

Contents

Foreword	iii
Preface	vii
Acknowledgments	xi
I. The Problem, the Plan, and Some Preliminary Considerations	
A. <i>Preventing Thermonuclear War</i>	
The Prevention of World War III. <i>Kenneth E. Boulding</i>	3
B. <i>The Arms Race</i>	
The Arms Race and Some of Its Hazards. <i>Herman Kahn.</i>	17
C. <i>Some Considerations Concerning Disarmament</i>	
Preparations for Progress. <i>Richard J. Barnet.</i>	55
Order and Change in a Warless World. <i>Walter Millis.</i>	64
D. <i>World Law, World Community, and World Order</i>	
Constitutional Foundations for World Order. <i>Robert M. Hutchins.</i>	75
Toward a Universal Law for Mankind. <i>Quincy Wright.</i>	83
E. <i>Big World and Small World</i>	
Technology, Prediction, and Disorder. <i>Albert Wohlstetter.</i>	92
F. <i>Some Documents on Supranational Authority.</i>	
Pacem in Terris, Part IV. <i>Pope John XXIII.</i>	111
An Eight Point Programme for World Government. <i>Hugh Gaitskell.</i>	117
*Coordinate Reading in WPTWL: XV-XLIII: 206-213	

*WPTWL is the abbreviation used to designate *World Peace through World Law* by Grenville Clark and Louis B. Sohn.

2. The Causes of War and of Peace

- Analysis of the Causes of War. *Quincy Wright.* 124
- Political Philosophy and the Study of International Relations. *Kenneth N. Waltz.* 141
- On the Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace. *Werner Levi.* 146
- Uses of Violence. *H. L. Nieburg.* 157

3. The Nature of International Society**A. Differing Views of the World**

- The World Order in the Sixties. *Roberto Ducci.* 174
- The Stability of a Bipolar World. *Kenneth N. Waltz.* 186
- Regionalism and World Order. *Ronald J. Yalem.* 215

B. Differing Methods of Viewing the World

- The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations. *J. David Singer.* 235
- Systemic and Strategic Conflict. *Anatol Rapoport.* 251
- The Political Science of Science: An Inquiry into the Possible Reconciliation of Mastery and Freedom. *Harold D. Lasswell.* 284

4. The Shimoda Case: Challenge and Response

- The Claimants of Hiroshima. *Richard A. Falk.* 307
- Shimoda and Others versus Japan. Decision of the Tokyo District Court, December 7, 1963. 314
- The New Fact (and) Initial Political Thinking about the New Fact. *Karl Jaspers.* 360
- The Study of War Prevention: Toward a Disciplined View. *Saul H. Mendlovitz.* 384

Notes on Authors 390**Permissions** 392

Volume II INTERNATIONAL LAW

I. International Legal Order in the Contemporary World

- A. *International Law and the Transition to a Warless World*
 Towards a Warless World: One Legal Formula to Achieve Transition. *Richard A. Falk and Saul H. Mendlovitz.*
- B. *The Contemporary International Legal Order*
 Law in the International Community. *Morton A. Kaplan and Nicholas deB. Katzenbach.*
 The Identification and Appraisal of Diverse Systems of Public Order. *Myres S. McDougal and Harold D. Lasswell.*
 Bringing Law to Bear on Governments. *Roger Fisher.*
 The Individual Interest and the Growth of International Law and Organization. *Kenneth S. Carlston.*
- C. *The Development of Organizing Concepts for Contemporary International Legal Perspectives*
 Inquiry and Policy: The Relation of Knowledge to Action. *Max F. Millikan.*
 Some Basic Theoretical Concepts about International Law: A Policy-Oriented Framework of Inquiry. *Myres S. McDougal.*
 International Systems and International Law. *Stanley Hoffmann.*

2. Diverse Challenges to International Legal Order

- Historical Tendencies, Modernizing and Revolutionary Nations, and the International Legal Order. *Richard A. Falk.*
 Soviet and Western International Law and the Cold War in the Era of Bipolarity. *Edward McWhinney.*
 Peaceful Coexistence: The Asian Attitude. *J. J. G. Svataw.*
 The Less Developed Nations. *Oliver J. Lissitzyn.*

3. International Legal Order and the Management of World Power

- Resort to Force: War and Neutrality. *Morton A. Kaplan and Nicholas deB. Katzenbach.*
 The Legal Control of Force in the International Community. *Richard A. Falk.*
 The International Organization of Security and the Use of Force: "Indirect" Aggression, National Sovereignty, and Collective Security. *Wolfgang Friedmann.*
 Force, Intervention, and Neutrality in Contemporary International Law. *Louis Henkin.*
 The Management of Power in the Changing United Nations. *Inis L. Claude, Jr.*
 The Management of Power and Political Organization: Some Observations on Inis L. Claude's Conceptual Approach. *Ruth B. Russell.*
 Coordinate Reading in WPTWL: The United Nations Charter

Volume III THE UNITED NATIONS

1. The League of Nations and the United Nations:

Continuities and Discontinuities

Covenant of the League of Nations and the Charter of the United Nations: Points of Difference. *Clyde Eagleton.*

From League of Nations to United Nations. *Leland M. Goodrich.*

Coordinate Reading in WPTWL: The United Nations Charter.

2. The Relevance of Law to the Operations of the United Nations

Law, Politics and the United Nations. *Rosalyn Higgins.*

The Introduction of a New Legislative Technique. *A. J. P. Tammes.*

Report of Committee on Study of Legal Problems of the United Nations. Should the Laws of War Apply to United Nations Enforcement Action?

Extract from Oral Argument before the International Court of Justice in the *South West Africa Cases.*

Excerpts from the Separate Opinion of Judge Sir Percy Spender in the Case of the *Certain Expenses of the United Nations.*

The Relation of Law, Politics and Action in the United Nations. *Oscar Schachter.*

3. Membership in the United Nations

A. Problems of Membership

The Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice in *Conditions of Admission of a State to Membership in the United Nations.*

B. Problems of Representation

Sixteenth Session General Assembly Debate on Question of Representation of China in the United Nations and Restoration of the Lawful Rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

Coordinated Reading in WPTWL: pp. 12-17

4. The Security Council

The UN Security Council. *Leland M. Goodrich.*

The Security Council: Functions and Powers. *D. W. Bowett.*

Excerpts from 18th Session of the General Assembly Special Political Committee Debates.

Coordinated Reading in WPTWL: pp. 66-131

5. The General Assembly

A. The Effectiveness of General Assembly Resolutions

The Changing Effectiveness of General Assembly Resolutions. *Gabriella R. Lande.*

- The General Assembly of the United Nations and its Power to Influence National Action. *Krzysztof Skubiszewski*.
Coordinated reading in WPTWL: pp. 34–65
- B. *The Uniting for Peace Resolution*
The Uniting for Peace Resolution.
The Uses of the Uniting for Peace Resolution Since 1950. *Keith S. Petersen*.
- C. *Representation and Voting*
Representation and Voting in the United Nations General Assembly. *Francis O. Wilcox*.
How the African Bloc Uses Its Votes. *Thomas Hovet, Jr.*
Would Weighted Voting Help the U.S.? *United States Department of State*.
Coordinated Reading in WPTWL: pp. 20–33
- 6. The Secretariat and the Secretary-General**
The Secretary-General of the United Nations. *Charles Henry Alexandrowicz*.
The Troika and the Future of the United Nations: The Secretary-General. *Sydney D. Bailey*.
Coordinated Reading in WPTWL: pp. 183–186
- 7. The Limitations on the Authority of the United Nations: Article 2(7) and Apartheid in the Republic of South Africa**
United Nations Materials on Apartheid in the Republic of South Africa.
Coordinated Reading in WPTWL: pp. 6–11
- 8. Procedures for Pacific Settlement**
The Institutions of International Decision-Making. *Morton A. Kaplan and Nicholas deB. Katzenbach*.
Step-by-Step Acceptance of the Jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. *Louis B. Sohn*.
Adjudication and the Rule of Law. *Lon L. Fuller*.
Coordinated Reading in WPTWL: pp. 89–110; pp. 335–344
- 9. Procedures of Coercive Settlement: Sanctions, Peace-Keeping and Police**
- A. *Perspectives on Sanctioning*
The Prohibition of War by International Law. *James L. Brierty*.
Sanctions in International Law under the Charter of the United Nations. *Hans Kelsen*.
National Sovereignty, International Cooperation and the Reality of International Law. *Wolfgang Friedmann*.
- B. *Peace-Keeping by the United Nations*
United Nations Peace Force. *U Thant*
An Appraisal. *Herbert Nicholas*.

United Nations Emergency Force. *Dag Hammarskjöld*.
Wanted: Rules to Guide United Nations Peace-Keeping
Operations of the Future. *Marion H. McVitty*.
The Role of the United Nations in Civil Wars. *Louis B.*
Sohn.

Coordinated Reading in WPTWL: pp. 111-131

C. *Proposals for a World Police Force*

Structure and Control of United Nations Forces (and)
Conclusions. *D. W. Bowett*.

Quis Custodiet? Controlling the Police in a Disarmed World.
Arthur I. Waskow.

Political Conditions for a Force. *Hans Morgenthau*.

Strategy: A World Force in Operation. *Thomas C. Schelling*.

Coordinated Reading in WPTWL: pp. 314-334

10. The Financing and the So-Called Financing Problem

A. *The So-Called Financing Problem*

International Court of Justice. Certain Expenses of the
United Nations.

B. *The Financing Problem*

Financial Crisis and the Future of the United Nations.
Norman J. Padelford.

C. *Beyond Financing and So-Called Financing*

Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations: Report
of the Secretary-General and the President of the General
Assembly.

Coordinated Reading in WPTWL: pp. 52-65; 349-358

11. Evaluating the United Nations

An Evaluation of the United Nations. *Stanley Hoffmann*.

Two Differing Views of the United Nations Assayed. *Dag*
Hammarskjöld.

More Responsibility for Russia? *Alvin Z. Rubinstein*.

Volume IV DISARMAMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

1. The Military Environment: Arms Competition and the Idea of Stable Deterrence

- Steps Toward Disarmament / *P. M. S. Blackett*
 National Security and the Nuclear Test Ban / *Jerome
 Wiesner and Herbert F. York*
 Defence Against Ballistic Missiles / *Freeman J. Dyson*
 Antimissile Systems and Disarmament / *General Nikolai Ladonov*
 The ABM Debate—A Soviet View / *Robert Gomer*
 Arms Control and Disarmament in International Law
Edman S. Lisher

2. Theories of Arms Control and Disarmament

- The Objectives of Arms Control / *Hedley Bull*
 Reciprocal Measures for Arms Stabilization / *Thomas C.
 Schelling*
 Reciprocal Initiative / *Charles Osgood*
 Keeping the Genie in the Bottle—The Feasibility of a Nuclear
 Non-Proliferation Agreement / *Walter Goldstein*
 Coordinated Reading in WPIWI: pp. 206–213

3. Transitional Steps Toward a Disarmable World

- No First Use of Nuclear Weapons: A Proposal / *Robert
 C. Tucker*
 No First Use of Nuclear Weapons—EAS Resolution
 Questions and Answers on the U.S. Production Freeze
 Proposal / *Betty Goetz Lall*
 A Freeze on Strategic Delivery Systems / *Paul Doty*
 European Security—Interrelation of Political, Military,
 and Economic Factors / *Louis B. Sohn*

4. The Idea of General and Complete Disarmament

- General and Comprehensive Disarmament / *Hedley Bull*
 The McCloy-Zorn Agreement—Joint Statement of Agreed
 Principles for Disarmament Negotiations
 A Comparison and Evaluation of Current Disarmament
 Proposals / *Marion H. McCitty*
 Supranational versus International Models for General
 and Complete Disarmament / *Klaus Knorr*
 Respect for International Law and Confidence in Disarmament
Richard A. Falk
 Coordinated Reading in WPIWI: pp. 214–262; 281–305

5. Maintaining Security During Disarmament: Verified Compliance and Response

A. Inspection

Inspection: Shadow and Substance. *Richard J. Barnet.*

Phasing of Arms Reduction: The Territorial Method.

Louis B. Sohn.

Coordinated Reading in WPTWL: pp. 263-280

B. Response to Violations

After Detection—What? *Fred Charles Iklé.*

Verification and Response in Disarmament Agreements,

Summary Report on the Woods Hole Summer Study of 1962.

International Police: A Sequential Approach to Effectiveness and Control, Part I. *Roger Fisher.*

C. The Control of Supranational Responses

International Police: A Sequential Approach to Effectiveness and Control, Part II. *Roger Fisher.*

Coordinated Reading in WPTWL: pp. 306-313

6. World Economic Development: Some Trends and Models

A. Rich Nations and Poor Nations: A Strategy for World Development

The Concept of World Interest. *Kenneth E. Boulding.*

International Aid for Underdeveloped Countries. *P. N. Rosenstein-Rodan.*

International Stratification and Atimia. *Gustavo Lagos.*

The United Nations Development Decade. *U Thant.*

B. Economic Consequences of Disarmament

The Economic Impact of Disarmament in the United States. *Emile Benoit.*

Coordinated Reading in WPTWL: pp. 345-348; 132-149