Columbia University Press, New York, 1956)
- Dupuy1973: T.N. Dupuy and G.M. Hammermann, *A Documentary History of Arms Control and Disarmament* (Bowker, New York, 1973)
- Ehrlich1990: Paul R. Ehrlich and Anne H. Ehrlich, *The Population Explosion* (Simon & Schuster, New York, 1990)
- Ehrlich1991: Paul R. Ehrlich and Anne H. Ehrlich, *Healing the Planet* (Surrey Beatty & Sons, NSW, 1991)
- EPDGR1991: European Parliament's Directorate-General for Research, 1993: *The New Treaties: European Parliament Proposals* (Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Brussels, 1991)
- Eurostat1995: Statistical Office of the European Communities, *Europe in Figures* (Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Brussels, 1995)
- Europa1996: *The Europa World Yearbook 1996* (Europa Publications, London, 1996)
- Etzioni1965: A. Etzioni, *Political Unification* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1965)
- Evatt1948: H.V. Evatt, *The United Nations* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1948)

- Falk1975: Richard Falk, *A Study of Future Worlds* (Free Press, New York, 1982)
- Falk1982: R.A. Falk, S.S. Kim and S.H. Mendlovitz (eds.), *Towards a Just World Order* (Westview Press, Boulder, 1982)
- Ferencz1988: Benjamin B. Ferencz and Ken Keyes, Jr., *Planethood* (Vision Books, Coos Bay, 1988)
- Ferencz1983: Benjamin B. Ferencz, *Enforcing International Law*, 2 volumes (Oceana Publications, New York, 1983)
- Fontaine1992: Pascal Fontaine, *Europe in Ten Lessons* (Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Brussels, 1992)
- Fukuyama1992: Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (Penguin, London, 1992)
- Galtung1973: Johan Galtung, *The European Community: A Superpower in the Making* (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1973)
- Galtung1980: Johan Galtung, *The True Worlds* (Free Press, New York, 1980)
- Gasset1960: Ortega y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses* (Norton, New York, 1960)
- Gastil1987: R.D. Gastil (ed.), *Freedom in the World*, Freedom House Yearbook (Greenwood Press, New York, 1987)
- George1991: S. George, *Politics and Policy in the European Community* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1991)
- Gilmore1946: Grant Gilmore, *The Feasibility of Compulsory Legal Settlement*, Yale Law Journal 55, 1049 (1946); reprinted in Hartmann1952.
- Glossop1993: Ronald J. Glossop, *World Federation? A Critical Analysis of Federal World Government* (McFarland & Co., Jefferson NC, 1993)
- Goldblat1982: Jozef Goldblat, *Agreements for Arms Control* (Taylor and Francis, London, 1982)
- Gorbachev1987: Mikhail Gorbachev, *Perestroika* (Fontana, London, 1987)
- Grotius1625: Hugo Grotius, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (selections reprinted in Cook1972)
- Haas1958: Ernst B. Haas, *The Uniting of Europe* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1958)
- Haas1964: Ernst B. Haas, *Beyond the Nation-State* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1964)
- Hackett1990: Clifford Hackett, *Cautious Revolution: the European Community arrives* (Greenwood, New York, 1990)
- Hallstein1962: Walter Hallstein, *United Europe - Challenge and Opportunity* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1962)
- Harrison1974: R.J. Harrison, *Europe in Question: Theories of Regional International Integration* (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1974)
- Hartmann1952: Frederick H. Hartmann (ed.), *Readings in International Relations* (McGraw-Hill, New York, 1952)
- Hayek1944: F.A. von Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom* (Dymock's, Sydney, 1944)
- Hazard1973: Shirley Hazard, *Defeat of an Ideal: A Study of the Self-Destruction of The United Nations* (Macmillan, London, 1973)
- Heilbroner1961: Robert L. Heilbroner, *Forging a United Europe* (New York, 1961)
- Heinrich1992: Dieter Heinrich, *The Case for a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly* (World Federalist Movement, New York, 1992)
- Held1995: David Held, *Democracy and the Global Order* (Polity Press, Cambridge, 1995)
- Hemleben1943: S.J. Hemleben, *Plans for World Peace through Six Centuries*

- (Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1943)
- Héraud1968: Guy Héraud, *Les principes du fédéralisme et la fédération Européenne* (Presses d'Europe, Paris, 1968)
- Hinsley1968: F.H. Hinsley, *Power and the Pursuit of Peace* (Oxford University Press, London, 1968)
- Houghton1996: J.T. Houghton et al. (eds.), *Climate Change 1995: The Science of Climate Change*, Second Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996)
- Hudson1976: Richard Hudson, *Time for Mutations in the United Nations*, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Vol. 32, # 9, pp. 39-43 (1976)
- Huntington1996: Samuel P. Huntington, *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order* (Simon & Schuster, New York, 1996)
- Huxley1946: Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World* (Harper, New York, 1946)
- Huxley1950: Aldous Huxley, *Science, Liberty and Peace* (Chatto & Windus, London, 1950)
- Johansen1979: R. Johansen, *The National Interest and the Human Interest* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1979)
- Jones1985: Walter S. Jones, *The Logic of International Relations* (Little,Brown; Boston, 1985)
- Joyce1978: James Avery Joyce, *Broken Star: The Story of the League of Nations* (Christopher Davis, Swansea, 1978)
- Jungk1958: Robert Jungk, *Brighter than a Thousand Suns* (Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1958)
- Kant1795: Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophic Essay* (1795) (reprinted Garland, New York, 1977)
- Karatnycky1995: Adrian Karatnycky et al., *Freedom in the World, The Annual Survey of Political Rights and Civil Liberties 1994-1995* (Freedom House, New York, 1995)
- Keeton1987: E.D. Keeton, *Briand's Locarno Policy* (Garland, New York, 1987)
- Keynes1919: John Maynard Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (Macmillan, London, 1919)
- Laszlo1986: E. Laszlo and J.Y. You (eds.), *World Encyclopedia of Peace* (Pergamon, London, 1986)
- Layton1986: Christopher Layton, *One Europe, One World* (Federal Trust for Education and Research, London, 1986)
- Levi1983: B.G. Levi, *The Nuclear Arsenals of the US and USSR*, Physics Today, March 1983, p.43.
- Lindberg1963: Leon N. Lindberg, *The Political Dynamics of European Economic Integration* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1963)
- Lipgens1982: Walter Lipgens, *A History of European Integration 1945-1947* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1982)
- Luard1982: Evan Luard, *A History of the United Nations*, Vol I (Macmillan, London, 1982), Vol. II (St. Martin's Press, New York, 1989)
- Mackay1969: R.W.G. Mackay, *Toward a United States of Europe* (Hutchinson, London, 1969)
- Mayne1970: R. Mayne, *The Recovery of Europe, 1945-1973* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1970)
- Mendlowitz1975: S. Mendlowitz (ed.), *On the Creation of a Just World Order: Preferred Worlds for the 1990s* (Free Press, New York, 1975)

- Meyer1947: Cord Meyer, Jr., *Peace or Anarchy* (Little, Brown: Boston, 1947)
- Millard1969: Everett Lee Millard, *Freedom in a Federal World*, 5th. edition (Oceana, New York, 1959)
- Miller1974: W.M. Miller, *The Baha'i Faith* (William Carey Library, Pasadena, 1974)
- Milward1984: A.S. Milward, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1945-51* (Methuen, London, 1984)
- Milward1993: A.S. Milward, F.M.B. Lynch, R. Ranieri, F. Romero & V. Sørensen, *The Frontier of National Sovereignty: History and Theory 1945-1992* (Routledge, London, 1993)
- Mitrany1943: David Mitrany, *A Working Peace System* (reprinted Quadrangle Books, Chicago, 1966)
- Mitrany1975: David Mitrany, *The Functional Theory of Politics* (Martin Robertson, London, 1975)
- Monnet1978: Jean Monnet, *Memoirs*, transl. R. Mayne (Collins, London, 1978)
- Morgenthau1973: Hans Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations*, 5th. edition (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1973)
- McCain1989: Morriss McCain, *Understanding Arms Control* (Norton, New York, 1989)
- Nathan1968: Otto Nathan and Heinz Nordern, *Einstein on Peace* (Schocken Books, New York, 1968)
- NATO1980: NATO Handbook (NATO Information Service, Brussels, 1980)
- NATO1989: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization. *Facts and Figures*. (NATO Information Service, Brussels, 1989)
- Newcombe1980: Hanna Newcombe, *World Unification Plans and Analyses* (Peace Research Institute, Dundas, Ontario, 1980)
- Newcombe1983: Hanna Newcombe, *Design for a Better World* (University Press of America, Lanham MD, 1983)
- Newcombe1992: Hanna Newcombe (ed.), *Hopes and Fears: The Human Future* (University of Toronto, 1992)
- Niebuhr1949: Rienhold Niebuhr, *Illusions of World Government*, Foreign Affairs 27, 379 (1949), reprinted in Hartmann1952.
- Northedge1986: F.S. Northedge, *The League of Nations, its Life and Times 1920-1946* (Holmes and Meier, New York, 1986)
- Orwell1954: George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (Penguin, London, 1954)
- Palme1982: *Common Security*, The Report of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues under the Chairmanship of Olof Palme (Pan, London, 1982)
- Penn1692: William Penn, *Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe* (reprinted in Cook1972)
- PopeJohn1963: Pope John XXIII, *Pacem in Terris* (Vatican Press, 1963)
- Reves1945: Emery Reves, *The Anatomy of Peace* (Harper, New York, 1945)
- Rhodes1986: Richard Rhodes, *The Making of the Atomic Bomb* (Penguin, London, 1986)
- Rhodes1995: Richard Rhodes, *Dark Sun: The Making of the Hydrogen Bomb* (Simon and Schuster, New York, 1995)
- Robertson1991: Pat Robertson, *The New World Order* (Word Publishing, Dallas, 1991)
- Rousseau: Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *A Project of Perpetual Peace* (reprinted Cooper1974)

- Rummel1991: R.J. Rummel, *Political Systems, Violence and War*, in *Approaches to Peace: An Intellectual Map*, ed. W. Scott Thompson and K.M. Jensen (U.S. Institute of Peace, Washington, 1991)
- Russett1967: Bruce M. Russett, *International Regions and the International System* (Rand McNally, Chicago, 1967)
- Sagan1990: Carl Sagan and Richard Turco, *A Path Where No Man Thought* (Random House, New York, 1990)
- Sakharov1968: Andrei D. Sakharov, *Progress, Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom* (André Deutsch, London, 1968)
- Schell1982: Jonathan Schell, *The Fate of the Earth* (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1982)
- Schell1984: Jonathan Schell, *The Abolition* (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1984)
- Segall1992: Jeffrey J. Segall and Harry H. Lerner (eds.), CAMDUN-2, *The United Nations and a New World Order for Peace and Justice*, Report of the 2nd. International Conference on a More Democratic UN, Vienna 1991 (CAMDUN Project, London, 1992)
- Simons1994: Geoff Simons, *The United Nations: A Chronology of Conflict* (Macmillan, London, 1994)
- SIPRI1995: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute Yearbook, *World Armaments and Disarmament* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1995)
- Smith1988: Peter Smith, *The Baha'i Religion* (George Ronald, Oxford, 1988)
- Smuts(1918): Jan Christian Smuts, *The League of Nations: A Practical Suggestion* (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1918)
- StPierre1713: Abbé Charles Irénée Castel de Saint Pierre, *Plan for Perpetual Peace* (1713), reprinted Cooper1974.
- Streit1939: Clarence K. Streit, *Union Now* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1939)
- Sully1617: Maximilien de Béthune, Duc de Sully, *The Grand Design of Henry IV*, reprinted in Cook1972.
- Suter1981: Keith Suter, *A New International Order: Proposals for Making a Better World* (WAWF Australia, North Ryde, 1981)
- Suter1986: Keith Suter, *Reshaping the Global Agenda: The UN at 40* (UNAA, Sydney, 1986)
- Tinbergen1976: Jan Tinbergen, *Reshaping the International Order; A Report to the Club of Rome* (Dutton, New York, 1976)
- Tindale1991: Stephen Tindale and David Miliband, *Beyond Economics: European Government after Maastricht* (Fabian Society, London, 1991)
- Tocqueville: Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 2 vols. (Schocken Books, New York, 1964)
- Toynbee1948: Arnold Toynbee, *Civilization on Trial* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1948)
- Tsipis1983: Kosta Tsipis, *Arsenal: Understanding Weapons in the Nuclear Age* (Simon and Schuster, New York, 1983)
- Tyson1986: J. Tyson, *World Peace and World Government* (George Ronald, Oxford, 1986)
- UHJ1986: The Universal House of Justice, *The Promise of World Peace* (Baha'i Publications, Canberra, 1986)
- UNDDA1988: UN Department for Disarmament Affairs, *The United Nations and Disarmament: a Short History* (United Nations, New York, 1988)
- UNDPI1989: UN Department of Public Information, *Charter of the United Nations*

- and Statute of the International Court of Justice* (United Nations, New York, 1989)
- UNDPI1990: UN Department of Public Information, *The Blue Helmets: A Review of UN Peace-Keeping*, 2nd. edition (UN, New York, 1990)
- UNDPI1992: UN Department of Public Information, *Basic Facts about the United Nations* (United Nations, New York, 1992)
- UNDPI1995: UN Department of Public Information, *Basic Facts about the United Nations* (United Nations, New York, 1995)
- Urwin1995: Derek W. Urwin, *The Community of Europe: A History of European Integration*, 2nd. edition (Longman, London, 1995)
- Urquhart1990: Brian Urquhart and Erskine Childers, *A World in Need of Leadership: Tomorrow's United Nations* (Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Uppsala, 1990)
- Urquhart1995: Brian Urquhart, *Towards a new United Nations*, in SIPRI1995, p. 13
- USACDA1982: US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, *Arms Control and Disarmament Agreements* (Govt. Printing Office, Washington, 1982)
- Vandenbosch1963: A. Vandenbosch and W.N. Hogan, *Toward World Order* (McGraw-Hill, 1963)
- Wagar1963: W. Warren Wagar, *Building the City of Man: Outlines of a World Civilization*
- Walker1987: Barbara M. Walker (ed), *World Federalist Bicentennial Reader* (World Federalist Association, Washington, 1987)
- Walker1993: Barbara M. Walker (ed), *Uniting the Peoples and Nations* (World Federalist Movement, New York, 1993)
- Walters1952: F.P. Walters, *A History of the League of Nations* (Oxford University Press, London, 1952)
- Wells1927: H.G. Wells, *The World Set Free* (Benn, London, 1927)
- Wells1922: H.G. Wells, *The Outline of History* (George Newnes, London, 1922)
- Wells1974: H.G. Wells, *The Shape of Things to Come* (Corgi, London, 1974)
- Wheare1964: K.C. Wheare, *Federal Government*, 4th. edition (Galaxy, New York, 1964)
- Willkie1943: Wendell L. Willkie, *One World* (Simon and Schuster, New York, 1943)
- Wistrich1989: Ernest Wistrich, *After 1992: The United States of Europe* (Routledge, London, 1989)
- Wittner1993: L.S. Wittner, *One World or None* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1993)
- Wittner1984: Laurence Wittner, *Rebels Against War* (Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1984)
- Wooley1988: Wesley T. Wooley, *Alternatives to Anarchy* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1988)
- Woolf1916: L.S. Woolf, *International Government* (George Allen and Unwin, London, 1916)
- WCPA1977: World Constitution and Parliament Association, *Constitution for the Federation of Earth* (1977)
- Wright1965: Quincy Wright, *A Study of War* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1965)
- York1976: H.F. York, *The Advisors: Oppenheimer, Teller and the superbomb* (W.H. Freeman, San Francisco, 1976)
- Zacher1993: M.W. Zacher, *International Organizations*, in J.Krieger (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Politics in the World* (Oxford University Press, Oxford,

1993)  
Zurcher1958: A.J. Zurcher, *The Struggle to Unite Europe, 1940-58* (New York University Press, Washington Square, 1958)

## Current Organizations

(for a much more complete list, see Baratta1987, or Laszlo1986, or web addresses below)

Association to Unite the  
Democracies  
1506 Pennsylvania Avenue SE  
Washington DC 20003, USA  
<http://www.unionnow.org/aud.html>

Baha'i World Center  
Haifa , Israel

Campaign for UN Reform  
713 D Street SE  
Washington, DC 20003, USA

Planetary Citizens  
PO Box 1045  
Mt Shasta, CA 96067, USA

International Registry of World  
Citizens  
66 Bd. Vincent Auriol  
F-75013 Paris, France  
<http://www.globenet.org/cdm>

Union of European Federalists,  
& The European Movement  
Rue de Treves 66  
B-1040 Bruxelles, Belgium

United Nations Association  
see telephone directory in  
your capital city, or  
United Nations, DC1-1177  
One United Nations Plaza  
New York, NY 10017, USA

World Association of World  
Federalists (WAWF)  
Leliegracht 21  
1016 GR Amsterdam, The Netherlands

World Constitution and  
Parliament Association  
1480 Hoyt Street, Suite 31  
Lakewood, CO 80215, USA

World Federalist Association  
418 7th Street, SE  
Washington, DC 20003, USA  
[wfa@igc.apc.org](mailto:wfa@igc.apc.org)  
<http://www.wfa.org>

World Federalist Movement  
United Nations Office,  
777 UN Plaza, 12th Floor,  
New York, NY 10017, USA