

## **AUTHOR SEEKS PATRONS**

Tad Daley, Author, *APOCALYPSE NEVER: Forging the Path to a Nuclear  
Weapon-Free World* (Rutgers University Press 2010 and in Paperback 2012)

and

the Center for War/Peace Studies in New York

offer this

## **BOOK PROPOSAL / GRANT PROPOSAL**

to support the research and writing of a new book by Dr. Daley with the working title  
*A UNITED EARTH: The History and Future of the Idea of Abolishing War.*

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## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

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"The world's present system of sovereign nations can lead only to  
barbarism, war and inhumanity. There is no salvation for civilization,  
or even the human race, other than the creation of a world government."  
— Albert Einstein, *TIME* magazine's "Person of the Century" in December 1999.

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A couple of decades ago, while researching the early days of the nuclear disarmament movement during graduate school, I came across something called the "Preliminary Draft of a World Constitution." It was the 1948 product of some of the leading social and political thinkers of the day, including professors from Harvard, Stanford, Cornell, and the University of Chicago, a "committee" chaired by the University of Chicago's president, Robert Maynard Hutchins. Their preamble contained these words: "The people of the earth having agreed ... that iniquity and war inseparably spring from the competitive anarchy of the national states ... therefore the age of nations must end, and the era of humanity begin ... (So) the governments of the nations have decided to order their separate sovereignties into one government of justice, to which they surrender their arms; and to establish this Constitution ... of the Federal Republic of the World."

These words made my blood rush a little more quickly through my veins, as perhaps no other words I had ever read, before or since. So now I am setting out to write a book that will awaken a broad general audience to one of history's Great Ideas — that the establishment of something like a federal republic of Earth could someday provide the solution to the problem of war.

For centuries, many of the most brilliant minds to spring from the tree of humanity have propounded this idea, richly and repeatedly. That group includes Socrates, St. Augustine of

Hippo, Dante Alighieri, L'Abbe de Saint-Pierre (this year marks the tercentenary of his 1713 *Project for Perpetual Peace*), William Penn, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Immanuel Kant, Jeremy Bentham, Alfred Lord Tennyson, Baha'i founder Baha'u'llah, H.G. Wells, Winston Churchill, Albert Einstein, and many others.

For a few short years during and after the Second World War, the idea planted itself squarely into the public consciousness, and a genuine movement took flight demanding the establishment of a democratic federal world government. You don't believe it? The American "United World Federalists," which aimed specifically "to strengthen the UN into a world government," had established 720 chapters and enlisted nearly 50,000 members by 1950. (Its president was a bright young man named Alan Cranston, who went on to serve as both a four-term U.S. Senator from California and boss and mentor to me.) The National Debate Tournament topic for all American high schools in 1947-1948 was: "RESOLVED: That a federal world government should be established." No less than 30 of 48 American state legislatures passed a declaration advocating world government. And a 1949 U.S. House resolution, maintaining that "it should be a fundamental objective of the foreign policy of the United States to support and strengthen the United Nations and to seek its development into a world federation ... with defined and limited powers adequate to preserve peace ... through the enforcement of world law," was cosponsored by 111 of the 435 representatives, including future giants of American political life like Gerald Ford, Mike Mansfield, Henry Cabot Lodge, Abe Ribicoff, Peter Rodino, Henry Jackson, Christian Herter, Jacob Javits, and John F. Kennedy.

Today, however, this idea — that humanity might someday establish an actual government on the planetary level — has almost completely disappeared. Such a planetary government would be limited to planetary affairs, but would manage those affairs through democratically accountable executive, legislative, and judicial branches. National military forces would be disbanded and replaced by agencies for world law enforcement. Transnational political parties would engage in collaborative political action. Most of the human race governs itself through such mechanisms at every lower level of civic community, so why not aspire someday to do the same at the largest, global level of human community? Today, however, the vast majority of people are neither for that idea nor against that idea. Instead, most people today have never heard anyone even articulate that idea. No one, indeed, seems to consider any alternatives to the contemporary state sovereignty system, or to engage in any kind of conversation at all about the optimal world political order we might seek someday to bring about. And hardly anyone seems to dream that someday, there might be a next step in the social evolution of the human species.

Is something like a world republic a desirable destination — or might the possible costs and risks exceed the likely benefits? If desirable, might it ever be achievable — and can we envision plausible future scenarios by which we might get from here to there? If not desirable or not achievable, can we imagine any alternative world order that might someday eliminate both war and permanent military forces from the human condition? If instead our contemporary world order endures indefinitely, what are the likely costs, benefits, and risks of that likely future history? These sorts of questions — debated among foreign affairs professionals, newspaper and magazine columnists, blogosphere commentators, talk radio hosts, television pundits, peace activists, students — are conspicuous today only by their complete absence from the contemporary political conversation.

Actually, there are a few people who do talk about world government today. Black helicopter conspiracy theorists. But what strikes one about these periodic eruptions of fantasy is that virtually no one ever stands up to disavow the conspiracy ... but to endorse the idea. "No one in any position of power is striving secretly to impose a world government on humanity for the benefit of a clandestine cabal. That is sheer nonsense. But some of us believe that something like a carefully limited democratic and federal world union is in fact a desirable destination, a goal toward which the human race ought to aspire, and the only real solution ever advanced that could someday save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." Some major establishment figures could say this. But no one ever does.

So I intend to write a big book about this big idea that will be readable, comprehensible, accessible, engaging – and transform it from a utopian fantasy into a concrete political goal. (Much like my first book *APOCALYPSE NEVER* did for the vision of abolishing nuclear weapons, at least according to 27 high-profile blurbs and 9 published book reviews — all available at [www.apocalypsenever.org](http://www.apocalypsenever.org) — and a boatload of positive customer reviews on AMAZON.) I want to reintroduce the vision of a world republic into today's public square, apply it to the historical conditions of our nascent 21<sup>st</sup> Century, and generate a wide and open debate about the optimal world order that humanity might endeavor to create in the decades and even centuries to come.

I want my second book to expand our social and political imagination. I intend to challenge whether the human race must remain divided into armed camps forever until the end of time. I want my readers to imagine a day when China and America spend as much to defend themselves from each other as Illinois and Wisconsin spend to protect themselves from each other today. I plan to confront the presumption that if someone like the infamous "DC sniper" shoots and kills a few citizens of his own country he is called a murderer, but that if a "U.S. Army sniper" shoots and kills a few hundred citizens of some other country on something called "a battlefield" he is called a hero. I hope to move young people, especially, to imagine a future where our descendants think about war and standing armies much like we now think about things like human sacrifice, and chattel slavery, and the supremacy of white males. Things that in their day most everyone thought would endure for all days, but which now endure no more. I want to provoke my readers to think of themselves as crewmates on our single Spaceship Earth.

My ultimate goal, I admit, is to write a book that holds the potential to help instigate a movement to abolish war. Perhaps some critical mass of talented young people, motivated in no small measure by my book, will begin to build a new grass roots movement they will call CUE – The Campaign for a United Earth. Perhaps young hipsters around the world will begin calling themselves "CUE Balls." And perhaps such a campaign will design and launch civil society initiatives that might just begin to build a mass movement about the idea that the time has come to relegate war to the human past, about the idea of enforceable world law, about the idea of One World. It will take a lot of collective human brainpower and willpower to make that happen. I am convinced that this kind of civic initiative, social innovation, and political imagination exists among the human race, just waiting to be set alight.

But no one will devote their creative fires to imagining a 21<sup>st</sup> Century world without war unless someone opens their minds to the possibility of abolishing war.

The book will consider reinventing the United Nations, and will ask “What kind of UN system would we try to create if we were designing it from scratch today?” It will envision creating new global governance tools for global challenges like climate change, migration, crimes against humanity, the chasm between the rich and the poor, transnational regulation of transnational commerce to prevent things like the horrifying April 2013 building collapse in Bangladesh, and failed states where national governments disintegrate and disappear. It will contemplate the implications for our world political order of coming developments in areas like human longevity, artificial intelligence, and genetic engineering. It will endeavor to cultivate an ethic of global citizenship, larger loyalties, allegiance to humanity – and to provide those intangible ideals with tangible political content, and future historical meaning. Most importantly, this book will expound on the history, and ponder the future, of the big idea that something like a democratic federal world government could someday provide the solution to the problem of war.

“I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see, Saw the vision of the world, and all the wonders that would be ... Till the war-drum throbbed no longer, and the battle flags were furl’d, in the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World.” That is Alfred Lord Tennyson, in 1842, and that is the dream that so many have held, for so many long centuries, as the destiny of humankind. I believe it is just possible that in the year 2099, historians will look back and conclude that the Great Story of the 21st Century was first, the fusion of our many national patriotisms into a single planetary patriotism; second, the permanent disbanding of all national military forces and the abolition of war through the world rule of law; and third, the dawn of a politically unified human race, and the birth of a Federal Republic of the World.

And I ask for your support, so I can endeavor to move others to join me in that quest, with a similar commitment, enthusiasm and zeal. Others, who will be moved to take their own best shots at making that future history a reality. Others, whose blood, after reading my book, will rush a little more quickly through their veins.

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"Our true nationality is mankind ...

A federation of all humanity, together with a sufficient measure of social justice to ensure health, education, and a rough equality of opportunity to most of the children born into the world, would mean such a release and increase of human energy as to open a new phase in human history."

— H.G. Wells

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