Fall 12-1-1996

A World Federal State: A Study of the PRogression of Civilization and a Recommendation for the Future

Joseph Oakes
Western Kentucky University

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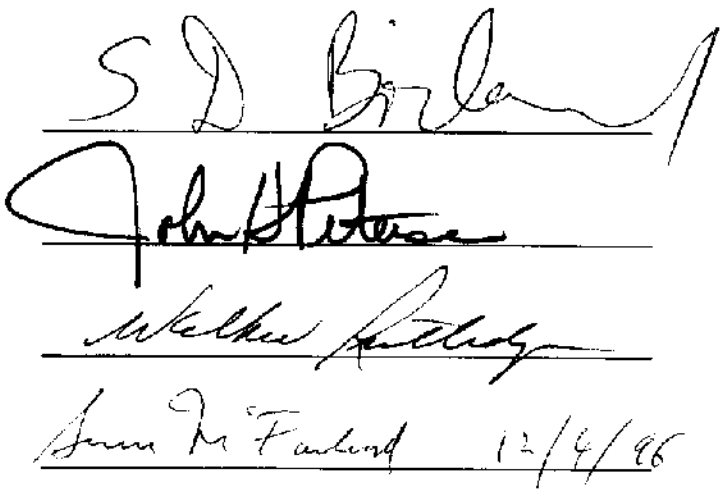
A Thesis for the Honors Program

Joseph W. Oakes

Fall 1996

Approved By



ABSTRACT

The progression of human civilization sits at the crossroads. Fueled by an emphasis in recent decades on interdependence, the world has realigned its economic and political operations to an international scale. Couple this development with grand advancements made in technology which have served to unite the world, and human civilization has set off on a path that leads to further integration. What is needed, however, is a realization of the inherent benefits that would come from the creation of a capitalistic world federal system.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to extend my utmost graditude to everyone who has inspired and advised me, not only in the creation of this thesis, but in my life in general. I would like to thank Dr. Steve Boilard for all of his guidance in my development as a scholar of Political Science. Mr. Walker Rutledge is deserving of my thanks as well, for this thesis would not exist without his motivation and support. I must also acknowledge Dr. Sam McFarland and the University Honors Program for allowing me the opportunity to write such a work, and for providing such a fertile environment for my development as a writer and scholar. And above all else, I must thank my family and friends for all the love and support they have bestowed upon me over the years. Without you, this thesis would not have been possible, for I would not be where, or who, I am today.

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I. INTRODUCTION

In his work *Civilization and its Discontents*, Sigmund Freud comments that "The replacement of the power of the individual by the power of a community constitutes the decisive step in civilization."[1] Freud's statement is insightful in that it highlights the importance of man and his individual choice, especially in the development of society and civilization. For humankind in general (regardless of what period of history), the ultimate liberty is that belonging to the completely independent individual. The power of choice, bolstered often by the hopes and beliefs in man's ability to achieve something better, has fueled the development of society and civilization.

When man first chose to relinquish part or all of his own personal sovereignty to the larger body of the community, the birth of civilization occurred. Such a conscious choice was an indisputable first step in the progression, especially since the natural existence of the family unit predisposes man to a positive opinion of a group setting. By forgoing a portion of his own personal liberty, early man constructed the framework of society and civilization, and subsequently an early political and

governmental structure, that would protect his right to liberty and would promote justice in general. Gone was the self-rule of the individual, and in its place was born the rule of society in the name of the interests of every person.

Unbeknownst to the common man, the emergence of the community signified more than the subsequent birth of regulation and government. In a community setting, when the flow of ideas was energized, culture developed. As culture developed, so too did the fields of science, philosophy, religion -- all characteristics of a burgeoning society and of civilization in general. Also important was the concurrent establishment of the roots of the idea of nationhood with the maturation of communal living. This concept of a "nation" or group of people with a shared history, culture, and beliefs was prior to the existence of governmental rule -- a development which is an important result of man's choice and recognition of communal living.

Man's choice to further develop the communal setting above familial ties serves as the start of a historical progression of society and civilization. This progression operates on two different but interlocking levels: political and cultural development. For instance, community living stimulated the aforementioned political and cultural growth. Also, as civilization continued to progress, changes in both aspects influenced alterations in the other. The embracing of nationalism in the eighteenth century, for instance, was a cultural development led by Europe's cultural and intellectual

elite, and it resulted in the complete overhaul of the political system into nation-states. But at the same time, the birth of such nationalistic thought was attributed to changes in Europe's political system toward stricter, more autocratic control, which limited personal freedom.

The evidence of a such progression is apparent when examined from a historical perspective and will be addressed in greater detail later, but a general synopsis is needed here for the purposes of introduction. Initially, there existed individual men whose development of the communal setting marked the initial phase of the progression. The progression then continued with the communities' unification into the nation-state after the Renaissance. By uniting larger and more diverse groups of people and creating even broader structures of government, the nation-state offered humankind a larger arena in which life and civilization could advance.

Today, the progression is poised to move into a new stage as nation-states are uniting into supranational organizations. No longer is the nation-state solely sufficient for meeting the needs of a developing human civilization. Instead, an international order is being created as interdependency and technology grow, serving to further unite the world and break down cultural barriers. Technology and specialization in business have created a world where interdependence is more reality than buzzword. American businesses are investing and operating in countless foreign arenas, as are those businesses of

other countries such as Japan and Germany. Business and economics lead the charge of civilization toward a more unified, international order.

The only problem is that governments have stalled, refusing to follow the rapid movement on the international economic scene because of an adherence to antiquated ideologies. This delay produces a major obstacle for civilization to overcome because this historical movement is not simply an ideal situation; rather, it is an inevitable one, born out of the choices made for further interdependence which have set society down an irreversible path to unification.

What is not inevitable, however, is what form this new system will take as integration continues and a stronger international structure is built. It is imperative that government and public leaders rid themselves of any reservations about restructuring political systems into a more international entity. Life by nature is a progression - from birth to death of individuals to the beginning and culmination of civilization. By resisting the move to a more international scene, the nation-states which exist today are only resisting nature itself.

Advancements in technology in the twentieth century have ushered in a world where nations of people no longer have to be divided and separate. This is also true of the governments which rule over them. The next phase in the progression of civilization demands the creation of a world-wide federal system to assure the positive evolution of human civilization.

In his book *Ending War in Our Lifetime*, Hugh McTavish similarily calls for the construction of a federation of nation. McTavish, arguing from a point of historical determinism, concludes that the forces of societal evolution are building to a world system.[2] The key to this position is that such evolution is natural, a sort of a Social Darwinism which emphasizes the inevitability of change.

II. THE MARCH OF CIVILIZATION

Historical and political philosophers like Hegel and Marx have offered dialectics of historical progression. Emmanuel Kant commented that while there appears a random and abstract nature to history within one's generation, it is possible to stand back and view "the steady development of forms of order, which are the necessary conditions of moral and intellectual progress." [3]

Abba Eban offers a concise description of this evolution of man and society:

> Social history describes the expansion of the sense of community, from family to tribe, from tribe to village, from village to city, from city to nation-state. At every stage people have sought out larger arenas in which to express their sense of solidarity and cohesion.[4]

People have indeed done so, and this evolution of history and civilization is quite apparent with but a brief overview of historical events.

The history of man as we know began several millennia ago. Archaeology suggests that human life began in the Middle East

regions of Mesopotamia (now Iraq) and surrounding areas of North Africa. As time passed, the people of these regions banded together into the family unit, and family units merged into tribes -- all in the name of order and stability. To the early human, there was a greater chance of survival and happiness when joined with members of one's own family or tribe. Together, the tribe could find greater assurance in gathering enough food and having enough protection to survive, not to mention fulfilling the basic human needs of interaction and love that only a group setting could provide.

The family and tribe units offered the individual what he or she lacked as an individual, while at the same time took away only the necessary aspects of individual freedom. Early humans found that the rights and comforts in the group setting countered the negative aspects of relinquishing personal sovereignty in the name of group security. And group security was subsequently heightened by the joining of tribes into cities and communities. In much the same way that individuals relinquished part of their sovereignty to be a part of the tribe, tribes made the same sacrifice to the city.

Cities also proved to be a source for economic and cultural progress. By banding together into a city format, humans were now able to pursue specialization in the workforce. No longer did one tribe have to be completely self-sufficient; instead, the members of the cities could pursue the activities they were most efficient at -- be it farming, hunting, or building -- and rely

on others to do the same. Individual specialization within the cities allowed them to perform at the highest level possible, and humans no longer had to produce everything for themselves.

This specialization also resulted in two important things. It freed up time for social interaction amongst humans, which in turn led to the development of culture (music, the arts, folklore, religion). Secondly, specialization led to new developments in the workforce. People could now concentrate on agriculture, pursue scientific exploration, and, perhaps most importantly, engage in trade. The merchant class was born, as goods needed to be traded and sold throughout the community.

As this progression to the city occurred, so did the expansion of civilization throughout the world. Seeking new places to live, farm, and trade goods, humans migrated out into the world. There exists concrete evidence of ancient life in what is now modern-day China, Egypt, India, and Israel -- all a result of this migration. And as these lands were settled, the exact progression from individual-to group-to community occurred all over again.

An important result of city life was the power and wealth that the citizens could amass. This was especially true for the rich landowners, nobility, and ruling classes which developed with the city. The city, to them, became a place to acquire wealth and power, and with that came a sense of success and happiness. Many cities accumulated more territory, and thus more power, in the name of expansion. This led to the birth of the

"city-state" in such notable places as Rome and Greece.

The city-state was a city on a grander scale. Places like Rome, Troy, and Athens were centers of trade, government, education, the arts, philosophy, and religion. Also with the growth of such city-states came the intermingling of peoples and cultures. Trade and territorial growth brought new ideas, new goods, and new cultures into contact with each other, but this interaction also was the breeding ground for hate and spite. Such feelings were the product of ignorance, intermingled with a fear of the unknown and the different. Leaders of city states were not so much concerned with embracing the various cultures they encountered during the expansion of their lands, as they were with protecting what they had amassed and destroying any possible hindrance to what they wanted. Thus, as city-states developed into empires such as those of the Greco-Roman period, religious and culture toleration was not a priority.

As mentioned, the next stage of the dialectic was the Imperial Era. The concept of the empire was prevalent for thousands of years as the leaders of the world tried to unite the globe, not out of some belief in the unity of man, but because of the need for power. Empires were based on power -- the power to subject many different cultures to centralized and often foreign rule, and the power to maintain such a hold. Civilization developed into this stage out of fear and ignorance. While the city arose out of the group's longing for a better life, the empire arose from the elite's, not the majority's, quest for

more, and the common man's inability to stop it.

To be sure, many important veins of thought came from this period, and much success can be found and heralded. For instance, democracy (albeit not quite as it is known today), grew out of the city-state of Athens and was the rule of the Greco-Roman Empire. Political and economic ideas such as monarchy and mercantilism were developed, and religions such as Christianity in the West and Buddhism in the East grew to encompass much of the globe. Feudalism, especially, was a key aspect of Imperial rule that developed, both in the period of the Middle Ages in Europe and during the Western Zhou period much earlier in China, before dynastic rule took hold. Feudalism offered a highly structured, hierarchical system by which the majority of the population was subject to the rule of the few and elite.

While feudalism provided the ruling class with a stringent and extremely efficient form of rule, it was fundamentally in contrast with the basic nature of humanity. It enslaved the populace and denied them their rights. The majority of the people were not afforded the opportunity to decide life for themselves, to seek out their destinies, or even to think and learn, as education was sparse and illiteracy was the norm. Literacy was the privilege of the ruling class, such as the Catholic monks and clergy, and the ruling elite of the Holy Roman Empire; an educated peasant class could only pose threats to their power.

In response to Imperial Rule came the Renaissance. Following the period known as the Dark Ages in Medieval Europe, regions of Europe experienced a renaissance or "rebirth" of sorts, during which culture and science boomed after years of stagnation. This time, along with the Enlightenment, saw change in political, scientific, and philosophical thought, as well as the production of masterful works of art in painting, sculpture, architecture, and literature -- all of which reflected the changes society was undergoing. Of essential importance to the progression of civilization was the birth of the ideas of sovereignty and nationalism.

While feudalism and imperial rule were blanketing and constricting, the ideas of nationalism were liberating and beneficial to the common folk. These ideas rose as a direct response to the negative aspects of the type of rule which Europe had experienced for the previous few centuries. Hedva Ben-Israel, in her article "Nationalism in Historical Perspective," explains, "Nationalism began not as collective egotism, but as a universally liberating principle, one of the new ideas for putting the world right."[5] The principle of nationalism is simple: instead of putting one's allegiance to a ruler, one should look to his "nation" or group of people with a shared background, ideals, and culture.

Nationalism offered the peoples of Europe an attractive, fresh message that contradicted the basis of wide-spread, domineering rule. As Ben-Isreal comments, the idea that "Ancient

communities are to be transformed into free nations" arose.[6] This marked a serious shift in the thought of civilized people, back to the old concepts of communities offering individual opportunities, and away from the hindrances of recent centuries. Individuals came to once again embrace the ideals of individual and group sovereignty.

Ben-Israel also notes that

> The most innovative and dominant of the ideas of the Enlightenment was that of the sovereignty of the people, which necessarily implied the recognition of a collective will, that is, the existence of a collective entity differentiated from an accidental collection of individuals. This is the cornerstone of the theory of nationalism. Once collective sovereignty was accepted, the collectively exercising sovereignty had to be named. The only place it could be found was in the already existing historic nation.[7]

As the people of Europe once again embraced their individuality, they, in turn, began to manifest the concept of a nation. And with the belief that the nation should possess its own measure of sovereignty and right to self-rule, nation-states were formed. Slowly the people of Europe united into nation-states, starting with the French with their revolution in 1789. The German people eventually become one, as did the Italian people, as their principalities joined out of a sense of brotherhood and with an eye to greater success and a much firmer stance in the world.

Eventually, the ideas of nationalism spread to all the corners of the world, and the nation-state evolved into the dominant world player in the political arena of world affairs.

III. ON THE CUSP OF CHANGE

The nation-state model is the latest in the evolution of civilization. Over the centuries since nationalism's birth in Europe, nation-states have formed and reformed, but the concept behind them -- that of being the highest group which people can identify with -- has rarely been altered. Today in 1996, there are nearly 200 actual states, and there are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of ethnic groups which claim nationhood and demand their own nation state. But at the same time that more nations threaten to come into the world, there has been a slow but gradual movement this century to a more integrated world.

The nation-state has seen both its zenith and its nadir in the twentieth century. Civilization in general has continued to grow and flourish at an astonishing rate as humankind prospers thanks to technology. Most of the technological advancements which have contributed to "shrinking" the world are themselves derivatives of the fierce competition between the populaces of nation-states. This drive and promotion of nations not only has produced technological advancements but also fresh approaches in economics, science, and ideology. Unfortunately, it was this

same striving of nation-states, such as Germany and Japan, which forced the entire world to bear the weight of two World Wars. And it was the clash of western and eastern ideologies that stagnated the political scene for half of the century in a Cold War, even while technology forged ahead.

The promotion of the nation-state was the force behind both World Wars; nationalism was twisted and turned from a liberating force to a destructive and imprisoning one. But the true destructiveness of the wars was not due to the ideologies but to the technological advancements. Weapons of mass destruction were produced that were capable of far more destruction than previously thought possible. And moving forces around the world was far easier than in previous wars -- almost too easy in fact. Such drastic improvements turned the strategy of war from "if you could kill the enemy" to "how many of the enemy could you kill."

With the development of nuclear weapons, the world realized that it had created a force capable of ending all life as we know it. The torchbearers of progress came face to face with the frightening realization that civilization was capable of extinguishing its light at any time. The effects of such knowledge, and the debilitating effect of decades of war, brought about a wave of thought that maybe it was time to cooperate, to free humanity from what appeared to be a dark spiral of doom and destruction.

Not to say that wars ended overnight, or that they are no longer fought today; instead, wars are waged with a cautious view

of the reality that a given war could be the last. With such a somber thought in mind, a new wave of thinking has swept across the world's educated elite this century -- integration and cooperation. Such a change in thinking, combined with the abilities we now have in the realm of international communication, has permitted international cooperation to flourish.

The inaugural proposal for cooperation through international organizations came in 1919 after the first World War with President Woodrow Wilson's highly idealistic League of Nations. Designed to be an international peacekeeping organization and a security agent for Europe, the League was doomed from the start because of the lack of popular support in the United States, the country which was proposing it.[8] Still, it stands as the first modern attempt at uniting the nations of the world.

Perhaps the most ambitious advances into the international world came after World War II. First, there was the creation of both the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, or the World Bank. These two institutions were born on July 1, 1944, at what Ken Ewert calls "the most significant inter-governmental conference of the century."[9] The conference, at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, was held in order to plan out a new economic order based on the consensus that it was time for increased economic coordination in the wake of recent decades. The IMF itself was

established to promote international monetary cooperation amongst the nations of the world by following a policy of maintaining fixed exchange rates between different national currencies and by making short-term loans to nations to create an economic balance.[10]

Secondly, there was the creation of the United Nations (UN). Although officially born at its founding conference in 1945, the UN's roots were firmly planted by President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the United States and Prime Minister Winston Churchill of the United Kingdom with the signing of the Atlantic Charter in August 1941 -- a document which proposed "a set of principles for international collaboration in maintaining peace and security."[11] The United Nations was an expansion of Wilson's idea for the League of Nations, but this time it had the vital American support that its predecessor lacked. The UN was set up with a pledge of universal membership, and the creation of the five-member security council of the world's great powers (The United States, Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and China) insured its strength and resiliency.

Despite questions of its efficiency in recent years, the United Nations still exists as a major and active player in international affairs. And more importantly, it serves as a benchmark in the realm of international organizations. Following the UN's creation, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was signed in 1948, and its trade rounds were devoted to continuing the process of reducing tariffs and facilitating

international trade -- at almost a rate of 8% a year on average.[12] GATT has since been transformed into the World Trade Organization (WTO), which serves as the legal and institutional foundation of the multilateral trading system. Founded in 1995, the WTO is the concrete form of the GATT agreement and serves to promote fair competition and open and growing access to markets, administer trade agreements, solve trade disputes, and encourage economic development and reform.[13]

The Group of Seven (G7) came into existence in 1975 when the leaders of the major industrial democracies of the world met to discuss major economic and political issues. Such problems, whether affecting the domestic scene or the international community, have since been dealt with at an annual meeting known as the G7 Summit. The G7 has served to deal with such issues as macroeconomic management, international trade, and relations with developing countries.[14]

The importance of such institutions and agreements is that nation-states have willingly come together to work for not only the advancement of their respective nations but also for the international community. In order to do so, they are forced to relinquish a portion of their sovereignty. The key to these agreements is that such a sacrifice is easily made since the promise of greater reward looms large on the horizon.

Outside of the UN, the European Union is the only true supranational agency in which a considerable sacrifice of the sovereignty of each member nation is necessary. Historically,

such a requirement was not the intended course of action. Instead, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was established by the Treaty of Paris in April 1951. This organization was focused solely on the management of Europe's coal and steel resources, but the idea also existed that by pooling such raw materials, especially between the French and German states, war would be prevented. The next step in Europe's integration came with the expansion of the alliance into the economic arena with the creation of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957. This was followed by the treaty for peaceful use of nuclear energy, a treaty which established the European Atomic Energy Community. All three communities were important in the process of integration and became known as the European Community (EC).[15]

Over the next few decades, the membership of the EC increased, but it was not until the signing of the Single European Act in February 1986 that the EC deepened its commitment to European integration. The agreement placed its goal as the establishment of a common market for goods, labor, capital, and services by the end of 1992. The Single European treaty was monumental in its scope, for it was an agreement that further fostered the notion of European unity and established a plan to bring about a single European state. This was followed by the equally important Treaty on European Union, or the Maastricht Treaty, in December of 1991, which focused on strengthening the political and monetary ties in the Community -- renamed the

European Union in November 1993.[16]

Also important to the development of the international world was the rise of defense and security organizations. While not committed to the further progress of the nations of the world, these organizations were established with the idea of creating regional and global security networks to provide a unified, more international response to war. The North American Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact were prime examples from the Cold War, and the Western European Union was an attempt by Europe's democracies to guarantee their united security.

The most important aspect to be derived from the formation of all of these international and supranational organization was that the world was slowly starting to see the benefits of international cooperation. The effects of the World Wars and the stark, destructive capabilities of nuclear weapons helped nurture the shift in thinking to a more multinational level. The existence of the European Union proved that "Western Europe [had] learned the momentous lesson: that war and conquest no longer [led] to prosperity."[17] With the promise of success through integration, the world began to change its beliefs as evidenced in the creation of these organizations. And such a change is quite possibly a precursor of great things yet to come.

IV. INTERDEPENDENCY AND TECHNOLOGY: THE KEYS TO THE REMOVAL OF CULTURAL BARRIERS

With the emergence of supranational institutions and organizations in recent decades, the world has become more accepting of a larger international structure to life. Despite arguments against the uniting of Europe, the European Union has expanded, and the member nations have relinquished aspects of their sovereignty to the Union -- something many would have never believed a half century ago as the continent fought World War II. The differences of the present, coupled with a tumultuous, war-filled past, argued against the success of the European Union; yet, the Union has not only survived but grown in recent years. Why? The main reasons are increased technology, a rise of interdependency amongst nations of the world, and as a result of the first two, a breakdown of cultural barriers worldwide. The reasons for the EU's success are also the same justifications for a world federal system, since such a system would simply be a European Union on a larger scale.

The rise of technology in the twentieth century has occurred at a wondrous rate. At the start of the century, travel was

arduous, taking months at sea by ship, and even longer across continents on foot and by horse. Information and news traveled slowly along the same routes. Despite rapid industrialization in the world's hegemons, production costs were high and production times were long. Yet throughout the century, advancements have been made to ameliorate each situation. Travel now is simply a matter of days or even hours as the car and airplane allow man to bridge large distances more quickly than before. Information and news are available literally at the moment something occurs, thanks to an elaborate world-wide communications service fueled by satellites and computers. And the invention of the computer chip and robotics has resulted in overall lower costs and shorter production rates which, in turn, have caused expansion in industry. All of the technological advances of the twentieth century have reshaped the world. For instance, in the Persian Gulf war of the early nineties, Americans were afforded the opportunity to view the American troops' arrival upon Gulf shores -- not months later on videotape, but while the mission was unfolding, thanks to CNN and the power of television.

Because of the availability of news and information, the gap between countries of the world has become smaller than ever before. Industries, for instance, have become international in their own right. An American company not only can have a plant in the United States, but in Brazil, Singapore, and Germany as well. The birth of multi-national companies has also occurred. Perhaps the most important aspect of the rise of technology is

the rise of interdependency which coincides with it. The lower production costs have allowed companies to specialize. No longer must a company manufacture an entire product, or if it does, no longer must it be manufactured in one place or on one continent. Because of this specialization, companies from all countries have begun to cooperate and work together.

On a larger scale, the increased availability of goods on an international market have allowed countries to specialize. Not every country is blessed with enough natural resources, workforce, or capital to survive as a self-sufficient nation. An elaborate system of importing necessary goods and exporting excess goods has developed in every country of the world. By concentrating on the goods they can produce and exporting them to countries in need of such items, nations have been able not only to survive economically but to flourish. Take Japan for example: Japan grew to economic superpower status because of its burgeoning electronics industry, although it simultaneously had to import food stuffs and natural resources from other countries to sustain the Japanese population.

Perhaps the key justification behind the creation of a world state is the breakdown of cultural barriers thanks to the increases in technology and the rise of interdependence. These reasons act like a chain; initially, technological advancements occur which not only help one country but the world as a whole. With enough technology, specialization becomes a possibility, which increases interdependency between industry and nations.

With such interdependency, cultural barriers which inhibit the union of mankind are overcome. If an American company locates a plant in Singapore, for instance, then it is necessary for the Americans and their counterparts from Singapore to cooperate. Cooperation, in turn, necessitates an understanding of the other side and their views and beliefs; thus, by working together, each side becomes culturally aware of the other. And if workers are transplanted from America to Singapore, then they too must learn and come to appreciate Singapore culture and customs in order to survive and prosper.

It is this breaking down of cultural barriers that is key to the creation and existence of a world federal government. The biggest challenge to the world today is the clash of cultures and people of different nationalities. More often than not, a person will revert to pigeon-holing himself in a small group based upon culture and nationhood when faced with confrontation or hardship. It is "precisely because economic and technological forces are moving the planet closer to cosmopolitanism [that] the appeal of patriotism is growing stronger, as people [quoting from Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.] 'seek refuge from threatening global currents beyond their control and understanding."[18] Similarly, famed historian Eric Hobsbawm notes:

> ...For those who can no longer rely on belonging anywhere else, there is at least one other imagined community to which one can belong which is permanent, indestructible, and whose membership is certain. Once again, 'the nation,' or

> the ethnic group appears as the ultimate guarantee when society fails.[19]

Yet, instead of building upon heritage and culture as a source of pride, people tend to cling to it as a source of hatred for others who are different. It is easier for one to claim to be Russian, Japanese, or American than it is for one to claim to be human. This is a problem to be overcome if the world is to unite, but at the same time, this is the very nature of the argument for a world federal system.

The key to overcoming cultural differences lies in the prosperity and happiness of the populace. Struggle and poverty are the factors which often bring about nationalistic sentiment -- a key opponent of unity. It then is logical that if a population is prosperous and happy, it is less inclined to cling to differences, for it does not feel threatened. It is also logical that if the prosperity is a result of their region's interdependence with another region, then the occupants of each region will be more sympathetic and understanding of the other's beliefs and customs. As understanding and knowledge of other cultures grow, the fear of the same cultures dies. Ignorance builds barriers between each side, but with interdependency forcing cultures to coexist and work together, ignorance is overcome and barriers removed.

V. THE UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES

With the breakdown of cultural barriers and the increased interdependency of nations, the arrival of a more cohesive international system is not a far-off reality. The major question that arises is what form the international system will take. A supranational system, which is federal in nature, will likely evolve to provide a system of regulation and coordination for the international alliances. It will be federal in the sense that each member nation would still maintain its own constitutionally guaranteed, independent power. There would exist a larger central government, but each country would be more than a bureaucratic extension of the central government; it would have real power within its own region.

The reasoning behind a federal system is simple. First, any system which would still allow considerable power to existing countries upon their joining a union would be attractive to all involved. This issue of sovereignty has spelled trouble for the integration of Europe. One of the largest hurdles in the unification of Europe has been the unwillingness of both the citizens and leaders of European countries to give up a

considerable amount of their sovereignty to a larger body. The issue of a common European currency provides a prime example of this. Countries like Germany and Great Britain, whose currencies are strong and possess a sense of tradition, are not willing to give up their marks and pounds for a unified currency. Willingness to leave monetary control in the hands of a larger body has also been a difficult thing to achieve.

In a federal system, there would indeed still exist a necessity for member nations to forgo a portion of their sovereignty to the federal government. Major issues such as foreign policy, the military, and trade are best served on a larger level, where the union would be able to present a unified front. However, there remain smaller issues that are best decided at a regional or national level. Surely a country like Germany would differ from a country like Japan when it comes to appropriating funds to municipal governments, or making decisions concerning rural and urban development projects.

Theorists offer the above idea, known as subsidiarity, as the answer for Europe's integration woes. Subsidiarity calls for policies to be decided on the smallest level possible. Surely funding for a city, Berlin for example, is more easily determined by the German national government than it would be by the central government of a proposed federal system in which Germany would be a member.

Certain issues are defined as federal or regional by the basis of their scope of impact. Trade policy, which would

clearly affect all member nations, is a federal decision, while zoning and planning involve national, regional, or municipal decision-making. Countries still would be open to possible federal regulation if their national or regional policies went against federal policy or objectives. As in the United States, where states are partially autonomous units, each member nation would still retain autonomy in a sense, but not to the point of jeopardizing the reasons for the existence of a federal system in the first place -- unity and progress.

This type of federal system also fits well with basic human nature. Man, while recognizing the necessity of the existence of laws and regulations, will always strive to attain as much freedom as possible. Countries, run by humans, are no different. The key to a federal system is that a stable and healthy balance between order and independence can be ascertained so that growth and prosperity may be achieved.

If one again takes human nature into consideration, it is safe to propose that the federal system would operate with a capitalistic system, for two reasons. The first is that the leaders in a new federal system would all be successful capitalist countries like the United States, Japan, and Germany. Capitalism has proven its validity in the Western Hemisphere and surely would be the core of the economic system in a new international arrangement. Countries operating under capitalistic principles have prospered, and international corporations have been born thanks to the advantages that a

capitalist system offers. Second, capitalism springs from the basic human desire to achieve one's dreams. Possessing the ability to earn money in a job one likes, to buy the goods one wishes, and to achieve one's dreams is a mainstay of the attractiveness of capitalism, one which still remains today. As Harry Grunwald wrote, "The most successful economies in the world are more than anything else, the expression of a people's spirit, will and intelligence."[29] Because of these factors, capitalism cannot be spurned in a new international system.

VI. THE WORLD WE KNOW AND HOW TO OVERCOME IT

While it appears that the progression to a new world order is inevitable, it would be foolish to assume that there do not exist certain challenges to overcome first. The attempts at establishing the European Union have taught us the lesson that unification of countries is not an easy task, for the most part due to the wealth of history and tradition that exists within a state. Nationalism, or the deep-rooted support and connection one feels for his nation, is a world-wide problem that serves to separate us further even today. Originally a somewhat unifying and constructive force, nationalism no longer is a positive force. While it still serves to unite a group of people and bind them to a cause, nationalistic forces within a country are often accompanied by destructive consequences such as war. All it takes is a look at the former Yugoslavian countries to see the negative consequences that follow nationalist movements.

The hostilities that rage in the lands of Bosnia and Serbia are clearly examples of nationalism in its most destructive and brutal form. The nation-state of Yugoslavia was a fallacy -- the product of Cold War diplomacy. Within the boundaries of the

country were six clearly identifiable republics: Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia, Macedonia, and Montenegro. Each of the republics lacked clear boundaries between the interwoven ethnic groups. For this reason, the power-sharing strategies of consociationalism were out, which itself caused schisms between the different ethic groups. Also acting as a dividing influence was religion, with the dominant groups being Christian Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Muslim.[21] Since the state of Yugoslavia was essentially thrown together during the Cold War, there was no sense of loyalty to that state; instead, the people fell back on their ethnic divisions in the face of the hardships brought about by communism and Soviet rule. Nationalism, in turn, grew, but was kept in check by a bi-polar world until the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991.

With the stability of the Cold War system removed, the republics were quick to claim nationhood. The problem with nationalism, though, was that the various ethnic groups were scattered throughout the republics, specifically in Croatia, Bosnia, and Slovenia. Problems quickly worsened, and nationalism turned to its evil side as a civil war was begun in 1992.

Many claim fighting was the only certain course for the former-Yugoslavian lands to follow. Their history had been tension-ridden from the very beginning. Earlier in this century, for instance, the Serbian King had tried to dominate the country and create Serbian rule, which contributed to the severe historic rivalries.[22] Some attribute the Bosnian war to this historic

ethnic tension, combined with the rapid growth of nationalism which developed in the void left from Soviet influence being removed. Noel Malcolm, however, offers another, possibly more important factor in his book *Bosnia: A Short History*. To Malcolm, the rivalry between the ethnic groups has been over-emphasized by historians and scholars. There are just as many instances of cooperation and peace as there are of animosity and fighting. Malcolm stresses the economic divisions of the groups as a more important reason for the fighting. He claims that the nationalistic fervor that arose was based more upon "the resentment felt by the members of mainly (but not exclusively) Christian peasantry toward their Muslim landowners."[23] Thus, it was the economic differences that stratified the people into two groups -- this time along religious lines -- by highlighting their differences in wealth, power, and ultimately, happiness.

While Yugoslavia stands as the hostile basis for the analysis of the problem of nationalism, the nationalism debate found in the Canadian province of Quebec clearly spotlights the more benign challenge of nationalism in today's world. Primarily French-speaking and Catholic, the people of Quebec have rallied around the uniqueness of their culture in a nation which is predominately anglophone and Protestant. This schism is not a fledgling dilemma, for the division pre-existed the formation of the Canadian nation. Nevertheless, it is only in recent years that the spirit of the Quebec nation has demonstrated its longing and will for equality and protection in Canadian society. It is

in this recent expression of nationalist sentiment that the denizens of Quebec have firmly established their identity as a separate and distinct nation, and have generated the problem of two nations in one state for the country of Canada.

From 1867 to 1945, Canada existed with very few problems between the English and French groups. Yet with the end of the second World War, the French Quebecers began a campaign to receive equal treatment and recognition of their culture within Canadian government and society. This uprising of nationalist sentiment from within Quebec stemmed from a feeling and need to protect the French language and culture. From the founding of the country up until the middle of the twentieth century, both the French and English cultures had existed together in Canadian society as Canada's founders had envisioned. Yet it was the anglophones that dominated the majority of Canadian society. While there was not a conscious effort to oppress the French culture, per se, English had become the dominant language and culture of the country. Most business and governmental operations were conducted in English, as were most children's primary and secondary educations. Most street and business signs were written in English, even in the regions like Quebec where it was not the principal language.

The dominance of English throughout Canadian society resulted in a rebirth of nationalism in the citizens of Quebec. Many felt not only a sense of unity because of their shared ancestry, language, and culture, but also a renewed need to

protect and promote their nationality and its aspects.

While the English Canadians have recognized the uniqueness of the francophones, the pervading Canadian nationality is such that it precludes their French influence. Most perceive Canada as more like the American nation --predominantly Protestant and English-- including most Canadians themselves. They rarely herald the diversity of their nation, preferring to portray the more Anglican side of their duality.

This ignorance of the French influence in Canadian society is exactly the root of the nationalistic debate. Surely, the Quebecers would have no outstanding need to fall back on nationalistic fervor if they felt that they were considered an equal part of the Canadian nation. Instead, they see the ideal picture of a Canadian portrayed by their country, and notice that he is neither French speaking nor of French heritage. And neither are his comrades; there is no French ideal Canadian promoted as his equal. Subsequently, the francophones rally around their culture, feeling an overwhelming need to protect it in a unsympathetic Canadian society.

Both the former Yugoslavian state and Quebec offer good case studies for the effects and challenges of nationalism. Thanks to the fighting in places such as Bosnia, nationalism has come to be viewed in a negative light. Even the complications and debate nationalism has caused in Quebec contribute to such a dubious image. The essence of nationalism, which calls for loyalty to one's nation, is not per se a horrible concept. Nationalism

becomes tainted when it is accompanied by fighting, warfare, and death as it has been all too recently; nationalism in this vein is destructive and "the greatest retrogressive force of this century."[24] Patriotism, on the other hand, takes the form of overall loyalty and pride in one's country and its history. In this form, nations are promoted but are never in search of suppression of other nations. Patriotism, in theory, also motivates the people of a nation to work harder to make their nation stronger, in turn, strengthening the union. Nationalism, on the other hand, would seek to separate existing states down into smaller nations, an action which clearly is detrimental to a unified system.

Regional divisions in the world, especially along economic lines, are another hurdle in the path of the creation of a new world system. The modern world can clearly be divided into a number of different units based on any number of characteristics. Religion, culture, and ethnicity are all decisive factors which separate peoples of the world. Yet, perhaps the most stringent divisions occur along economic lines. During the Cold War, political theorists devised the "Three World" system for nations, whereby economic and ideological status categorized a state. The first world consisted of the liberal democracies of the capitalistic Western world; the former Soviet Union and its communist satellite states were the second world nations; and the third world found the rest of the world, mainly in South America and Africa, where economic and political stability were rare

occurrences, and low Gross National Product and levels of industrialization were commonplace.

A very similar situation still exists today. With the dismantling of the Soviet empire in the late 1980's and early 1990's, the second world ceased to exist as it once was defined. The division between first and second world states was based more on ideology than anything, so upon the collapse of communism, the second world disappeared. A problem arose from this as to where each former Soviet nation fit into the first/third world division, with many not fitting comfortably in either because of economic and industry levels. Yet, there is still the rigid economic division between states of the world, one which hinders the chances of unification. Since one of the main justifications for a unified system is to promote more economic cooperation in the hopes of progress, lesser nations which could not contribute much to the union would be susceptible to exclusion.

These third-world nations make up a considerable portion of the world in terms of land mass and population, however, so their exclusion is not justified. In the article "Globalization and the Two Spheres of Security," Ali Dessouki offers the view of the world into two basic spheres. The first consists of the advanced industrial states and is characterized by peace, prosperity, and stability. The second sphere finds the most underdeveloped or developing nations and is marked by war, poverty, and political and social instability.[25] In order to overcome such a division, a willingness to support these nations must arise amongst the

first-world nations. A polarization of wealth has existed in the world for centuries and will surely exist in the future. The key is lessening the gap between the have and the have not's. A key to the existence of capitalism is the development of a strong middle class, an aspect the world sphere lacks. There are few "middle class" nations, a situation which results only in the further stratification of the remaining states.

In order for a new federal system to occur on a world-wide level, it is incumbent upon the hegemons of today to accept the challenge of helping their third-world brethren. As seen in the Imperial era, the third world has been viewed more often as a place to exploit than to support by the first world, regardless of the repercussions of such actions. Yet the consequences of colonial rule are evident from the massive divisions that exist today. The political instability of the former colonies contributes to their insufficient levels of economic stability and development. Along with this come low levels of industrialization and an economic system still mired in a dependency upon the outside world. Clearly, the third-world nations' troubles can be traced back to their first-world counterparts and their colonial rule policies.

It is a indisputable that the first world has a responsibility to the success of the third world. Undeniably, there exists a desire in the third world to catch up with its first-world brethren. In order to do so, Grunwald points out that "The U.S. and other advanced nations will have to

help."[26] Instituting a constant package of aid to increase industrialization and stimulate lesser economies, sharing theories and knowledge of successful capitalism and business management, sharing freely of technological advances that benefit everyone, and providing overall support to the lesser nations to insure their growth are necessary if a world federal system is to succeed. This must occur not only because of moral and ethical reasons but because of more concrete and logical factors.

First of all, it behooves the more powerful nations in the proposed union to have partner nations which it can depend on for a stable source of trade and resources. In order to guarantee such a stable trade policy, nations need to operate on a more even level. Such a proposal would require small sacrifices by nations such as the United States in the short run with promises of greater profit to occur. By assisting the lesser nations to become self-sufficient, the stronger countries would be helping themselves by providing more opportunities for the success and growth of the union. Stronger member nations, operating on a more even field, constitute a healthy and dynamic union.

Despite the logic inherent in such a proposal, many citizens of the more advanced nations, especially the United States, find it excruciatingly painful to make such a commitment. According to David Reiff, "the last thing [Americans] want to hear, or, it seems, politicians want suggest, is that Americans must remain willing to make real sacrifices to resolve faraway conflicts."[27] This can also be extended to the realm of foreign aid, where many

Americans balk at the idea of appropriating funds to aid foreign countries. But foreign aid "including the entire foreign budget of the State Department, monies to international agencies and financial institutions,...and aid to civilian and military bodies [,] amounts to some $17 billion or just over 1 percent of the U.S. federal budget for 1996."[28]

Added to this is the fact that the United States is in the position of being more dependent on foreign trade and capital than it ever has been before. In a ten-year span from 1980 to 1990, the United States watched its total value of U.S. securities transactions with foreigners jump from 9 percent of the Gross Domestic Product to 93 percent, and export numbers rise from $217 billion to $421 billion.[29] According to Martin Walker, the United States is now the planet's leading exporter and is currently a more dependent economy than that of Japan.[30] Yet many Americans still believe that they can shy away from international requirements and responsibility -- a course that is no longer an option. It is just as Ronald Steel points out, "A profound economic, political, and cultural engagement with the world is not a choice for the United States -- it is a simple reality."[31] The United States, along with the other major industrialized powers, simply must be willing to pick up the gauntlet of aid and help the third world in the name of future growth and prosperity.

Finally, another problem that might serve to falter the institution of a new federal system is the ethnic divisions of

the world. According to Samuel Hutchinson in his work *The Clash of Civilizations?*, the nation-state and its importance are in a state of decline. No longer will the nation-state be the major player in conflict in the world; instead, civilizations and different cultures will be the decisive entities to define oneself by and by which disputes will occur.[32]

Hutchinson's is an intriguing point of view because it is already evident that the nation-state is slowly losing a portion of its power. There is also a trend towards realigning oneself toward one's nationality, ethnic group, or as Huntington identifies it, civilization, when faced with hardship. In this vein, nationalist movements are born as groups feel oppressed, unrepresented, or disadvantaged by their current situation. There are two problems with this theory, however. Huntington comments that members of one of his designated civilizations would not conduct warfare on another, but that is not the case in everyday society. Despite religious differences, the Croats and Serbians would be of the same group in Huntington's definition, yet they have been conducting warfare for hundreds of years, especially the last few in the 1990's. African nations such as Rwanda and Burundi are caught up in wars, and the Irish/English travails continue to happen today, and they too would be members of the same group.

The key to such fighting lies in ethnic relations. Like loyalty to the family or tribe was once the dominant identification point for most humans, today the ethnic group is

the focal point for emotions. Times of hardship cause humans to narrow their groups to those most like them and to vilify others who are different. This is the key that Huntington overlooks as he defines his civilizations in too broad of a scope, and this is the key that will cause problems for the unification of nations.

The solution for this is the continued integration of people along economic lines. Huntington fails to acknowledge that economic hardship (and the political oppression/mismanagement that usually causes poverty) brings about a rise in ethnicity and nationalism. When a person can be afforded the chance at achieving wealth, dreams, and happiness, there is rarely a need to stringently classify oneself along narrow lines such as ethnicity.

As stated before, interdependence serves to unite the peoples of the world not only economically but by forcing them to intermingle and live together. Cultural barriers, once erected by ignorance and fear of the unknown, are broken down as knowledge of different peoples is achieved and a comfort level is found. Because of this, ethnicity will cease to be a major problem in the unification of nations and cultures. Success brings happiness which, in turn, opens people to new ideas. Instead of rising ethnic feeling, people can begin to see that we are not so very different; every human wants the right to be free, to live his life as he sees fit, and to achieve his dreams. By working together, the people of the world can achieve just that, and thus the breeding ground for the negative, segregating

forces of ethnicity and nationalism can be eliminated.

VII. ANSWERING A CHALLENGE: THE CREATION OF A NEW PARADIGM

In his article "Convergence: The Coming Together of Humanity," Frank Snowden Hopkins points out that

> The story of civilization is constant convergence, with everything getting closer and closer. But there is also constant education, which is part of the convergence. H.G. Wells wrote that civilization is a race between education and catastrophe. What we have to do in the present and the future as this great race continues, is to make sure education wins.[33]

Hopkins correctly alludes to the power education possesses in the sculpting of the story of civilization. Civilization has ridden the wave of progression to a point that humanity never would once have never considered possible: international government. Such a concept is feared by many, and the mere mention of world government produces criticism and condemnation.

Such a reaction had been produced by nationalist rhetoric's pigeon-holing man's way of thinking. The world arena has traditionally served as the stage for competition, not

cooperation, thus fueling nationalistic attitudes. Yet it is this world stage that is changing through a rise of interdependence and technological advances. Economic and political leaders the world over have made the conscious decision that collaboration and cooperation are the way to go in making policy decisions, not just for the good of their own countries, but for the benefit of the world culture as well. And as Samuel Huntington put it, "Extraordinary improvements in international communication and transportation seem destined to continue...shrinking time and space."[34]

Education thus becomes key to this continuing progression of civilization and society to an international level. Our leaders have utilized ration and reason to identify the need for international cooperation and the benefits which can be reaped from such a course of action, and, like humans throughout history's progression, they have exercised the power of free choice to shape the course civilization is to embark on in the coming years. Now the onus falls to the citizens of each nation of the world to change their own line of thought and accept the concepts and principles of international government. The inevitability of the unification of the nation to an international level demands a re-education of the masses.

In the early part of this century, Alfred Toynbee offered that "civilizations are distinguished by their dynamism, having arisen from pre-existing society when a sufficiently threatening challenge evoked a creative response."[35] To Toynbee,

"civilizations," or developments in the progression of humanity's overall civilization, are the result of how society deals and reacts to a great challenge to its existence, and adapts in order to survive. Civilization today faces such a great challenge, and the mark of our society will be how we answer.

The challenge of today's society is the construction of an international order. After the cessation of bi-polarity at the end of the Cold War, the world was faced with the need for establishing a stability-producing structure of international relations to fill the void. Without the bi-polar power structure offered by the United States and the Soviet Union, the international scene was thrown into a position of uncertainty where there existed a fear of what Thomas Nairn labels "the Abyss."[35] This Abyss is the unknown, and it is this fear of the unknown and for the worst that helped produce rising nationalistic sentiment throughout the nations of the world.

In response to the challenge of the Abyss, the states of the world have begun to realign both their views and policies to an international level, characterized by cooperation and further interdependence. The stability void created after the end of the Cold War is slowly being replaced. The leaders of the world have decided that the stability of the international scene will by a by-product of cooperation and interdependence.

Still unknown in our response to the challenge is what changes in politics will arise from increased cooperation. In a perfect scenario, increased economic cooperation would lead

smoothly to increased political collaboration. Yet our world must deal with factors such as nationalism, regionalism, and a large economic division between nations of the world which all but destroy the possibility of such a scenario unfolding naturally. That is why a world federal government is needed. A world federal government would provide the political framework for dealing with such problems, and would offer the much desired stability on the international scene.

Choices have already been made which have steered the progression of civilization to a more interdependent and international level. The continuing of this progression is inevitable. What is not inevitable is how humanity will react to the upcoming changes.

In order for the progression to produce the most propitious and prosperous scenario, several changes are necessary. First, all of humanity must challenge the current paradigm of thinking that resists the concepts of a world "human" civilization. Nation states are slowly losing their self-contained status, and with this comes the loss of importance of their national image. Through education and effort, everyone must construct a new way of thinking that identifies a person not as an "American" or "German" but as a "Human" and citizen of the world. Secondly, the creation of the international federal state is a necessity, for the reasons detailed before. Such a system will offer not only the political stability coveted by many, but will also help to foster the development of a "world culture" consciousness.

During the past hundred years, let alone the past thousand, we have made almost unbelievable material and social progress; what has not changed is the nature of humanity and our never-ending challenge: to keep working, to keep mending, to keep building. While further interdependence is inevitable, the path which leads there remains to be chosen. In the end, the mark of our society will be how we handle this situation and the questions in front of us.

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