

The World at the Crossroads

WORLD CITIZENS
ASSOCIATION

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The World at the Crossroads

**By the Executive Committee
of the
World Citizens Association**

Anita Blaine
Edwin H. Cassels
Edwin R. Embree
W. W. Waymack
Quincy Wright

1946
WORLD CITIZENS ASSOCIATION
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

**PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
AT THE QUINCY PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD	5
THE WORLD AT THE CROSSROADS.....	6
ONE WORLD	10
THE UNITED NATIONS.....	12
Before San Francisco	
The Charter of the United Nations	
How Will the United Nations Work?	
THE FIRST STEP.....	67
THE BATTLE OF PEACE.....	76
THE ROAD AHEAD.....	83
POSTSCRIPT	85
DOCUMENTS	
The Atlantic Charter.....	86
Declaration by United Nations.....	87
The Moscow Conference:	
Declaration of Four Nations on General Security.....	88
The Teheran Conference:	
Declaration of the Three Powers.....	90
Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organization, Known as The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals..	91
Report of the Crimea Conference (Excerpts)	104
Charter of the United Nations.....	106
Statute of the International Court of Justice.....	137
APPENDIX: AIMS AND ORGANIZATION OF THE WORLD CITIZENS ASSOCIATION.....	153
INDEX	157

Foreword

Citizens of the World:

TO YOU ALL:— the descendants of the framers of our nation, the last comers to our shores, the youth carrying the issues of today, the child inheritor of the United States, to you our government:

And to you of all other nations:—

Under all our flags we ask your consideration of a united world.

✓ All people of all nations are in a crisis today.

All people can compare the birth of the United Nations with the beginnings of their own nations.

If each lives up to the great teachings of his own country we shall be able to create together the greater whole whose birth we contemplate.

We believe that the fundamental processes of democracy will stand the test at this crucial moment and enable the citizens of the world to unite.

We are ready to accept the common decision; to support the charter which the San Francisco Conference produced; to do all that we can throughout the world to assure its success; and to work for improvement and enrichment of life under the United Nations.

Signed

ANITA BLAINE

EDWIN H. CASSELS

EDWIN R. EMBREE

W. W. WAYMACK

QUINCY WRIGHT

THE WORLD AT THE CROSSROADS

ONCE there was no life upon the earth.
This great ball swung on its course in space inert through
ages.

Then something stirred and life began.

No one knows whence it came or how, nor what it is.

Aeons passed.

Living creatures multiplied and their existence became
precarious.

Food was their need.

They secured it by tooth and claw.

Their life became a battle.

Their victims were their prey.

Their victories were the downfall of the other.

It was the life of the jungle.

Aeons passed.

Then there came to be living beings who acted not solely
for themselves but also for others.

And spirit appeared on the earth.

It shed light—glowing light—in the jungle's night and a
whisper was heard of "Love".

Aeons passed.

Till one and a few others came who gave all for others—
all they had.

Then heaven on earth began.

And the battle was on between good and evil.

Dust belonged to dust and spirit mounted the throne.

The life of man began.

Vistas opened to beauty near and far.

Organized life took shape in manifold expressions, individual and collective.

Men made experiments and found solutions.

They worked and they played.

They were free and they were governed.

They found their heights in their religions.

Yet the battle continued.

Forces of evil worked to stop the progress of man from the beast to the divine being.

War was their weapon.

Destruction their aim.

Self desire was their motive.

Their ways worked from the cradle to the grave.

Their power was great.

Their victims were innumerable; their victories were in countless lives dwarfed and thwarted in their upward course.

But the forces of evil could not obliterate the good.

Man has come through the struggle to the heights we see and know and feel.

We find ourselves today emerging from the colossal attack to overthrow all good by means of the greatest evil.

The peoples of the earth are at the crossroads.

There are paths going forward and paths going back.

All nations have followed the usual steps of world development from one stage of community life to another:— from small groups to the larger and from the larger to the nation—led by community interests and beliefs.

When one nation after another was viciously attacked its people sprang to arms as one man until the world was arrayed in two camps:— the attacker and the defender of all humanity.

We have been successful in laying the monster that stalked abroad.

Now we face the future outlined and illumined by what has gone before.

We face our responsibility.

The question we have to decide is shall we now go back, to do over again through all the stages all that is achieved of man's progress?

Or shall we go forward from this halfway station to draw from the teaching of the past new power and greater possibilities than we have had before?

The time has come for us to understand more fully all that is.

We should need new terms to express the truth of what we have seen.

By repetition the meaning of words grows dim.

Falsehood, lies, orgy of cruelty, pleasure in others' pain, chaos, domination, annihilation, these are what confront us and have called us to battle.

Out of our response and our mighty battle, out of our gazing spellbound with amazement, out of our anguish in the loss of our precious sons, out of the great and glorious achievements of our victories over the enemy—what have we best to offer to the future?

We face the world of those who died.

We face the world of those to be born.

In the chasm between we—all—must be equal to the need.

They who went beyond the barrier, the chosen ones, they walked in trust and faith and obedience; they ran to their destiny; they trusted for the necessity of what they did and for the outcome of those deeds for the salvation of the people of the earth.

This trust creates our sacred obligation to humanity.

The time has come. The hour has struck. Midnight has passed.

We now turn to a new day.

The dawn appears on the horizon.

It is the victory day.

The victory is over ourselves first and then over all who obstruct the onward march of man, to be free and equal in opportunity, varied and different as the flowers of the fields in their products and in their achievements; each a law unto himself in his own nature and all together a manifold law for mankind.

That law is not the law of the jungle.

It is the law of enlightened men and women and children—mankind—giving and taking, stern and gentle, working and waiting, creating out of the pains and losses of today the glory of tomorrow.

We must use the tools that are available to us.

We must set our hands and seals to the maximum that all can accept.

Rising in our might we must start today and march step by step in unison in the road made by all, each devoting himself to bring his full purpose and vision into being.

As in traveling in the foothills in the heat of the day we catch glimpses of the mountain heights and lose sight of them and catch them again, so in our ways working through the underbrush we may know that the heights are there to be reached.

ONE WORLD

WE CAN hardly be called a world until every individual who comes into it may find a welcome and a chance for growth.

Those conditions, spiritual, mental and physical, are the foundation for a world of people.

In the heterogeneous development that has occurred on the earth separation has taken place between peoples. Some men have lived in one part of the earth for long eras and some in other parts. And they have developed different physical traits. Some men have lived in one form of society, some in others, and they have built up diverse habits and customs.

Wherever they have lived and whatever their type of society, men have always set up some form of government for mutual protection and the commonweal.

The trend has been steadily, though slowly and unevenly, toward wider and wider areas of common interest.

In prehistoric times each family was its own state. Food and shelter were provided for these units by themselves. And they protected themselves as best they could against the jealousy and greed of their neighbors.

As time went on families welded themselves into clans and tribes and slowly these tribes formed larger and larger states and nations.

As they grew there arrived conflicting interests. Force was used to settle questions and war became the one means of decision.

In the lack of homogeneous development and whole understanding most of these units have looked askance and down at other units.

Pride has arisen and has become a prime cause of war.

Those groups who have responded to the call of beauty have let that progress be marred by exclusiveness and pride. And almost all have said in their hearts to others "I am holier than thou."

So rivalries have become a predominant factor among the people of the earth.

People of different races or cultures have fought each for the supremacy of his own. Agencies or parties organized for human progress have lost their causes by vying among themselves for prestige and power. And religions, which should be the highest human expression, have brought devastating differences between peoples and have been causes of the most bloody conflicts.

At long last the peoples of the earth begin to realize community needs and that these can be supplied to one group only if they come to all.

In the organization of the United Nations we are moving toward a government structure broad enough to encompass the common needs of all mankind.

In any government each individual gives up a part of his liberty in exchange for common protection and a chance for the growth of all. In any federal organization each state or province likewise gives up some of its freedom in return for the general good.

The United Nations is organized by the concerted action of fifty-one governments. But much more it is created by the common will of the people of the earth for the well-being of all.

We, the peoples of the United Nations, are organizing this new world structure in order to have peace among the nations and to provide opportunity to all for peaceful growth to our full stature as human beings, in the belief that human beings who make up the people of the earth are all one people, for "God hath made of one blood all nations of men."

THE UNITED NATIONS

BEFORE SAN FRANCISCO

THE UNITED NATIONS was born in the Declaration of January 1, 1942. The nations then actively opposing the Axis effort to destroy liberty and establish a world tyranny pledged themselves to collaborate until the enemies were defeated and to carry out the principles of the Atlantic Charter in the peace to follow.

The objectives of the United Nations were unconditional surrender of the enemies, establishment of a peace and rehabilitation of war-devastated countries, permanent maintenance of international peace and security, and progressive organization of international cooperation for human and national welfare.

The United Nations seeks to restore confidence in the ideals of liberty, humanity and international justice which the Axis sought to destroy.

The need of adaptation to changes in human existence under modern conditions must be realized for a full understanding of this undertaking—the difficulties of it and the vital importance of it.

Modern inventions, especially the airplane and the radio, have shrunk the human world to a small fraction of its size of a century ago. Exchange of ideas can take place instantaneously between the most remote centers of population. Goods can be transported regularly from producers to consumers separated by continents and oceans, at a speed unthought of only a few years ago. World conferences can be assembled in days instead of months.

This reduction in the separation of peoples has made this one world, in which the security and prosperity of each nation depends upon the security and prosperity of the others. Neither economic nor political security can be obtained through isolation or *ad hoc* action to maintain an equilibrium of trade or of power.

Democracy and the concept of the personal freedom and moral equality of individuals have developed through increasing human contact and the opportunity of men to know their fellow men who have different cultural traditions. And through the spread of moral, religious and political systems supporting these ideals.

Political organizations founded upon the dominance of one class, race or culture over others are continually challenged, and a world system assuring the ideal of democracy has become a demand. It leads to the idea of citizenship of all in a world community.

Modern Warfare

War has become more destructive of life and property. It has become total and indivisible. Neutrality has become a condition possible to maintain only in very limited circumstances. This change in the character of war is the consequence of inventions in military technique and communication, and of the necessary participation of every citizen. War has become an affair between peoples, not just between governments and armies. Military invention permits of direct attack on peoples beyond the battle front on a scale never before possible. As a result the world has been brought to regard war as an outlawed instrument of policy and to demand measures to prevent and suppress resort to it by those groups or nations lacking in a sense of responsibility for human well-being.

Change in the techniques and standards of human relation-

ship takes place ever more rapidly. Where formerly the conditions of life and labor might persist for generations, today the son lives in a world different from the father. Economic and political conditions of national and international life alter radically in every generation.

The shrinking of distances, the rise of democracy, the destructiveness of war and the acceleration of change are outstanding among the conditions which have so altered international relations that not only the traditional methods of commerce, diplomacy and war, but as well the traditional standards of custom, convention and comity stand in need of revision. It is the task of the United Nations to make those revisions while conserving the cultural heritage of modern civilization.

United Nations vs. Other War Coalitions

In view of the new conditions which they faced, and the breadth of the task which they undertook, it is not surprising that the United Nations differed radically from any previous war coalition. A name, the United Nations, was adopted, which implied the permanence and eventual universality of the coalition. Previous coalitions such as the Grand Alliance, the Quadruple Alliance, the Holy Alliance, the Allied and Associated Powers, by use of the word alliance assumed a limitation both in duration and in membership.

A large proportion of the world was actually included among the United Nations. The coalition against Napoleon had eight members, and that against the Kaiser twenty-eight. The United Nations as a war coalition included forty-seven states embracing over five-sixths of the world's population. The nine states in the Axis and their satellites had a combined population of less than an eighth of the world's population while only Afghanistan, Ireland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Yemen with less than a twentieth of the

world's population succeeded in maintaining a precarious aloofness from the conflict.

The United Nations created organizations and institutions during the war itself to function after the war. This was possible because of the potential universality and permanence of the United Nations. Coalitions of the past could not in theory or practice create such bodies as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the International Fund, the International Bank, the International Organization for Civil Aviation, and the United Nations organization for peace and security.

The United Nations assumed that the military operations in which they engaged had the character of sanctions against governments which had violated international obligations. This assumption was accepted by many states even before they joined the United Nations in active hostilities. Such states felt free to give economic aid to the United Nations, to discriminate against the Axis governments and to refuse to shelter war criminals. The hostilities, therefore, were not "war" in the technical sense of international law which would have required nonbelligerents to observe impartial neutrality and to regard all belligerents as legally equal.

Rights of Individuals Stressed

In both declarations of policy and the charter of the general organization the United Nations emphasized the rights and interests of individuals as well as of states. Previous coalitions have been concerned mainly with the interests of governments and states. It is true the abolition of the slave trade figured in the Vienna Conference of 1815 and the rights of minorities and of dependent peoples figured in the Paris Conference of 1919, but these were incidental to efforts to balance power or to protect the rights of nations. The

gross violations of human rights by the Axis powers and the repudiation of the principles of human liberty and equality in the philosophies of Fascism and Nazism shocked the conscience of mankind and made the four freedoms and human rights a rallying cry for the United Nations. The United Nations has therefore recognized that the sovereignty of the nations is in principle qualified by the rights of man. This policy rests no less upon the concept of a universal community of men than of a universal community of nations. The idea of world citizenship balances the idea of national self-determination in the program of the United Nations.

Development of the United Nations

The characteristics of the United Nations differentiating it from previous war coalitions have required that it develop by experience. No organization or plan of operation was set forth in the Declaration of January 1, 1942. The United Nations recognized that in an experimental situation it would be unwise to attempt the detailed solution of its workings. And the expectation that the United Nations would be permanent and eventually universal made it impossible to state all of its objectives. Collaboration, therefore, was at first decentralized and its form adapted to changing circumstances.

General meetings of the political forces of the United Nations were called when specific topics of a nonpolitical character needed study and report. These occurred at Hot Springs, Atlantic City, Philadelphia, Bretton Woods and Chicago.

The necessary political decisions for progress toward organization of the United Nations were made in special meetings of leaders of the Allies at Washington, Casablanca, Moscow, Cairo, Teheran, Quebec and Yalta.

Operations of the war were conducted by the Combined Chiefs of Staff, the Combined Boards, the Pacific Council and