

REGIONALISM AND UNIVERSALISM IN POLITICAL THOUGHT

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INTRODUCTION

Universalism and regionalism were and still are among the most controversial topics since man began to form organised communities on our planet. The vitality of the subject is not only drawn from the historical fact that universal thinking was linked with pacifist doctrines, but because it is related also nowadays to the very existence or annihilation of human civilization. This study will be confined in its treatment of the ancient, medieval and modern theories to the task of crystalizing the causal nexus, if any, between the most relevant theories and the subject under investigation.

Neither of the two ideas will be dealt with in terms of absolute superiority nor in the alternative terms of relative superiority. Both methods — if adopted — may automatically assume some degree of antagonism which this paper categorically rejects.

Regionalism as a principle and a system will be viewed here in the light of the over-all development of the idea of universalism. So observed, no antagonism or contradiction would be feasible.

The two ideas exercised a considerable influence on the theories of pacifists and world organizers. The process of adjustment and readjustment in an international organization have always aroused many questions. For example, which system would be appropriate theoretically and practically in a given time and circumstances? Is there a flexible pattern which could endure successive adaptations? Are the two ideas of universalism and regionalism incompatible and unapplicable ⁽¹⁾?

1. Charles E. Martin, *Universalism and Regionalism in International Law and Organization*, in *Cursos Monograficos*, 1959, p. 376.

It not, can they co-exist in a world organization and human community ?

For the type of universalism which was first applied in its modern sense after the First World War, regionalism may appear to be the antithesis, but as will be shown, it will appear as a phenomenon in the long evolution of the world order. The emphasis was always shifting from one pattern to the other. Whether in old empires or national states, regional agreements or international organizations, the goal was defined and fanatically defended. Each of these systems while basing itself on different grounds of revelation, ideals, or egoist interests, claim to be the only perfect application of the set of values prevailing at the time or accepted by the body politic.

After studying the corresponding implications, it may be justified in the light of the findings to state the reasons for the failure of universalism so far, and the possible broad lines along which a plan may be devised. To that end, this study will sometimes resort, in brief, to problems of international relations to find out the obstacles blocking the way.

The following study is one of the possible approaches to the subject. As the writings of many thinkers could be discussed under more than one approach, the criterion which will be adopted is to treat their ideas under the category best fitted to their characteristic and central theme with due attention to the significance and effect of their theories on the environment and current values.

I — THE CONCEPT OF UNIVERSALISM IN POLITICAL THOUGHT

The Idealistic Approach.

It would be erroneous to think that the present ideals to which the majority of mankind clings, have been recently discovered⁽²⁾. Humanity has long before tried to solve its problems in ways similar to ours in principle and goal although different in scope and approach. Universalism is, perhaps, one of the most illustrative examples of these problems.

The earliest utopias of universalism were religious and sentimental. They contemplated the unity of mankind and preached humanitarianism as a means to that end. Paganism (as distinct from organized religion) contributed to the same idea in the writings of Zeno, Seneca, and Marcus Aurelius. But all these attempts were doomed to failure for the lack of common ground and universally accepted criteria. The problem started with the formation of the first political entities and City-States. Since then, it has reflected an inward and an outward character, i.e. the core and the form, both of which were and are still blocking the way to genuine universalism. Theories and beliefs have failed so far to introduce solid bases and an applicable structure for a universal system acceptable to different peoples and environments. Some examples may help to explain the idea.

The early attempt of Alexander the Great was preceded by significant regrouping between the Greek city states. The Hellenic nation developed first from a religious body called the Amphictyonic Council which was one of the earliest recorded experiments in interstatal organization that provided a system

2. « Disarmament proposals can be traced as far back as 546 B.C. in China; universal brotherhood has been the keynote of all organised religions from the earliest days; the Middle Ages abounded in schemes for world peace and cosmopolitan unity ». See A.C.F. Beales: *The History of Peace*, London, 1931, pp. 16 - 17.

of collective security⁽³⁾. A tendency to federate the city states became apparent and later found its expression in the Confederation of the maritime States of Delos. The premature links of unity and the lack of common purpose were the main reasons behind its conflict and dissolution. With the failure of Alexander's adventures in Asia, the whole Empire which comprised a substantial part of the ancient world, collapsed.

Zeno

However, the concept of Cosmopolitanism was known to ancient Greek philosophy⁽⁴⁾. The term itself is ascribed to Diogenes who lived from 413 to 327 B.C.⁽⁵⁾ After him came several philosophers and statesmen who expressed their thoughts and ambitions in favour of universalism. Not infrequently such terms as «the citizen of the universe» and «the human community» occurred in their writings. On this same point, the text attributed to Zeno by Plutarch is quite significant⁽⁶⁾. But to which extent these ideals have been put in action is a question that still needs to be investigated. The ancient world — from which we have just quoted one of the several ideas and philosophies advocating universalism — was not lacking theorists to draw schemes for world unity. Ideologically speaking, most of these projects were reasonable, but only on paper. Practice had shown that the fate of the Graeco-Macedonian Empire was inherent in its structure. The following reasons may be relevant to this assumption.

3. Theodore Ruysen, *Les sources doctrinales de l'Internationalisme* (3 Vol., Paris 1954 - 61), Tome I, p. 28. Also Beales, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

4. Aristotle ought to be excluded because his ideal was the small and secluded City State. In his *Politics* he considered this simple sovereign City, and not the Empire, as «The highest form of social union which permits the greatest individual culture, liberty, and self government», see Elizabeth York, *Leagues of Nations*, London 1919, p. 23.

5. T. Ruysen, *op. cit.*, pp. 31,32.

6. «Zénon a écrit une République très admirée, dont le principe est que les hommes ne doivent pas se séparer en cités et en peuples ayant chacun leurs lois particulières, car tous les hommes sont des citoyens, puisqu'il y a pour eux une seule vie et un seul ordre de choses (cosmos), comme pour un troupeau uni sous la règle d'une loi commune. Ce que Zénon a écrit comme un rêve, Alexandre l'a réalisé;... il y a réuni comme en un cratère tous les peuples du monde entier;... il a ordonné que tous considèrent la terre comme leur patrie... *ibid.*, p. 32.

1 — It was clear that the Empire, since its formation, was pregnant with two fatal contradictions. From within, its structure was unstable. Although each constituent city state enjoyed some kind of autonomy in its home rule yet the sacrifice of any amount of their independence was unacceptable. The high estimation of the principles of freedom and independence cherished by the citizens made it nearly impossible for them to tolerate the links and the obligations of a vast unified empire — after the death of its founder Alexander — even if it were to provide grandeur and universal peace. So, in place of a common goal, the sole unifying tie was the military genius and aspirations of a leader which obviously cannot stimulate a healthy organic development of a universal empire⁽⁷⁾.

2 — Outside the sphere of the Hellenic metropolis, harmony was also lacking. The Empire was composed of different countries with varied political and social traditions. What made it worse was that Alexander did not introduce any ideal or ethical universality to the oppressed nations. On the contrary, some of the countries he subdued were firmly established in civilization and autonomous rule. A new philosophy or a universal ideal was the prerequisite for absorption of the established civilizations by the new vigorous one. In fact, the Greek Empire failed to supply a progressive pattern that could fascinate and persuade the new subjects to accept the invaders domination, or at least to stop resisting it. The Hellenic society itself — as the rest of the ancient societies — was divided into masters and slaves, a system which was carried to the extreme in the new colonies⁽⁸⁾. Consequently, life under the rule of the Empire did not appeal much to its peoples for the reason of being unable to secure better conditions and a universal attractive philosophy.

7. Don Luigi Sturzo, *Nationalism and Internationalism*, New York 1946, p. 217.

8. Slavery was philosophised by Aristotle who argued that some men — and here he means the barbarians in particular — were by nature created to be slaves. He even glorified war as means of obtaining wealth by reducing such barbarians to slavery. (See Aristotle, *Politics*, Book I, chs. II, VI, VIII). Plato who observed the economic role of the slaves in the City-State called them the «fellow-workers».

Thus the lack of internal harmony and external consent led to the unavoidable collapse of the world systems as conceived by Zeno and which Alexander managed to establish under his rule as the philosopher-king.

Erasmus

The inseparability of the doctrines of universalism and pacifism render a high place to the writings of Erasmus. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, universalist thinking suffered a drastic retrogression at the hands of the new theorists of the nation states. Against the ancient and medieval concepts of war, they considered that its only justification was *raison d'état*. Theorising on war and peace had no longer reference to a cosmopolitan unity manifested in the Church but to the vogue of the time : the separate Nation State. Erasmus was a pacifist rather than a universalist. Believing in humanity, he foresaw the dangers of the glorification of the State as expressed by Machiavelli and later by Hobbes. He rejected both the Graeco-Roman conception of war as a natural necessity and the Medieval conception as an inevitable consequence of the original sin⁽⁹⁾. To defend humanity he explained the horrors of war, censuring it as wholesale homicide devoid of benefits and morally unjustifiable. But he introduced no plans for perpetual peace and universalism.

The Religious Approach

Divinely revealed religions exercised a considerable influence on the ideas of universalism and regionalism. In this respect, Christianity and Islam have had something in common. They both began vigorously to preach new creeds to all mankind and did not limit themselves to «the chosen few» as did Judaism. At first, religious zeal made it easy to sweep over the majority of the then known world. But it was always difficult to achieve a decisive universal dominance. This was due either to the resistance of the already established beliefs — whether based on paganism or revelation — or to the growing internal divisions into conflicting sects.

9. Ruyssen, op. cit., p. 237.

The analysis of Ibn-Khaldun, the medieval Arab Thinker, while reflecting the situation of Medieval Islam, adds another reason that may also be relevant to any community which abandons its original zeal and simple life. He traces the causes of degeneration back to the community's transition from a militant and proselytizing state to a state of ease and abundance, and from partnership in authority to autocracy. Soon, the members of the community lose the sweetness of force and group feeling (Asabiya)⁽¹⁰⁾. Ease then reaches its peak, luxury and corruption prevail and the Asabiya collapses completely⁽¹¹⁾.

Consequently, external mounting resistance coupled with internal division and degeneration, shaped the second stage of development for the two religions. Later christian and islamic litterature showed a remarkable shift from a tendency, universal in character, to another one based on regionalism. Their modern ideologists confined themselves to the claims of establishing regional blocks or federations on religious bases. The two trends will be dealt with in some detail in this study. But we must not forget that they are, above all, divinely revealed religions. This means we must neither expect the social practice of each community to act as the source of their philosophical concepts nor the criterion of their truth. In other words, the religious approach to the subject will reflect some features other than those implied in the dynamic environment.

Dente

To begin with we must say that Christianity consecrated the whole of ancient universalist ideas and pacifist thinking in the name of a God who was the Father of all. It nullified the despot or the emperor as the symbol of heathen universalism. The emperor, although consecrated, was regarded as one of the faithful subject to the Church. But soon the conflict began

10. Hellmut Ritter calls it «the sense of solidarity», see his article: «Irrational Solidarity Groups» in *Oriens*, I, 1948, pp. 1-44; also Franz Rosenthal: *The Muqaddima*, London 1958, Vol. I, p, lxxviii.

11. Quatremère, *Muqaddima*, Vol. I, pp. 306 ff.; also Erwin Rosenthal's : *Ibn-Khaldun's gedanken über den staat*, München 1932, pp. 15 ff., and *Political Thought in Medieval Islam*, p. 88.

between the Papacy and the Empire which proved to be of far reaching effects on the unity of the Christian World. Theologians and philosophers, siding with one or the other, tried to vindicate their stand on different grounds. Contrary to Boniface VIII who defended the papal claim to secular authority, Dante championed the cause of an Emperor who derives his power directly from God and is therefore independent of the Church.⁽¹²⁾

In «De Monarchia», his prose poem, Dante used the terms Prince, Monarch, and Emperor to connote government⁽¹³⁾. The human race is best disposed when it is most like to God, that is when it is in unity, for it is in God alone that the absolute principle of unity exists. But the human race is most one when it is united in one body, which can only be when it is subject to one prince. Dante's idea of unity was firmly based on his Christian belief⁽¹⁴⁾. In his opinion, sin is departing from unity and seeking multiplicity. Concord is good because it is the uniform movement of many wills. So, when mankind is in concord and subject to one prince it is most in accordance with the divine intention⁽¹⁵⁾.

Scholars of many disciplines were deeply influenced by Dante. Huizinga says of Dante, the most profound Christian political thinker of the Middle Ages, that «the imperative demand of universal human culture as the principle of the community remains one of the most significant sayings of Dante's incompa-

12. G.H. Sabine, *A History of Political Theory*, London 1963, pp. 258 ff.

13. E. York, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

14. Another author, although having in general some cultural and religious motives, went to the extreme position of preaching non-resistance to evil and seeking to harmonise nationality and international sentiment by encouraging the study of languages. In his «Via Lucis», Johannes Comenius, the Czech educationist foreshadowed the popularization of a universal tongue (Beales, *op. cit.*, p. 33). Today, under the United Nations, the constructive role of culture for the cause of universalism was perceived as independent from any religion or political creed and received full international recognition by the establishment of UNESCO.

15. E. York, pp. 74 ff.

rabie genius»⁽¹⁶⁾. To support his definition of civilization, Huizinga quotes Dante in his saying that «the fundamental basis of imperial majesty, i.e. world monarchy, therefore truly rests upon the necessity of human civilization which is ordered and directed towards one end: the happy life».⁽¹⁷⁾

This happy life is the good life, in that providence has set man a twofold aim : earthly happiness and the bliss of eternal life, which is the joy of contemplating God.

Mazzini summarizing Dante's ideas in «De Monarchia» says that «Mankind must be one, even as God is one : one in organization as it is already one in principle. Unity requires something by which it may be represented ; hence that necessity of a unity of government.» Thus Dante was in favour of a World-State or a universal empire under the guidance of a Central Court of Justice to regulate its international affairs. It is only in so far as civil and international law approximate to the Divine Idea of Justice that the ultimate unity of mankind will be achieved. He concluded with the words of the Hebrew Poet-King David : «Behold how good and how pleasant a thing it is, brethren, to dwell together in unity»⁽¹⁸⁾.

With the advent of Islam, the doctrine of universalism was theoretically enriched to say the least. The word Islam means peace, and the message of Islam is universal. It is addressed to the whole of mankind, which was one community and which is one community⁽¹⁹⁾. The Holy Quran states that the Prophet of Islam has been sent to all men, and that he is a mercy for the universes⁽²⁰⁾. These concepts are powerful incentives to

16. Wenn die Waffen schweigen, Basel 1945, p. 22 quoted by E. Rozenthal, Political Thought in Medieval Islam, Cambridge 1962, p. 14.

17. Il Convivio IV, 4.

18. E. York, op. cit., pp. 68, 69.

19. Muhammad Hamidullah, Muslim conduct of State, Ashraf Lahore, 1945, p. 41.

20. The Holy Quran, Translation and Commentary by A. Yusuf Ali, New York 1946, (VII : 159), (XXI : 108).

establish peaceful and friendly relations between all sections of mankind. It follows that these concepts have in common a universal character. Islam also seeks to establish universal brotherhood of man as deriving directly from the unity of God, which is the corner stone of all Islamic doctrines. It is only the relationship of men to each other through God that makes them brothers. The concept of human brotherhood is emphasized by Islam through the abolition of all privileges based upon race, colour, family, rank, wealth, etc. The sole standard of honour and dignity set up by Islam is the purity and righteousness of a person's life. «To God, the most honourable among you is he who is the most righteous»⁽²¹⁾. The only criterion set up here, is right acts and good conduct in life. Islam goes further and requires belief in the truth of all the prophets who were sent to guide mankind, thus establishing in the minds of Muslims sentiments of honour and respect for the founders and the divinely inspired teachers of all faiths : Abraham, Ismail, Isaac, Jacob, Moses and Jesus⁽²²⁾. Islam proves to be the culmination of divine revelation, the «whole truth», the revelation of which had been promised to mankind through earlier Prophets.

Al-Farabi

Two doctrines on universalism from the Moslem point of view will be discussed here. The outstanding doctrine of universalism under Islam was explained by Al-Farabi, the Arab Philosopher (870-950). Influenced by the preachings of Islam and the ancient Greek Philosophy, he thought of a Universe (Ma'mura) organised on religious bases⁽²³⁾. The individual ruler attracted a great amount of his thinking as the person responsible for the organisation of the community and in whom, humanity has reached its perfection. He is the only person capable of providing virtue and happiness for his subjects as

21. Ibid., XLIX : 14.

22. Ibid., II : 137.

23. Al-Farabi, Madina Fadila, The Catholic Printing House, Beirut 1959, pp. 16, 17.

the end of political association⁽²⁴⁾. The prophetic qualification of the first ruler is discussed by Al-Farabi in his two treatises : The Ideal State (Madina Fadila), and (Siyasa Madaniya). Through the «Holy Spirit» or the «Angel Gabriel» whom Al-Farabi calls the «Active Intellect», God (The First Intellect) mediates to the first ruler's theoretical reason, a revelation which first makes him a philosopher, and then affects his imaginative faculty and practical reason making him into a prophet, a «warner» or power capable of directing men to happiness. Such a man has reached the highest degree of perfection and the utmost happiness which a human being can attain, his soul is united with the Active Intellect⁽²⁵⁾.

Al-Farabi considers this man to be the ruler or leader who is not supervised by anybody else. The prerequisites of this high temporal and religious position are twelve conditions physical and mental⁽²⁶⁾. Al-Farabi, arguing about the difficulty of finding such a perfect leader, considered him to be capable of holding the position if he enjoys seven or eight of these high qualities. His responsibilities are great. He is the Imam or leader, the first ruler over the ideal city-state, over the ideal nation and over the whole inhabited earth. Only this ruler who is endowed with the gift of prophecy can rule any or all of these perfect states mentioned above. The philosopher-prophet, according to Al-Farabi is alone qualified to help man as a citizen to reach his true human destiny, where his moral and intellectual perfection permit him to perceive God, under the guidance of the divinely revealed Muslim Law (Shari'a). The people who are ruled by the first ruler are the «excellent, best and happy citizens».

Ibn-Khaldun

Although Ibn-Khaldun demonstrates great interest in the origin, growth and decline of States, his ideas on human civi-

24. D.M. Dunlop, Al-Farabi : Fusul Al-Madani, Cambridge 1961, p. 8.

25. E. Rosenthal, op. cit., p. 128, see also the text of Al-Farabi: Siyasa Madaniya, in the Old Series Publications of Dairatul Maarif Al-Osmania, Hyderabad 1926, pp. 49, 50.

26. Al-Farabi, Madina Fadila, op. cit., pp. 105-108.

lization are also significant. His main object of writing his voluminous book on History: *Al-Ibar*, is the study of society in general and Islamic society in particular.

In connection with this study, his contribution to human history is important in view of the whole development of Moslem Historiography which became disputable since the Mu'tazilite Sect began to doubt the authenticity of the principles of the old historical school of Al-Tabari. They introduced new measures to base conviction on rational grounds and not only on the chain of authoritative sayings of Saints and historians. This means the acceptance of what is inherently reasonable and the rejection of what is not reasonable. Ibn-Khaldun's ideas of universalism can be perceived from his treatment of history as a new and useful science to rulers, princes and to the ruled. The value of this approach is obvious when we realize that authors before him — under Aristotelian influence — did not classify history among other sciences. In Ibn-Khaldun's new point of view, history is twofold in being a practical science valuable for immediate political action, and a theoretical science investigating the nature and causes of human-beings. It is simultaneously a discipline which the Islamic community considers its own, and a universal discipline transcending national boundaries⁽²⁷⁾.

Ibn-Khaldun expressed his concrete ideas on human culture and civilization in many parts of his famous Introduction (*Mugaddimah*) to *Al-Ibar*⁽²⁸⁾. Erwin Rosenthal rightly observes that his concept of universal civilization is derived from a dispassionate study of the Islamic Empire of his day, with its variety of political entities and cultural levels⁽²⁹⁾. Introducing

27. Muhsin Mahdi, *Ibn-Khaldun's Philosophy of History*, London 1957, pp. 116, 117, 137-140.

28. See in particular his views on the Ideal State and the comments on the caliphate and Imamate: Franz Rosenthal, *The Mugaddimah*, Vol. I, pp. 385 ff.; also Vol. II, p. 137.

29. Political Thought, op. cit., pp. 85, 86, also his article in *The Listener*, April 17, 1958, also Nathaniel Schmidt, *Ibn Khaldun*, New York 1930, pp. 20, 21, 29-31, also Sati Al-Husarri, *Dirasat, an Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldun*, Cairo 1953, pp. 38, 177, 235, 265, 345.

his ideas as unique in fourteenth century Islam, he considered Ibn-Kaldun's «new science of history» as a medieval witness to the premature birth of modern scientific inquiry into the human group transcending the bounds of Islam. To Ibn-Khaldun, Islam in the form of the Khilafa, is the choicest fruit of a God-guided and God-centred human association. It is the ideal, the best way to the fulfilment of man's destiny and to the attainment of happiness both in this world and in the world to come. In writing his epitome of civilization, he was not concerned with the individual believer but with the human group which he saw as the creator of culture and civilization in the natural and necessary framework of the state based on power and maintained by the force of law and arms under a single sovereign ruler⁽³⁰⁾.

Long before the time of Ibn-Khaldun, political thought in Islam was divided for various reasons, among which was the crucial problem of the causal relation between human society and philosophy. Two major schools of logic characterised the development of Islamic dialectical theology. Moslem Philosophers were faced from the beginning by a methodological problem which centred around the eternal controversy of whether to accept the objective existence of essences and essential attributes or to substitute it with an occasionalistic universe in which all effects are the direct creation of God rather than the result of causes inherent in the nature of things. To defend the religious dogmas the Ancients stood against the recognition of the material existence of universals or general notions. Paradoxically, they held the idealistic view that universals and essences are purely mental constructions with no counterpart outside the mind⁽³¹⁾.

The «Moderns», however, established the science of dialectical theology on new bases refuting the ancients' denial of

30. Muhammad Mahmoud Rabie. *The Political Theory of Ibn-Khaldun*, Leiden 1967, pp. 125 ff., 143 ff., 163 ff.

31. For more details on the pure philosophical dispute, see Muhsin Mahdi, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-110; also E. Rosenthal, *Ibn-Khaldun's attitude to the Falasifa*, in *Al-Andalus*, 20, 1955, pp. 75-85.

nature, philosophy and reason. This school which started with Al-Gazali and developed by Al-Razi was criticized by Ibn-Khaldun on the grounds that they mixed the problems of dialectical theology with those of philosophy and mysticism. The kind of philosophy he was most earnest to refute was the Neo-Platonic tendencies of Al-Farabi and the Neo-Platonic doctrines of Avicenna. While opposing the possibility of a theoretical and demonstrative knowledge of the essence of divine beings, he confirmed the doctrine of Aristotle and Averroes that the essences of divine beings cannot be directly and fully comprehended by reason⁽³²⁾.

He regretted the use of philosophy to demonstrate what it was incapable of demonstrating. The noblest of sciences has thus been absorbed into rationally baser sciences. The most universal science has been made a handmaid of sciences which are the property of a particular community. «The science of divine beings... to which the greatest of attention should be paid» has been declining⁽³³⁾. The task he set for himself was to rescue philosophy from the mixture of mysticism and dialectical theology.

The Mercantile Approach

The importance of the ideas discussed under this category emanates from the vital role they played in paving the way for the world wide capitalist system and the «free private enterprise» mode of production. An entire and completely different technique of production, transport and distribution came slowly into being. The Nation States had to adopt new policies in the fields of tariffs, free trade and fiscal systems. If we exclude the insignificant remnants of Feudalism, we can safely say that the mercantile concept, with its comprehensive infra-

32. To Ibn-Khaldun the chain of causes and effects reaches its conclusion in an Ultimate Cause, i.e. God. But he argues that we are not in a position to become acquainted with all things and the manner of their operation. See his opinion on human agnosticism in: T.J. de Boer, *The History of Philosophy in Islam*, London 1903, pp. 203-207.

33. *Lubab Al-muhassal fi usul al-din*, fols. 3V-4r, quoted by Mahdi, op. cit., p. 80.

structure, was the first one in human history to enjoy for some time a universal application in Europe and overseas. It is justified to say that the principal element in modern cosmopolitanism, as it has developed since 1850, is a common economic and scientific culture⁽³⁴⁾.

Emeric Crucé

The doctrinal geneses of the new system may be traced back to J. Bodin or Emeric Crucé, with whom the following lines will deal. In his book, «Le Nouveau Cynée», a new trend was in the making. Here another philosophy appears that is willing to preach universalism and to transcend the prevailing differences of religion and race. His plan meets the «Grand Design» of Sully to a certain point, i.e. the preference of a federation rather than a sovereign authority of the medieval type. But the clear universal tendency of Crucé makes the resemblance only superficial⁽³⁵⁾. Crucé believed in a human society all of whose members have a common bond. He declared that «Supposing that we could obtain a universal peace, the finest fruit of it would be the establishment of commerce»⁽³⁶⁾. No wonder then, that his plan laid down rules for safeguarding free transit and exterminating piracy. Here, we can draw the inference that the tight structure of the Feudalist System, with all its restrictions on trade and production, was no longer tolerable to the new industrial interests which were trying to make their weight felt and to establish a firm stand in European life ideologically and economically. These new features were confirmed by the universal character of his plan. In his proposed League of States, he suggested an open membership to Christian as well as to non-Christian States and races⁽³⁷⁾. Conflicting states should not resort to war but to a tribunal of arbitration to solve their disputes and ensure peaceful cooperation necessary to promote commerce in Europe and abroad.

34. Pitman B. Potter, *International Organization*, New York 1948, p. 44.

35. A.C.F. Beales, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 29; also T. Ruyssen, *op. cit.*, p. 483.

37. T. Ruyssen, *op. cit.*, pp. 287-289.

Among other plans based on universalism was the draft of the French thinker Fourier. Charles Fourier discussed on the same mercantile ground, although with some socialist manifestations, his point of view that social harmony should prepare for universal harmony. This will help to establish universal peace under the unique monarchial Empire⁽³⁸⁾.

The hardships resulting from the application of the new system provoked a flow of comment and criticism among the Humanitarians, particularly in Europe. An English scholar while revealing the repercussions of this trend of thoughts and practice called it «the spirit of commercialism», and classified it as one of the three forces hostile to the international idea⁽³⁹⁾. Although Muir argues that in most civilised states the commercial influence on the whole makes for peace, he admits that «the spirit of commercialism has led to many wars provoked by the desire to gain access to, or control over, particular markets more especially in undeveloped areas». These conflicts coupled with the antagonism between the colonised peoples and colonial powers undermined the possibility of any universal understanding which is necessary to secure lasting universal order.

The Marxist Approach

Universalism will be discussed here in the light of Dialectical Materialism only. This means that reference will not be made to earlier Dialectical Philosophies.

Marx — Engels

Karl Marx, the founder of Scientific Socialism, regarded the theories of Historical Materialism and the Class-Struggle as generally applicable to all societies and all times. The class had for Marx a collective unity as the nation had for Hegel ; it acts in History as a unit and it produces its characteristic

38. Ibid, Tome III, pp. 475, 476.

39. Ramsay Muir, Nationalism and Internationalism, London 1916, pp. 195 ff.

ideas and beliefs as a unit, acting under the compulsion of its place in the economic system⁽⁴⁰⁾. Marx states the law of the division of labour lies at the root of the division into classes. In all human societies the distribution of products, and with it the division of society into classes or states, is determined by what is produced, how it is produced and how the product is exchanged. According to this conception, the ultimate causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought in the changes in the mode of production and exchange, and thus not in the philosophy but in the economics of the epoch concerned. Due emphasis was laid on the role of the working class to achieve communist universalism. Engels defended the idea that : «..... to carry through this world- emancipating act, is the historical mission of the modern proletariat. And it is the task of Scientific Socialism ...to establish the historical conditions and, with these, the nature of this act, and thus to bring to the consciousness of the now oppressed class the conditions and nature of the act which it is its destiny to accomplish»⁽⁴¹⁾. A development of the productive forces by Capitalism will of necessity lead to Socialism under the dictatorship of the Proletariat which in turn will strive to realize Communism, i.e. the universal classless Society.

Liu Shao-Chi

It may be of interest to investigate the recent opinion of a Chinese marxist on the method of implementing universalism and its inter-relationships with nationalism⁽⁴²⁾. Liu Shao-Chi begins by confirming that the Marxist Doctrine is opposed to bourgeois nationalism and supports liberated nationalism. He shows that the proletarian internationalist approach to the national question proceeds from the basic interests of the masses of a nation and, at the same time, from the basic interests of the masses of the people of all nations, that is, of all mankind. The

40. G.H. Sabine, op. cit., pp. 772, 775, 776.

41. F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, 1878, pp. 292 ff.; 305-10.

42. Liu Shao-Chi, *Internationalism and Nationalism*, Peking 1954, p. 8.

proletariat advocates the complete equality, voluntary association and voluntary separation of all nations, both at home and in the family of nations. The gradual movement towards world unity can be achieved through different concrete paths such as voluntary separation and voluntary association. The separation he means here is the emancipation of the colonies, after which they can voluntarily unite on equal bases, and this he defines as voluntary association.

It would be of interest to dedicate a separate study to the Marxist stand on this problem in the nuclear age. However, the difference on the problem of universalism is one of the vital components of the Sino-Soviet conflict. The communist doctrine holds that the resistance of any fading social system - and not only the Capitalist — becomes more fierce and reaches its peak when this system is approaching a state of dissolution to the benefit of the new one. Proceeding from this point, we may ask : If so understood, will any social system hesitate to use all the means it has — including a possible ultimate weapon — to defend itself in a battle of life and death ? Furthermore, is peaceful coexistence another term for the balance of power in the nuclear age ? Whatever the answers may be, unfortunately falling outside the scope of this paper, one cannot avoid the conclusion that peaceful coexistence, which is in a way the crystallization of a status-quo under mutual deterrence, by-passes for the meantime the theory of communist universalism as originally perceived by earlier marxists⁽⁴³⁾.

What matters now, is that the cause of universalism instead of suffering from a dual division of ideology between the two major world systems, capitalism and communism, is endangered by the rift within the Communist World itself.

43. This may explain the accusation of the Soviet theoretical interpretation on this problem as revisionist, and contrary to the Marxist Doctrine, while the Soviets in turn retaliate by accusing the Chinese as dogmatic.

*The Legal Approach**Immanuel Kant*

As is usual with all theories, the idea of universalism has undergone several changes and revisions. During the days of Kant, (the Eighteenth Century), the religious cause was no longer offered as the main base for universal order. Philosophers had to look for a new ground for their plans, and this they found in law. Characteristic in this category, are the writings of Jeremy Bentham and Immanuel Kant. The difference in this respect between Bentham, the father of Utilitarianism, and Kant lies in Bentham's proposals for the establishment of a «Permanent court of Judicature» and the abandonment of all colonies, thus putting his hand on one of the principal obstacles to universalism and international understanding.

Immanuel Kant's plan for Perpetual Peace: «Zum Ewigen Frieden», was considered more important than Rousseau's or than any other except Dante's for the reason that he bascs it on no dynastic or imperialistic aims, but on Right — that is the Law of Nature, or the Law of God⁽⁴⁴⁾.

Parallelism has been argued between Kant's work and that of Dante. In fact, although the former accepted the theory of the Nation State and rejected the trend of enlarging the nation into a Cosmopolis, formally he is far from being identical with the opinion of Dante. He preferred federation to a World State, for the psychological reason that law weakens as territory expands. He expressed his belief that every State must submit to a system of International Right founded upon public laws conjoined with power. Kant used the process of State formation to prefigure as analogous development among States towards world federation. He confirmed that all the Rights of Nations and all the external property of States acquirable or maintainable by war are merely provisory and can only become final or preemptory in a universal Union of States⁽⁴⁵⁾.

44. E. York, op. cit., p. 260.

45. Clarence Morris, *The Great Legal Philosophers*, Philadelphia 1959, p. 260.

The complications of territorial extension of such Union of States will bring another state of war. Thus perpetual peace, which is the ultimate end of all the Rights of Nations, becomes an unrealisable ideal. Although this may seem to be a mistaken assumption in the long run, yet the conditions prevailing in his time demonstrates some verifiability to his assumption. To guarantee eternal peace and to put the universal union in action Kant proposed the abolition of armies⁽⁴⁶⁾ and the adoption of the principle of non-intervention, both of which were then unrealizable.

The League of Nations' Covenant

In modern times the legal approach culminated in the formation of an international organization. The most powerful impulse in the direction of the establishment of a League of Nations was manifested in an American private group in 1914 called the League to Enforce Peace⁽⁴⁷⁾ They gained moral support by the adoption of their programme by President Wilson, which then became part of post-war American official policy. From among the many European schemes submitted to the Commission for drafting the Covenant, only a combination of the English and American drafts furnished the basis of discussion.

Aware of the complications and rivalries which the concepts of the Balance of Power and the Holy Alliance brought, President Wilson stipulated in his Plan that, «There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power ; not organised rivalries, but an organised common peace ; all nations henceforth (must) avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power».

The structure of the League had the character of a loose federal union, with a few traits of unitary power. Common

46. Christian L. Lange, *Histoire de la Doctrine Pacifique et son influence sur le développement du Droit International*, Recueil des Cours, 1926, III, p. 352.

47. Pitman B. Potter, *op. cit.*, pp. 241 ff.

agencies were created and entrusted with certain powers for the performance of certain functions according to certain procedures. Functionally, two major ends characterised the League ; first peace and security, and secondly, the promotion of international cooperation.

Many reasons have been given for the failure of the League. What counts here, in relevance to the subject, is the nature of the League. Being more european in character than international, hindered the League from dealing adequately with world problems and in a way acceptable to the majority of non-europeans. Its partial success in some technical aspects can not be taken as a criterion because this could be done at a higher level perhaps in regional organizations. As a first experiment in wide-scale international organization, the League ought not to bear the whole blame for its failure. Its incapacity to carry on its responsibility is also due to its limited membership and to the division of the world into imperialist countries and subjected nations. With the persistence of this division, neither the League of Nations nor any other international organisation could have succeeded. So, in the field of creating a common ground and a universal order based on law, the League did not surpass previous attempts.

The United Nations Charter

The beginning of the Second World War put an end — at least in practice — to the League of Nations. It has proved true during the League's time as well as now under the United Nations that no international understanding or organisation can survive unless it is backed by the free opinion of all nations throughout the world. Before the war came to an end, many plans were already drafted to find out the best effective world system. One of the American concepts contends that all what is required in the way of international organisation after the war, is a continuation of the military alliance between the big powers. The inapplicability of this idea is due, first, to the lesson drawn from human history that no military alliances have lasted for more than a few years. Secondly, it would be

naive to think that the rest of the nations had suffered merely to replace the threat and domination of Nazism with a new form of world dictatorship⁽⁴⁸⁾.

Another important plan was to give full representation and protection to the interests of the smaller nations by building the world organisation upon a foundation of regional systems⁽⁴⁹⁾. This was based on the fact that the states of each region are both familiar with the nature of their problems, and thus capable of elaborating constructive solutions. The plan secures a strong position for the Big Powers, particularly the United States and Britain. By introducing the regional system of representation, the two countries — besides having one vote for each — can participate in and to a certain extent, influence the election of the two representatives of the Western Hemisphere in — the case of the United States — and the two regional representatives of Europe, in the case of Britain. There is still another advantage for Britain, that is her right to participate in the selection of a representative for the British Dominions. In the economic field, the plan discussed the possible measures of encouraging the development of financial policies and to lift the artificial trade barriers to help neutralize the dangers of ultra-nationalism, and to maintain peace. This trend, however, received more attention in the Charter than the Covenant.

These two plans and many others, although not fully implemented, helped the framers of the Charter to find their way. The United Nations Organisation which they established is in general another League of Nations or a loose federal union. The Charter in fact did not constitute a unitary world state⁽⁵⁰⁾. But new progress was displayed by these plans. The colonial system which contributed to the League's failure, was not condoned in the new schemes. Some of them even put equal emphasis on the importance of universal recognitions of

48. Sumner Welles, *The Time for Decision*, London 1945, p. 286.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 290-292.

50. For further comparison between the Charter and the Covenant, see Eagleton in *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 13, p. 263.

the inalienable right of everybody to enjoy freedom of religion, information, and speech, together with the necessity of emancipating subjected peoples⁽⁵¹⁾. Welles — coming in line with the early teachings of J. Bentham to abandon the colonies — rightly observes the impossibility of maintaining peace and world stability if the universe is to be kept divided after the war into imperial powers and colonies. Not less important is the stress laid on the need to join hands economically at least in the beginning to bridge the dangerous gap in the international sphere between the haves and have nots. It is only with such far-sighted views and efforts, that international relations could be once more normalised, and one of the main handicaps to universal understanding removed.

51. S. Welles, *op. cit.*, pp. 294, 295.

II — THE CONCEPT OF REGIONALISM IN POLITICAL THOUGHT

After these successive attempts in theory and practice, it became evident that the World not only lacks a commonly accepted ideology but also that its infra-structure is too imbalanced to respond harmoniously to any kind of supra-national Philosophy. With each crisis in erecting a universal system, regionalism appeared to be the only possible alternative to further the same end of world organization, and at the same time avoid the difficulties of universalism. Regionalism, therefore, is not a modern theory or a new trend in international organization.

The Religious Approach

Two reasons were mentioned above in discussing the religious approach to universalism which both revealed the difficulty of achieving a decisive universal dominance for any religion. Universalism fostered by religious causes then gave its place to regional and federative tendencies.

In the Christian World we find that Christendom seemed to have a tendency to imperial character by creating the Franco-Roman Empire with Charlemagne, then the Holy Roman Empire (Roman-Germanic), or by tending to unify Christendom in the medieval Papacy. It was not easy to maintain political stability either because of the feudal character of the new Europe which was emerging from the remains of the Roman-Barbarian epoch, or because of the inner — and unavoidable — conflict between Papacy and Empire.

The universe was further divided by the emergence of the new Islamic system which was at the time more theocratic and militant than medieval Christendom. This culminated, after several clashes, in the abandonment of the Iberian Peninsula to the Moslem Empire, the fall of the Byzantium Empire and the taking of Jerusalem. These events more or less furnished

the background of the christian theories of regionalism. Some thinkers advocated the idea of unity in the Christian World to face the new religion and empire. Others went further and theorised the concept of taking the offensive.

Pierre Dubois

From the imperial side some treatises were written on the organization of the Christian World during the 14th Century. Pierre Dubois, an advisor of Philip le Bel of France, wrote a plan advocating for the first time a Federation of Christian Sovereign States. Dubois held that peace was the summum bonum (the highest good) among Christian nations, and that therefore a Council of the Nations should be established, ministering to the needs of the federated member States in their dealings one with another and deciding quarrels by means of arbitration⁽⁵²⁾. His plan was impractical for two reasons, First, it was doubtful whether other States would have accepted his idea that France should step into the international position assigned by medieval thought to the empire and left vacant by its weakness. The second reason reflects a contradicting character. On one hand he thought of a plan to renew the crusades, and defines the pre-eminent duty of the proposed Council of Nations to be the subjugation of the Turks. On the other hand, we find that under the declared aim of reforming the Church, he suggests many drastic measures, among which were the transference of ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the King's Courts and the surrender of the Papal territory in return for an annual pension.

The idea of a Holy War against the infidel was later echoed in the Plan of Podiebrad, King of Hungary⁽⁵³⁾ for the purpose of realising peace in the Christian World by means of warfare

52. G. H. Sabine, op. cit., p. 267, also A. Beales, op. cit., p. 23; also T. Ruyssen, op. cit., pp. 170, 171.

53. ...il est plus que temps pour les princes chrétiens de s'unir pour: « défendre les Etats de la République (chrétienne), mener contre les infidèles des guerres heureuses protéger et étendre les frontières de la République... », quoted by Ruyssen, op. cit., pp. 177 ff.

outside its religious frontiers. The modern and adventurous theory of the preventive war may well be related to the ideas of Podiebrad, though it has always proved a failure to try to preserve peace within by means of war or aggression outside the regional boundaries.

AL-Kawakibi

In the Moslem World, another Arab thinker Abdul-Rahman Al-Kawakibi (d. 1902) developed in his book «Ummul-Kura» a comprehensive Scheme and a Statute for the establishment of an «Islamic University» designed to link all the Moslem countries⁽⁵⁴⁾. His conception of Moslem regionalism could be considered, *prima facie*, as a cultural approach to the subject. But the structure of the proposed organisation and the goals to be achieved leave no doubt in connection with his religious aims.

To ensure the smooth functioning of the University, he planned the formation of three committees. Subsidiary local branches are to supplement the organisation all over the Moslem World. Thus, the Islamic University is to include a general body called the Assembly, an Executive, and an Advisory Board⁽⁵⁵⁾. A Moslem Conference would be entrusted with the constituting authority of this University. Kawakibi was a man of fertile imagination, and although no conference took place in reality he treated his idea in a dialogue-formula assuming the conference to be actually held. In the Preamble to the Statute of the Islamic University, he revealed the motives of its establishment. He attributed the general decline of the Moslem World to ignorance and particularly the ignorance of the preachings of Islam. Rulers, savants, and the Moslem clergy are to be blamed for this backwardness. The purpose of the University was defined as the body responsible for the reform, the enacting of rules for education and the pursuation of the new Moslem generation to study and educate themselves. Kawakibi was

54. B. Boutros-Ghali, *Kawakibi and the Moslem University*, *Revue Egyptienne de Droit International*, Vol. 13, 1957, p. 19.

55. *Ibid*, pp. 29, 30.

emphatically convinced of the role that education can play in coping with the state of decline, and in furnishing the necessary prerequisite for political struggle and action.

The great emphasis he laid upon education — which was not the only or even the principal cause of the decline — was motivated by another factor. As an Arab activist, he suffered much in his short life in the hands of Turkish oppression. This may explain the tendency to treat in disguise his real aspiration to develop the educational Association into a Cultural Moslem University as a step forward towards the formation of a political Moslem University or Party. Reaching this stage is supposed to facilitate the establishment of regional regrouping on religious bases in the shape of an Islamic Federal Government comprising the Moslem World⁽⁵⁶⁾.

His ideas, however, did not materialise at once. But the several Moslem conferences which were held since then, and even the Arab League — to a certain extent — are indebted to his thinking.

The Mercantile Approach

William Penn

In 1694, an interesting scheme for organizing Europe was advanced by William Penn (the son of the founder of Jamaica) in his «Plan for the Permanent Peace of Europe». He spent a great deal of his life as a Quaker missionary in the new Continent of America defending the ideals of independent thought and speech against European autocracy and intolerance⁽⁵⁷⁾. His regional tendencies can be found in his proposals for a European Sovereign or Imperial Diet. The essence of his Plan is similar to that of Crucé in contending that by avoiding wars, an increase is possible in trade and commerce. The only difference was that Penn thought in terms of regionalism and European

56. Ibid, pp. 27, 28.

57. E. York, op. cit., pp. 125-153 also Beales, op. cit., pp. 31, 32.

re-organisation. But in form, it was apparent that his Plan was somewhat influenced by the Grand Design of Sully. He contended that by the same rules of justice and prudence by which parents and masters govern their families, magistrates their cities, estates their republics, and princes and Kings their principalities and Kingdoms, Europe may obtain and preserve peace among her sovereignties.

His devout pacifism was not only confined to the realms of religion and ethics, but it also expressed a conscious outcry against the futile wars which handicapped the trade movement with the New World. A Permanent International Tribunal was to be set up by the sovereigns of Europe. It was to consist of ninety representatives chosen by a system of proportional representation, and meeting every year to discuss and settle all differences which had not been successfully settled by diplomatic means. The Tribunal was to give its decisions by means of a ballot, with a minimum majority of three quarters of the votes.

The problem of this plan as in other plans of that time was how to reconcile the extreme national consciousness or sovereignty with the competence of the tribunal to establish rules of justice which would endow it with judicial powers that could limit the sovereignty of the member States. As one of the Quakers, he considered the employment of force to constrain a stubborn State to abide by an arbitrated award as contrary to their principles, thus giving no solution to the problem.

The Socialist Approach

Saint-Simon

Saint-Simon, the utopian socialist, exercised great influence on Auguste Comte and positivism. He was an advocate of a new science of society and of the abolition of economic inequalities. He was himself influenced by Saint-Pierre's «Project for Settling Perpetual Peace in Europe». St. Simon wrote his famous brochure «The Reorganisation of the European Society» at the time of the congress of Vienna of 1815. He was a

co-author of other important works of the day such as *L'Industrie*, *La Politique*, *Le Système Industriel*.

His contribution to regional thinking is well illustrated by the main idea he expressed in his plan. He considered that durable peace is unattainable unless it is adapted to the new conditions of a world changed by the American and French revolutions together with the changing patterns of world economy⁵⁸. For that reason, he demanded a break with the tradition of considering peace treaties as merely truces between wars. Admiring the principles of the two revolutions and the English parliamentary system, he advocated the transformation of sovereign power from the monarchy to the people. France and England, then, must unite in initiating the adoption of the parliamentary system of government all over Europe instead of the hierarchical or feudal system. Europe would have the best possible system if all the nations it comprised are governed internally by parliaments and recognize a kind of supra-national body or general parliaments, as he calls it, to settle their disputes.

The structure, the functioning and the membership of the bodies and parliaments he proposed reveal the character of his plan. The peace which Emeric Crucé demanded to promote Commerce in a universal human society, was reiterated by Saint-Simon on other grounds, to furnish the necessary atmosphere, stability and cooperation within Europe to support and strengthen industrialism as the base of the new society and culture.

The Legal Approach

Sully

The famous plan of the Grand Design was drafted in 1603 by Henry IV and his minister Sully. Sully, who enjoyed a good deal of tolerance, aspired to make the people of the different Christian Sects live together in peace within the «*Respublica Christiana*». It had as its political object the despoilation of most of the Holy Roman Empire's possessions in Europe. This

58. T. Ruyssen, op. cit., Tome III, pp. 464, 465.

being done, Europe was to be divided in equal proportions among fifteen States of three different types. These are : six great hereditary Monarchical Powers, five elective Kings and four sovereign Republics⁵⁹. The division of Europe was supposed to help in avoiding any future uneven balance of power.

A particular role had been reserved for law in his Grand Design. The Laws and Statutes were stipulated to cement the union of all these States, and to maintain order. All States were to be represented in a General Council modeled on the Amphictyonic Council of Ancient Greece with some modifications⁶⁰. Its members would include ministers, commissioners, and plenipotentiaries from all the Powers of the Christian Republic. The competence of the Council would cover the discussions of their different interests, the settlement of their quarrels and, furthermore, throw light on the civil, political, and religious affairs of Europe both internal and foreign. Members of the Council would be subject to re-election every three years. Beside the General Council, there would be a number of Minor Councils. These could have recourse by appeal to the General Council whose decisions, however, would be irrevocable. The Plan provided some measures and rules for the supply of soldiers and war-ships by every State. The General Council was entrusted with the power of deciding the quota for each State.

Although we notice that the Grand Design was merely one of the ideas for European understanding and organization, yet it offered the raw material for many plans based on regional regrouping. Its historical value lies in its conception of a federal partnership among sovereign States. Equally important was the detailed scheme of machinery, and the idea of resorting to combined sanctions of force to execute orders when good faith failed.

Hugo Grotius.

The great scholar is discussed here under the heading of regionalism because of the idea he advanced to establish a

59. E. York, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-102; also T. Ruyssen, *op. cit.*, Tome I, pp. 308, 314-320; also A. Beales, p. 28.

60. See above, the Amphictyonic Council, p. 325.

«Congress of Christian Powers». Grotius discussed his concept from a purely legal point of view. He was against the tendency of Bodin to mix politics with jurisprudence. His importance in the history of jurisprudence is the elaboration of a concept of law to regulate the relations between sovereign states. The vitality of such a contribution must be seen against the chaotic background and disorder of Seventeenth Century Europe. The situation was worsened by the breakdown of the clerical restraint of the medieval church coupled with the introduction of Machiavellian theory and behaviour. Force became the arbiter between the newly formed absolute monarchies. Religious hatred and wars following the Reformation, added to the inflammable European interrelations⁶¹.

The rights of men and the causes of war were among the many subjects he dealt with to replace the rule of force by a well founded legal base applicable to their mutual relations. He argued that Rights common to all must be conferred by something wider in its scope than the statutes of a particular state. These Rights are derived from natural law which is the dictate of right reason. Natural law is itself independent of institutions, human or divine. It recognizes the inherent qualities of actions as good or bad.

His humanitarianism led him to criticize the prevailing conditions in Europe. «I saw prevailing throughout the Christian world a license in making war of which even barbarous nations would have been ashamed. Recourse was to arms for slight reasons or no reason ; and when arms were once taken up, all reverence for divine and human law was thrown away, just as if men were thenceforth authorized to commit all crimes without restraint⁶²».

Speaking about his Book, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, leads us to compare his ideas with other previous schemes on the subject. Many of these plans as discussed above, stand short of providing

61. G.H. Sabine, op. cit., pp. 416, 421.

62. *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, 1625, Prolegomena, 28, quoted by T. J. Lawrence in : *The Principles of International Law*, London, p. 27.

any rules of conduct which were to determine the ordinary intercourse or relations between states as distinct from crises. Grotius tried to prove that each State enjoyed a system of law which served its own interests, and this indicated that there was a higher law, divine in origin, established in the interests of all nations. He regarded human nature as the Mother of Natural Law which he distinguished from the law of Christ⁶³. The regional organization he conceived as suitable to solve the problems of Europe under the rule of law was a proposed Congress for Christian Powers. International disputes between these States would be settled by impartial outsiders. So, his real contribution was in the code of rules which were to be ratified by the powers as laws determining their relations, and so founded the modern science of International Law, or more precisely, «he divides the lay science of International Law from the Church's tradition»⁶⁴.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau

The writings of Rousseau in «The Social Contract» and «Discourse on the Origin of Inequality» greatly influenced all subsequent political thought. Both in the ethics of Kant and the idealism of Hegel, the concepts of Rousseau can easily be traced⁶⁵. His concept of nationalism is one of these examples. Rousseau did not believe in the system of large states and even contended that free citizenship was impossible in any form of large States. He preferred a type of small States with a prevailing rural economy and loosely federated with other similar communities⁶⁶. Small States in his opinion are more patriotic, moral and prosperous than the large States. Being vulnerable to aggression by big Powers, he finds it necessary for the small States to join in Federations to defend their ideals of Peace and Liberty⁶⁷.

63. E. York, op. cit., p. 108.

64. F.M. Stawell, Growth of International Thought, 1929, p. 121.

65. G.H. Sabine, op. cit., p. 594.

66. Ibid, p. 593; also E. York, op. cit., pp. 192, 193.

67. Christian L. Lange, op. cit., p. 314.

Rousseau made his ideas of regionalism more vivid in his «Judgment on a Plan for Perpetual Peace» of 1761. As his Plan was based on that of the Abbé de St. Pierre, it may be useful to review the main points of St. Pierre's Project for Settling Perpetual Peace in Europe. In Article I St. Pierre provided for the establishment of a permanent and perpetual Union between the Sovereigns taking part. The Union was to be enlarged to include all Christian Sovereigns if possible. He chose Utrecht to be the City of Peace and the seat of his proposed Congress of Representatives or Senate⁶⁸.

In Article IV, which is supposed to be the back bone of his Plan, St. Pierre expected that the Sovereigns and their successors would satisfy themselves with the actual territories in their possession thus giving up expansionist ambitions.

Rousseau in commenting on this Plan, attempted to succeed (where St. Pierre failed) in pushing the international machine to function by guaranteeing the existing status quo. Trying to avoid the rigidity implied in the stipulation of a perpetual status quo, he offered the suggestion of making it subject to modification by resorting to arbitration only. As a useful tool, he recommended the drafting of a Code of International Law and for its amendment by the unanimous vote of the Diet or Congress⁶⁹. Rousseau himself understood that the interests of the princes would effectively postpone its realisation. His Plan suffered from another major defect. This was the guarantee rendered to the Sovereigns against popular internal uprisings, which served later as the cornerstone of the Holy Alliance of 1815 and also the charters of some recent regional organizations.

After the defeat of Napoleon in Waterloo, the only way Europe could find was offered by the Congress of Vienna in the form of the Holy Alliance⁷⁰ which was an early model of

68. E. York, op. cit., pp. 171-175.

69. C.L. Lange, op. cit., p. 313.

70. Ibid, pp. 357-360.

reactionary regional understanding. The efforts of the despots to maintain lasting peace through military alliances for the repression of human freedom and the perpetuation of a reactionary status quo, utterly failed. The popular revolutions of 1848 in Europe brought the downfall of the remnants of the Holy Alliance.

Two schools of thought emerged after the First World War. The first comprised the supporters of a world peace organization, and the second consisted of those who, having less confidence in the possible success of a vast organization, argued that any such organization should have a regional basis. The former defended the Covenant of the League of Nations as the post-war manifestation of universalism, while the latter stressing the existence of geographical, political and economic differences, were in favour of setting up more specific groups linked with the new institution. From their conceptions sprang the ideas of decentralisation, continentalism and modern regionalism⁷¹.

The regional systems of the inter-war period may be considered as a logical reaction to the first experiment in international organization. The competence of the League which was sometimes viewed as exaggerated, was neither unanimously welcomed nor understood. Against the background and legacy of the national state ideology, modern regionalism, particularly after the Second World War, introduced the new criteria of supra-national feelings and the recognition of the higher interest of the region at large. So, as an experiment — whether fully or partially successful — it indicates the possibility of establishing larger human groupings, on bases other than those hitherto known. More important and significant perhaps is the process of dragging this contention from the realm of idealism to the world of realism. With its effects transcending national boundaries, regionalism cannot escape the aftermath reflected in the differences of interests and opinions. This is legitimately expected for a doctrine standardizing new principles for the external and internal functions of the State.

71. The Czechoslovak Yearbook of International Law, London, March 1942, p. 135.

As a concept, regionalism must not be understood as advocating monism, because, if so perceived, it will not go beyond nationalism or sectionalism. This, whether it finds expression in ethnological factors, economic interests, or bonds of tradition and language, is but an aspect of the whole structure. Regionalism which comprises all these factors within its boundaries stands, therefore, halfway between the national State and the federal entity.

Modern regionalism has been attributed to four basic reasons : technological, economic, humanitarian and need for security. The security factor has been given special importance in the interwar period because of the repeated failure of the League of Nations to curb aggression and maintain peace. Since the First World War, regional thinking has been increasingly engaged in the problems of technology and economics, as problems of a certain nature that cannot be solved satisfactorily by individual states or within the national boundaries⁷². Experience shows that comprehensive planning and utilization of technological developments are impossible without an over-all organization equipped to deal with such matters.

In the economic sphere, the declared aims of the European Economic Community explain the idea behind Western European regionalism. They put as their targets, the abolition of trade barriers and the speeding up of technical progress. It is interesting to note that the European regional movement after the Second World War started with the Coal and Steel Community which later led to the Common Market, and Euratom. Contrary to the inter-war concept of regionalism, the three communities, just mentioned, share the same organizational framework. Their separate executives, which are understood to be independent of governments, take their decisions by majority vote and are subject to a common parliamentary and judicial control. The plan of abolishing the

72. Arnold Brecht in *Regionalism and World Organization*, Washington, p. 14.

national economic frontiers by 1970 and setting up a common external tariff, intends to replace national trade, agricultural and transport policies by Community policies. The far goal of the European Community to establish the United States of Europe asserts the theoretical conception of regionalism as standing between the national state and the federal entity.

The discussion of humanitarianism, whether on regional or universal scale, cannot be separated from the theory of State sovereignty. Before this theory came into force, divine and natural laws were presumed to have the same validity everywhere, and were, therefore, to be applied by courts and magistrates even against the express orders of crathly governments⁷³. Jurists afterwards adopted the new theory, and defended the contention that no judge is permitted to substitute ideas of divine or natural law in place of the clear directions given him by the sovereign body of his country. Conversely, a modern trend of thought claims that some fundamental elements of justice should be considered by judges everywhere in the world as mandatory principles, even if not guaranteed by formal constitutions, and even if statutes or decrees direct the judge to the contrary⁷⁴. The practical way of securing these minimum standards of justice is to incorporate them in a kind of supra-national constitution or the stipulations of regional charters.

To conclude, regional thinking has developed enormously, and undergone several changes. It started preaching regionalism on religious bases, then developed to another shape characterised by geographical and military factors. But the most advanced shape was the transition to large scale technical regionalism where membership is not conditioned by the out-moded reservations based on differences of culture, race, religion and social system. From the functional point of view, the new transition differs qualitatively from the old conceptions of regionalism.

73. Ibid, p. 17.

74. Ibid, pp. 17 ff.

III. — PROSPECTS OF REGIONALISM AND UNIVERSALISM

Coexistence between Regionalism and Universalism

Is there any contradiction in the implementation of the two concepts ? Can we deal with the principle of regionalism in the absolute terms of right and wrong ? Furthermore, can the two principles functionally coexist in practice ?

Military and technical regionalism

Regionalism is considered as an intermediate stage between administrative decentralization and federalism. The tendency to regionalism which became clearer after the First World War was intended to diminish the conflicts and wars caused by the free exercise of the sovereignty of each state⁷⁵. The failure of the interwar regional organizations was inescapable since member states were merely grouped in these organizations with their sovereignty and freedom of action left completely intact, so making the hoped for goals of preserving peace and prohibiting aggression unattainable⁷⁶. Taking a lesson from the past, regionalism achieved undenied progress after the Second World War. Most of the post-war regional organizations were keen to limit the absolute sovereignty of their member states. Acquiring important features of sovereignty, previously retained by States, the modern regional bodies enjoyed a new character of supra-nationality which proved to be useful in handling regional problems. Another merit of regional organizations is that the establishment and enforcement of higher standards of justice are easier within regionalism than universalism⁷⁷. The greatest advantage, perhaps, is that regionalism has materialised and established new traditions, while universalism is still in its infancy.

The achievements of regional organizations cannot be denied, especially in the fields of technology and culture. But the evil side of these organizations must also not be ignored,

75. Czechoslovak Yearbook of International Law, op. cit., p. 141.

76. Ibid, pp. 137, 139, 140.

77. Arnold Brecht, Regionalism and World Organisation, p. 21.

i.e. the military regional organizations. There, real danger emanates from the nature of circumstances giving rise to their establishment. Their formation after the war as a reaction to the Nazi Philosophy and aggression left its mark on the scope and character of their activities. No doubt that ideological conflict between the two systems resulted in harsh military policies, but the fact remains that fears and scepticism were there from the beginning. Even in the inter-war period, the interpretation of the term «regional understanding» differed as to whether it is an agreement *between* powers of one region or an agreement *concerning* a specified region⁷⁸. The difference between the two terms «between and concerning», demonstrates that the problem in its essence is the scepticism and underestimation of the League's capacity (as well as the United Nations) to preserve the status-quo and interests in certain regions, rather than a mere grouping of neighbouring countries. It is clear that the second term «concerning», permits the inclusion of outsiders regardless of geographical requirements. Implementing this interpretation — after the Second World War — in some military regional organization as the NATO and the SEATO, may verify this assumption.

These military organizations accelerate mutual fears and distrust. They promote the narrow views and policies of the past from the national level to the regional standard, thus worsening the international situation. They even surpass the dangers of extreme nationalism by adding the fresh stimuli of regional fanaticism and hatred based on the kind of social system or culture. The only result of military regional organizations can be no other than the policies of the positions of strength, the brink of war, confrontation and the balance of terror. In a word, military, regional organizations fail where they tried to succeed. And if a general nuclear war has not broken out till now, it is only because scientific progress in the field of wholesale destruction has prevented the conflict of the two blocks from reaching the point of real explosion. Evidently, this could not be considered, in any way, as a triumph to military regional organizations. On the other hand, a slight

78. Czechoslovak Yearbook, op., cit., pp. 135, 136.

but increasing hope can be attributed to the efforts of the Afro-Asian Group and particularly those nations which follow the third way of positive neutralism.

If we try at this stage of discussion to answer the question of whether this type of regionalism coincide or not with the ideal of universalism, we shall find that full antagonism exists between the two principles. The doctrine of universalism which has been linked long ago with the theories of pacifism cannot tolerate the philosophy of military regional organizations even if disguised under the concepts of self defence, preventive war, etc. This type of organization blocks the way to universal understanding. Yet its very survival — as a manifestation of extreme reaction — is timed by the slackening of the initiatory cause.

In the same way we cannot deal with the theory of regionalism in the absolute terms of right and wrong. If so treated, we shall go astray. It is true that military regional organizations are distasteful and suspicious to the majority of mankind. Yet, they are not the only products of the concept of regionalism. Remarkable achievements in economics and technology are vivid proofs of the success and desirability of technical regionalism. This may contribute to bridge the gaps of mistrust within each region through constructive and mutual help. Therefore generalizations in the absolute terms of right and wrong, besides being unscientific, do not hold true.

The prerequisite to coexistence

Before answering the third question as to whether the two principles can functionally coexist in practice, a small remark is necessary on the development of the concept of universalism. Universalism or cosmopolitanism appears as liberation and unification of individuals legally members of distinct states, but having interests in common irrespective of their diverse citizenship. As was discussed under Alexander's Empire, ancient universalism (like medieval conception of universalism) was not spontaneous. Such an imperial universalism cannot last for a long time because it is imposed by force from above. To be genuine, it must come by a natural disappearance of extreme nationalism which prevailed in the

last few centuries and which we hope is ended by the fall of National Socialism. This does not mean, however, the abolition or destruction of nationalism at the hands of imperialists⁷⁹. For this reason, universalism must be achieved gradually and with the support of the majority however long time it may take.

The problem is not so rigid as to choose between universalism or regionalism. The difficulty does not lie only in finding an agreeable philosophy but also an applicable form that can save human civilization from wars and ensure the way to progress. If world tension decreased and ample guarantees for security were provided by a universal body, the day may come when conflicting countries can do without military organizations and rely only on this body. In this case, regionalism can survive the change and be confined to technical purposes alone. This technical regionalism can easily coexist with a universal philosophy and organization, and as was said at the beginning of the study, no antagonism or contradiction would be feasible⁸⁰.

Major Problems in the way to Universalism

The way to achieve universal understanding or authority is by no means easy. By way of comparison, it took the Nation States in Europe quite a long time before it was possible to establish its rule. It had to fight sternly against the Empire and Papacy from without and to resist the remaining influence of the feudal lords, cities, and the new guilds from within. The success of the Nation State over these difficulties, marked the spread of the new system on an international scale. In much the same way, the application of the concept of universalism will meet many obstacles and perhaps be more difficult to surmount.

The human race has passed many turning points in history. Most dangerous of all is the recent one caused by putting

79. Pitman B. Potter, op. cit., pp. 43, 44.

80. See above p. 323.

atomic energy in operation. Doctrines and problems of universalism and international relations acquire new dimensions in the nuclear Age. In the next few lines, some minor conflicts barring universal understanding will be reviewed in the light of the new changes. This will be followed by the major problems in the way to universalism.

Minor conflicts (religions, economic, etc.)

The old tendency to form some kind of international organization has always aimed at lessening the harmful effects of various kinds of conflicts. The world was torn by the religious wars that took place between different religions and between the sects of the same religion.

But, can religious differences now represent a threat to peace or a handicap to universal understanding ? In fact, although faith still retains strongholds in many parts of the world, the development cannot be ignored. Instead of treating every aspect of life and international relations from a purely religious point of view, people now tend to consecrate faith as a private relation between themselves and God. States with different beliefs and social systems come together in pacts and alliances. Higher interests and policies became the new criteria and not only the common race or religion. Some factors helped to bring this improvement. Most important among these were the new ideals brought by the successive revolutions of the last few centuries. Other revolutions with far reaching effects in the fields of technology and communication contributed to the same effect. They revealed the smallness of our Planet. and showed that any progress would not be attained without religious tolerance and broadmindedness. In general, medieval fanaticism and religious hatred not only ceased to orientate national policies, but they were censured also as futile and leading to friction and wars.

Religious conflicts are no more tolerable to the modern human mind. They cannot form an obstacle to universal understanding. It is ironical that all religions without exception,

whether revealed or otherwise, preached love, peace, and tolerance while their followers under religious pretexts sought to reach their selfish ends by massacres and bloodshed. But it seems now that universal understanding will not be hampered by seemingly religious or racial conflicts.

The prospect of settling economic conflicts is also promising. Though the growing ease of international tension proffers possible solutions to the problem, newly independent countries are increasingly suspicious of individual economic aids which they fear will harm the national industrial growth and reintroduce political influence in disguise. The urgency of the problem emanates from the fact that enduring peace and international security cannot be created in a sharply divided world between the developed and the developing nations.

The economic backwardness of Africa, Asia and Latin America transcended the purely regional boundaries and become a world-wide social problem. The tendency to bring all kinds of economic aid under United Nations' control may soothe the developing nations and give international guarantees to the developed countries.

Another factor is that while regional and semi-regional economic blocks help to improve the rates of economic growth in their regions, they complicate the economic international situation by tariff wars and various barriers.

So long as economic chaos spread in international relations, no real cooperation on an international scale can be expected. With the intervention of the United Nations and the improvement of the international situation, economic conflicts may decrease in number and scope. The progress here is slower in comparison with the achievement in international religious tolerance. Yet, new signs in the United Nations show that the economic conflicts will not involve the world again in international armed clashes as had happened before. This does not mean that the world will get rid of such conflicts altogether, but at least the universal cause will not be dangerously jeopardised by the acute symptoms of past economic conflicts.

The problem of Core.

The possibility of finding a solution to the prevailing ideological conflicts is not so bright as in the case of the conflicts under the previous category. But as was discussed above⁸¹ the Sino — Soviet ideological conflict is forming now another component of the main conflict between Socialism and Capitalism. An ease in the East-West ideological conflict is beyond expectation. The Soviet Union which emphatically backs peaceful coexistence as a policy, expressly declares that peaceful ideological coexistence is unacceptable. Needless to say that the whole idea is refuted by China qua theory and qua policy.

Hence, the world is faced with two alternatives. Either to abstain from any positive contribution and be satisfied with regarding the conflict passively, which may probably lead to a catastrophic clash, or to try to find out a suitable common basis to establish a widely accepted form of universal organization. To suppose an end to the ideological conflict is merely utopian. It is not astonishing then, that the problem which attracts the attention of many thinkers today is how to confine such conflict within the ultimate aim of preserving human civilization.

So, if ideological conflicts are to persist, the world has to find a common ground for agreement which constitutes at present the core of the problem of universalism. Helping to solve this problem will be a way out of the precarious stalemate. Thus, the problem of Core connotes the establishment of a common ground that may serve at its least to avoid the insane clash, and at its best pave the way for universal understanding under the rule of law and justice. (The preference given throughout to the use of the term « universal understanding » rests on the hypothesis that it is the first and indispensable step towards possible universal organization). The early and primitive incentive of self preservation which has started with human life emerges very strongly today to secure the continuation of life on this planet, with its present standard of civili-

81. See above p. 340.

zation The latest example of this was the Cuban confrontation where the only restraint which kept the world away from nuclear collision was self preservation.

The common ground on which many can meet and agree irrespective of their political beliefs is provided by three main factors. These are, the control and utilization of atomic energy, the regulation of outer-space conquest and the measures to remedy backwardness. Although backward areas and uneven economic growth constitute a real threat to world stability, yet military reasons give priority to the first two factors. While the natural sciences are rapidly developing in both constructive and destructive fields, means of universal restraint are still lagging behind. It is hardly conceivable to achieve any universal understanding or common ground while the big powers retain their dreadful nuclear stockpiles.

The control of atomic energy as a justifiable reason for universalism is twofold. The first urgent need is not arms control but a real and total nuclear disarmament embodied in a unanimous international agreement to avoid the annihilation of mankind resulting from the present confrontation of powerful regional organizations. The second need is to stimulate the peaceful utilization of the new power, a cause best served under universalism rather than by one state or regional group, both unable either technically or financially to meet its requirements.

The importance of accepting an international control lies in the assumption that, for the benefit of the great powers, it may prove to be a third way other than humiliating surrender or mutual annihilation. A risky contention has prevailed among some scientists, that if the arms race could be stopped at this point, the balance of terror could ensure the maintenance of peace, at least for a period of transition to total nuclear disarmament⁸². This contention is static because it sup-

82. Robert Gilpin, *American Scientists and Nuclear Weapons Policy*, Princeton 1962, p. 145.

poses the continuation of the scientific status quo and condones the danger of an increase in the number of nuclear powers and the incurring result of more friction and mistrust⁸³. But it has been proved, at least up till now, that a mutual guarantee for nuclear disarmament is still a dream. The situation darkened when it became technically impossible to disarm atomically as there could be no real guarantee that any inspection system should uncover hidden stockpiles of nuclear weapons. This in turn necessitates a great and genuine amelioration in international relations before an honest nuclear disarmament is possible.

In the field of regulating outer-space conquest, the most important requirement is to exclude its use for military purposes. The results of these explorations are not less important to the future of human thinking and social life. It may help the cause of universalism by creating new bonds of planet consciousness and the genesis of unprecedented feelings of solidarity between the inhabitants of the Earth versus the unknown. Outer-Space discoveries will give rise to new values and conceptions which may seem strange in the beginning. Planet consciousness, if it be found a fertile ground, will play a decisive role in establishing universal understanding. The new achievements have aroused the interest and concern of both thinkers and jurists. The American Bar Association, as an example, discussed in its Athens Conference of 1963, the need for an international regime for outer space. The Association also proposed the extension of United Nations jurisdiction to outer space. But the Soviet point of view still considers as premature the idea of subjecting outer space to United Nations' Jurisdiction.

The three aforementioned factors could form an acceptable common ground capable of promoting mutual confidence and hope as new principles hitherto alien to international relations. Through a patient process, this common ground may develop into a global pacifist conception paving the way to universal

83. See the problem of the Nth Power, *Ibid*, p. 149.

understanding. The successful creation of such a core is possible because it is supposed to evade the collisions or contradictions caused by previous efforts to base universalism solely on one religion (against other religions), or a certain political doctrine (against other doctrines), or other ambitions interests (against the interests of other peoples).

The problem of Form.

Many ideas of universalism and regionalism have been discussed each of which has tried to solve the problems of mankind and human organization in a particular way. But plans and doctrines are not enough. It is true that the first pressing problem is the creation of an acceptable common ground but the second step of finding the suitable form is also vital. It has been argued that an already established organization can play a decisive role in creating the common ground or conception⁸⁴. But, if the complications mentioned above are taken into account, this idea will be tantamount to putting the cart before the horse. Obviously the two steps are completely interwoven and any separation would be arbitrary, but nevertheless one step paves the way for the other. In the absence of a precise and concrete concept, the established form or organization can serve any cause other than or sometimes including the intended. This cannot be compared, in any way, with a form or organization totally based on and inspired by a certain preconceived ideology. This holds true whether a group strives to establish a political party, an international organization, or even a simple cooperative society.

Many attempts have been made to propose the form of a new international organization to deal with the shortcomings revealed by the experiments of the League and the United Nations. These attempts could be classified under two categories according to the thoroughness of the study. An example of the well studied category is the scheme for a «World Peace

84. Deliberations of the 1963 Session of the Center for Studies and Research of the Hague Academy of International Law.

through World Law» in which the authors tried to present a complete plan whereby genuine peace in a disarmed world, would actually be secured⁸⁵. Against the present system of the United Nations, they introduced principal changes in the structure of the proposed organization. This include an Executive Council, a World Equity Tribunal —in addition to the International Court of Justice — and a World Conciliation Board⁸⁶. There are also to be established: a United Nations Peace Force, a United Nations Inspection Service, a United Nations Nuclear Energy Authority, a United Nations Outer Space Agency and a World Development Authority. From what has been said under the Problem of Core, we can, perhaps, deduct that the last three bodies offered by this scheme are the most needed in the near future. In spite of the noble motive which initiated their comprehensive plan, the other drastic changes and amendments cannot acquire the necessary universal approval. Although most of the newly suggested bodies could be considered as constructive contribution, we must distinguish between reasonable and applicable ideas. An idea may be constructive and reasonable, but for differences of interests inapplicable⁸⁷. What may be accepted by the United States may be rejected by the Soviet Union or later on by China and vice versa. So, if a mutual understanding is to be reached, points of difference in a proposed plan must be brought to a minimum. That is what is discussed in the problem of core, namely the need to introduce, first, a common ground to foster universal understanding as the only means to create the atmosphere which can endure basic amendments in the present international organization or facilitate the elaboration of a future universal organization.

From the second category two ideas only will be discussed. The first one claims that universal unity should start with a

85. Clark and Sohn, *World Peace through World Law*, Massachusetts 1958, p. 1. iii.

86. Article 7 on the proposed Organs, *Ibid*, p. 18.

87. One of the points of discord is the proposal to establish an integral United Nations army or Peace Force, the approval of which is conditioned by the Socialist countries on reaching a genuine disarmament.

continental unitary movement. It is based on the mistaken assumption that continental common feelings and interests stimulate the unitary tendency. The application of such an idea is nearly impossible especially if we take into account Europe and Asia. In Europe, for example, the two conflicting social systems face each other, while in Asia deep suspicion and differences separate the two giants China and India, after their border clashes. The first continent, Europe, is the most advanced in the world (technically and culturally), whilst Asia is numerically the most populated. It is clear that the situation in both continents does not demonstrate the verifiability of such unitary contention.

The other utopian concept holds the idea of electing an international parliament from all countries which in turn will form an executive body from among its members. As it will clearly lead to an Afro-Asian hegemony, the idea will be utterly rejected by the other developed continents, without which no progress or universalism could be realized.

Such ideas do not take in considerations the prevailing state of affairs and the deep rift which divides the world. The real difficulty is still the same: How to find out a plan for an applicable and acceptable form of universal organization ?

Universalism in Stages

The problem of devising a universal body to serve the core may be surmountable if the dimensions of the whole scene are well measured. The complications of international politics necessitate wary progress in this field. To avoid pitfalls and retrogressions, Universal order must not be unduly hastened. The process of achieving a real and full universal organization ought to be divided into stages, with each stage having a form of organization that suits the problems and circumstances then prevailing. The achievement of the goals of each stage, if reached, will furnish the prerequisites of the core and form of the next stage. Being on the spot, the people themselves who live at the borderlines of each stage will be best acquainted with the necessary steps or schemes to be devised. Our problem today is that we are trying

to plan too far in the light of our present stage of development and contemporary ideals and criteria, both of which are symptomatic of twentieth century civilization, thus not binding on future generations. This may explain why many concepts of universalism seem utopian and unrealizable. If we confine ourselves to the humble end of studying carefully our present stage of civilization with all its problems, and try to formulate the genesis of a universal understanding and organization, it may prove to be more practical. The success of a given form of organization and ideology can easily lead to higher and more advanced forms initiated by a following stage. Logically, this process cannot go the other way round. Furthermore, the failure of a comprehensive and ambitious plan for being universally unacceptable or unsuitable to a change of circumstances will be detrimental to the universal cause. The most harmful effect will be the loss of confidence and practicability of reaching a harmonious universal order. The repercussions of returning to more extreme national policies and regional military organizations are not less damaging to the cause.

The Present Stage.

A quick review of the actual international situation may reveal the nature and requirements of the present stage. The situation has improved notably since the end of the Cuban confrontation. Other trends are trying to replace the awkward theories of the past strained era⁸⁸. Since the cold war cannot be won, it must be kept within the limits of what a former United States Secretary of State, Christian Herter, once aptly described as «co-survival»⁸⁹. Modern pacifists are introducing new conceptions in their efforts to familiarize the peoples of the world with the expected devastation of a nuclear clash. Everybody will suffer, because war defeats both victors and defeated. The important difference may be that the wounds are healed much more slowly in the latter⁹⁰. Third ways are discussed in both East and West.

88. See above p. 31.

89. Chanakya Sen, *Against the Cold War*, London 1962, p. 236.

90. Julius Wellhagen. *The World Community Peace, The United Nations*, Mallsjö, Sweden, 1957, p. 28.

A modern authoress has wittily observed that negotiations from strength have produced neither negotiation nor strength. The two possible reasons for not negotiating, she argued, are «because one is weak and cannot afford to, or because one is strong and does not need to»⁹¹. But the development of technology and destructive weapons leave no other rational way than the pacific settlement of disputes. The process of postponing settlement is a process of reduction of choices.

Other amazing changes in the world scene must not be passed by indifferently. The statement of Dean Rusk, the former United States Foreign Secretary, before the Senate is quite significant. He urged the approval of the Partial Test Ban Treaty on the grounds that nonratification will confirm the Chinese stand that peaceful coexistence between the two systems is impossible. His statement then, was a radical change indeed in American foreign policy. The mere utterance of the term peaceful coexistence would have thrown any minor official — nothing to say about the Foreign Secretary himself — during previous years in the domain of McCarthyism.

In the United Kingdom, the Labour Party's planned foreign policy for the last general election campaign is relevant to the present situation. Knowing the good effects of pacifist ideas on human aspirations the Labour Party, in order to secure the necessary majority, introduced the idea of a world Government through the United Nations to ensure world peace. The Party discussed in its Plan the measures to cope with the deficiencies of the Security Council, the admission of Peoples' China to the United Nations, the establishment of an International Police Force, and the help to be offered to the developing countries. Although the Plan designed for the election campaign did not exceed its capacity as such, the significance of placing universalism as an important issue in the Plan was quite clear. This reminds us, in a way, with the line adopted by the Labour Foreign Secretary in his statement before the 1948 Session of

91. Coral Bell, *Negotiation from Strength, A Study in the Politics of Power*, London 1962, pp. 213, 214.

the General Assembly of the United Nations. He contended that regional groups may prove to be adequate means to the universal government which humanity has long struggled for⁹². So, by incorporating the idea of a universal government in its over-all domestic and foreign plan, the Labour Party did not only seek to impress the main body of the electors but also to innovate something which can attract the floating voters. Although electoral investigations show that floating voters do not constitute a particular social or age-group or character, they exert a considerable influence on election results⁹³.

If the assumption is tentatively accepted, that the voters do not react automatically but by reason of their judgement of political events and political parties, the voting choice of the British electorate may reflect, inter alia, their impression on the universal trend. It was plain that such new theme surpassed the pacifist statements of the Conservative ruling Party at that time — centering around the success of the ratification of the Test Ban Treaty — by linking pacifism with its twin concept of universalism. This link being utilised in party politics might have furnished a new value capable of stimulating the self interest of some floating voters thus tipping the balance in the polls.

Among other undenied signs of the change, we can note that States are forced now to give up their old fashioned ideas of unique cultures, and that cultures are becoming living organisms, superior to individual states⁹⁴.

92. B. Boutros-Ghali, *The North Atlantic Treaty Organization*, in *Revue Egyptienne de Droit. International*, Vol. 7, 1951.

93. H. Daudt, *Floating Voters and the Floating Vote*, Leiden, 1961, pp. 4, 151, 154-159.

94. J. Wellhagen, *op. cit.*, p. 93 — He also contends that « the World Community means a new foundation and a new method of human collaboration of such strength, that cultures, nations and individuals will be carried forward by the world community ». « It becomes apparent », he continues, « that the world community is something quite different from the world mapped out by the great maritime discoveries, also different from the world horizons of the colonial era ».

These are the principal elements of the new change in the international situation. There exist some slight chances for genuine peace through total disarmament and enforceable world law⁹⁵. Judged by their own merits, the term «slight chances» may be more accurate in dealing with the great problems of total disarmament and enforceable world law. Several steps are needed to bring them into reality. The proposed common ground could be a preliminary step and a solid base for solving most of these problems. In general, a fluctuating hope, and heaps of problems are the main characteristics of the present stage.

Ends and proposed means

So, if we assume universalism to be the goal and that the long way to it has to be divided into distinct stages to ensure gradual progress, the aforementioned items have to be taken into consideration, namely, backwardness, nuclear energy and outer space research.

The ends of this stage may be conceived as avoiding a nuclear war and laying down the foundations of some kind of coexistence between technical regionalism and universal organization. The means to achieve these ends must primarily bridge the gaps in the United Nations' Charter and practice.

But no universal agreement could be reached in the near future on a basic amendment or the establishment of a new universal organization. To avoid the disagreement involved in the attempt for an all-out amendment, and to meet the ends of this stage, the solution may be sought in a complementary organization to the United Nations. This is not a new plan, but rather some broad lines supposed to lead to the same goal away from the complications and long time needed for the amendment of the Charter. With universal membership and limited scope of competence, the complementary organization can coordinate and push forward the present activities. Its competence will be

95. Clark and Sohn, *op. cit.*, p. Iiv.

confined to universal cooperation in the three pressing questions of backwardness, nuclear energy, and outer space research. The complementary organization is to comprise all the scattered regional and international bodies working in the pacifist and civil side of these fields. Member States should give priority to scientists and economists in the selection of their delegates. Scientists bear a moral obligation to bridle and reorientate the forces they have released. The ethical side of the new organization ought to be backed by the UNESCO and supported by a special organ to popularise planet consciousness — among the inhabitants of the Earth — and universal public opinion, which will be agreed at least on these initial questions. The effect of the creation, for the first time in history, of an organized universal public opinion on such rewarding measures must not be minimised.

The affiliation of the new organization to the United Nations is intended to avoid any conflicts of competence, and to supply this technical organization with established experience. Its achievements will contribute to the amelioration of the international situation, and will offer material bases to the concept of universalism. The anticipated benefits in the three fields will affect the living standards in both developed and developing countries. This will be reflected in more support and acknowledgement of the usefulness and practicability of universalism. The success of technical activities in the Specialised Agencies of the United Nations indicates a possible progress for a universal organization based on similar technical bases. Another advantage of the new experiment is that it will attract human attention and interest away from world tensions.

The successful execution of these procedures will mark a partial achievement of the ends and a possible advance to the next stage of universalism. Its core and form will be decided in the light of the then prevailing ideas and applied scientific development, in addition to making use of the foundations of universalism furnished by the previous stage.

CONCLUSION

The long development of the universal trend was not smooth. History demonstrates that the birth of religious and political doctrines furnishing new systems were usually faced, especially in the beginning, with stubborn resistance. This resistance yields to the strong offence from the other side which is expressed, after the take-over, in counter-measures of extreme harshness to consolidate the new power. The violent collisions with pre-established systems and ideologies, although bringing their material existence to an end, affect the internal front of the new system. Militant theorists begin to devise plans for abolishing the remnants of the older systems to clear the way for universal hegemony. Extremism unavoidably leads to ideological conflicts. Agreement becomes difficult since compromise can be easily reached by followers of different creeds, while the devotion to the cause pushes sects or factions of the same creed to cling to their beliefs and actions as the only right ones. Collisions from without and divisions from within weakens the stand of the whole structure and its ideology towards the older systems which begin to reclaim the lost grounds and prestige. To preserve the acquired gains and avoid fresh collisions which the system can no more afford, new tendencies of entente and mutual understanding replace the original dynamic conceptions. But the older systems, making use of the signs of decadence, take the offence till the great power is reduced to a state of ineffectiveness and the world arena is cleared once again to receive another concept of universalism.

The relationship between these concepts and those of regionalism and pacifism is simultaneously an old and a new relation. Concepts of universalism and regionalism, though having very different backgrounds and offsprings, display in varying degrees their belief in the fundamental unity of mankind. Since organised communities began on Earth, these concepts have been linked with the aspirations of peace. It has been proved that no universal understanding or organization can be reached without eliminating the reasons of friction and war. If we recall the theories of the early Christian Fathers or 17th

Century Quakers or even the recent theories of pacifism, we shall find that one common idea or line holds them all together, namely, that war is collective homicide. Pacifism has been defended through the ages on different grounds. From the utilitarian point of view, war is condemned because it involves waste and misery; ethically, force is no test of justice; whilst on logical grounds war is futile in settling disputes because it supplies fresh causes of conflicts. Nevertheless, political thought was not always behind pacifism. To sum up, pacifism suffered from other notorious theories which under the pretext of «the common good» tried to vindicate the existence of a «just victory». Whether in the Medieval Ages, the Renaissance or the Nineteenth Century and after, these theories defended war on bases of morality, national interests, biological or sociological necessity. Some of them served as sources of inspiration to the present theories of military regional organizations. If the world has to survive and achieve progress, these theories and their manifestations have to cede place to the efforts trying to facilitate coexistence between technical regionalism and universalism.

Universalism and technical regionalism must not be confined to the useless efforts of drawing abstract plans of future human society or any other expressions of utopianism. The conclusion to be drawn from the theories summarised above is that universalism and regionalism must not be viewed as values *per se* appreciated for their own sake as ultimate ends or irrespective of any purpose. Universalism and regionalism ought to be dealt with as extrinsic values that help to produce the maximum welfare in a harmonious world by using ultra modern scientific techniques. The present technological state of development offers an ample infra-structure for the transition on the way to universalism. Compared with the situation of the Eighteenth Century for example, we find that the French Revolution of 1789 provided new criteria for the ideal of universalism. But the European environment of the time and the nature of its development did not offer the necessary and corresponding infra-structure to put the new conception of «Liberty, Equality and Fraternity» into practice. Paradoxically, our world to-day

has all the means to provide the infrastructural prerequisites, but at the same time lacks a common ideology and superstructure.

Wars and revolutions are the manifestation of the uneven balance in the social life of world society. Both physical and social equilibrium are necessary for maintaining the universe. Without the achievement of a rational balance between super and infra-structures, the realization of a lasting universalism will remain a dream.

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