

IN MEMORIAM

BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT

1899-1989

Benjamin Dean Meritt, one of the most distinguished American classicists of this century, died at his Austin home on July 7, 1989, at the age of 90. Upon moving to Austin in 1972, he taught at The University of Texas at Austin as a Visiting Professor of Classics and since then held the title of Visiting Scholar while continuing his association with the Department of Classics and offering several informal courses for graduate students.

His lifelong work was Athenian epigraphy, the reconstruction and interpretation of the legislative, financial, and other documents that the ancient Athenians recorded in inscriptions on marble and that survive today in thousands of broken fragments. So notable was Meritt's early work in this field that in 1935 he was the first humanist-historian to be appointed to the faculty of the newly established Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey. This remained his academic home till retirement and became, in large measure through his influence, a major international center for the study of classical antiquity. Another opportunity in the 1930s arose from the start of the American Excavations in the Athenian Agora: Athenian inscriptions were turning up in these excavations in unprecedented numbers, and Meritt assumed charge of their study, publishing new texts in a long string of usually annual and often book-length articles that stretched down into the late 1960s. Since these reports cover the full spectrum of Athenian history and epigraphy from the 6th century B.C. to the 3rd century of our era, there is probably no better proof of the range of his erudition.

His name, however, will always be most closely linked with those few special areas of investigation to which he returned time and time again

and which are the subjects of most of his fourteen books: the organization of the Athenian calendar, the reconstruction of the list of Athenian archons in the Hellenistic period, and, above all, the inscribed financial accounts and lists of tribute assessments from the time of the Athenian empire in the 5th century B.C. The four volumes of The Athenian Tribute Lists published with the collaboration of H. T. Wade-Gery and M. F. McGregor between 1939 and 1953 stand as his greatest achievement, his monument. All students of the Athenian empire depend on them.

On his 75th birthday in Austin, close colleagues and former students presented him with a festschrift entitled PHOROS ("Tribute"). It is prefaced by a short, affectionate account of the man and his work and by his huge bibliography, which, in annual clusters of publications from 1923 to 1974, runs to seven pages and includes 200 articles, reviews, and monographs. To these must be added the articles that he continued to produce after 1974. Other lists give some indication of the recognition that this work has received. In addition to his undergraduate and graduate degrees (Hamilton College, Princeton University), he was awarded honorary degrees by four American universities and by the Universities of Oxford, Glasgow, and Athens. He lectured as Eastman Professor at Oxford and held the three major lectureships in Classical Studies in America, as Martin Lecturer at Oberlin, Sather Professor at Berkeley, and Semple Lecturer at Cincinnati. Before his affiliation with The University of Texas at Austin, he had held regular teaching appointments at five other American universities.

Upon retirement to emeritus status at the Institute of Advanced Study, Ben moved to Austin with his second wife, the archaeologist and architectural historian, Lucy Shoe Meritt, to take up residence in the

old Ionic-revival Herblin-Shoe house off West Avenue. There he wrote, met with graduate students, entertained, and enjoyed the freedom of formal retirement. Deeply touched by the hospitality extended to him by The University of Texas at Austin, he eagerly welcomed every invitation to address a class or teach a seminar or conference course. Those fortunate enough to have him teach their graduate classes have vivid memories of the unassuming yet authoritative manner with which he would demonstrate the tools of the epigraphist's trade -- squeezes, brushes, and the rest -- and the way in which he would introduce students, as equal participants, to current research, new inscriptions, and very often, scholarly controversy: Ben was nothing if not an academic in-fighter for what he believed in, so that not a few scholars-in-the-making were encouraged by the sense that academic truth, and their specialty, were things well worth fighting for -- to their great benefit.

Drawing on a lifetime of experiences and his prodigious memory, he rarely addressed a historical topic that did not have strong personal associations. He himself had written on so many of these problems, and he liked to reminisce about his encounters with legendary figures of scholarship who had also been involved and about the pioneering conditions of archaeology in Greece back in the 1920s and '30s. Through him many colleagues and friends in Austin were put in touch with an earlier, grander era of scholarship, which was represented too in his modest, gentlemanly manner. For despite all his accomplishments and learning, what is easily most memorable about him was what Thucydides termed the most noble of human characteristics, his simplicity. Faculty, students and friends of the U. T. Austin Department of Classics are fortunate to have had the opportunity to know this fine man, and to have learned from him.



A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "William H. Cunningham", written over a horizontal line.

William H. Cunningham, President
The University of Texas at Austin

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "H. Paul Kelley", written over a horizontal line.

H. Paul Kelley, Secretary
The General Faculty

This Memorial Resolution was prepared by a Special Committee consisting of Professors John H. Kroll (Chairman), Peter M. Green, and Cynthia W. Shelmerdine.

THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS & POLITICAL SCIENCE
(UNIVERSITY OF LONDON)

Telephone: 01-405 7686

Telegrams: Poleconics, London WC2

HOUGHTON STREET
LONDON, WC2A 2AE

PDCD/JMA/123/129

9 July 1976.

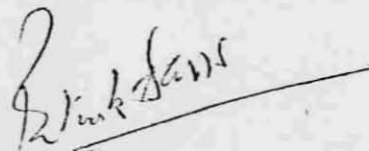
Dear Miss Marquand,

Many thanks for your letter of 3 July addressed to the School. We did indeed publish a collection of David Mitrany's writings on 23 October 1975. It was called The Functional Theory of Politics and is available in the US from the St. Martin's Press.

Sadly Professor Mitrany died just before the book was published. I do not have the file with me but I think it was in late July or early August. Mrs. Mitrany has long been ill with heart trouble and some kind of nervous complaint so that I am not surprised that you have had little satisfaction from letters written to her. Professor Mitrany's death was reported in all the usual places. One of the troubles I have had is trying to establish in any reliable way to whom I ought to write about his last book. Mrs. Mitrany has proved to be quite useless as a source of information and Professor Mitrany's death coming just when it did, before we had even drafted review lists and lists of people to whom presentation copies might have been sent, left me with very little to go on.

I am sending you under separate cover by sea mail a copy of "A Memoir: The Making of the Functional Theory" which forms the first chapter of the new book and which Professor Mitrany had printed separately with the idea that he would present them to old friends and colleagues interested in his work. If you know of anybody else to whom I could send a copy who comes into this category of old friend and colleague, I would be delighted to do so. I still have a few copies left.

Yours sincerely,



P.D.C. Davis
Publications Officer

Miss Sarnia Marquand,
220 Madison Avenue, # 8-H,
New York,
N.Y. 10016,
U.S.A.

September 11, 1975

Braby and Waller
2/3, Hind Court
Fleet Street
London EC4A 3DS

Your Ref. JKW/NM

Gentlemen:

All of Dr. Mitrany's friends in Princeton are very saddened to learn of his death on July 25. This is the first word that we have received of it.

I regret that I am unable to be of help in your inquiry. As you know, Dr. Mitrany maintained an account at the Princeton Bank and Trust Company. I know of no contracts with publishers in this country and have searched in old files of the School to see if there was reference to any. I found one letter that mentioned a "problem" with the University of North Carolina Press, but that was over twenty years ago.

Yours faithfully,

Administrative Officer

BRABY & WALLER

SOLICITORS & COMMISSIONERS FOR OATHS

J. M. CROSSMAN

G. V. MASON

P. J. BROOKER

MARY GREENHALGH J. W. HOWELL

I. CARPENTER

C. BRABY

L. F. WALLER

MARY J. SCUDAMORE

F. H. ROBERTSON

2/3, HIND COURT, FLEET STREET,
LONDON, EC4A 3DS.

OUR REF.

JKW/NM

YOUR REF.

TELEPHONE

01-583 8511

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS

"AFTERWARDS,
LONDON-EC4"

12 August 1975

The Secretary

Institute of Advanced Studies

School of Historical Studies

Princeton, New Jersey

08540

U S A

Dear Sir

PROFESSOR DAVID MITRANY, DECEASED

We act for the Executors of the Will of the above named deceased late of Lower Farm, Kingston Blount, Oxford England, who died on 25th July, 1975.

We understand that Professor Mitrany was for many years connected with your Institute. We are trying to gather together information about his American Estate and have traced his Bank Accounts. We wonder however whether you can give us any details about the Professor's American affairs including details of any publishers with whom he may have had ^{CONTACTS.} ~~contact.~~

We look forward to hearing from you.

Yours faithfully

Braby & Waller

August 18, 1975

PROFESSOR DAVID MITRANY, DECEASED
JKW/NM

Braby & Waller
2/3, Hind Court, Fleet Street
London EC4A 3DS
ENGLAND

Dear Sir:

Please be advised that Miss Elizabeth Horton, School
Administrative Officer, is presently on vacation and will
return to the office September 2, at which time I shall be
glad to bring your letter to her attention.

Sincerely yours,

Sandra S. Lafferty
(Mrs. David G.)
Secretary

Dear Dick

17-XII-74

Please write to me if you
me your news (to the Institute).
I thought this news will
please you - I have no idea
who made it, but the IAS is
prestigious.

The irony is that, as I
think I wrote you, the London
School of Economics & Pol. Science,
i.e. its Publications Office, took
the initiative last spring to
publish a volume with some of
my work, though I have never
been on their staff (and
long ago a student there), and
Bakewell is their new director
who took over this September.

The Mr. has gone to the
printer, the new director will
have to swallow his pride
reclaim it !!

My kindest regards
wishes to all who wish
me. Judy.

MITRANY

1974

DRAFT

My dear Mr. Mitrany:

My answer (2 Aug.) to your inquiry of 15 July was certainly brief; it may well have been short. By your reply (23 Sept.) -- which was lengthy enough to be rude -- I see it gave offence. I intended none and apologize therefor. I thought only to give the frank response you wanted.

Let me now enlarge on my earlier note sufficiently to explain the reasons for my negative answer. I took your inquiry at face value as a request for assistance in finding an American publisher. The Institute does not now and has not at any recent time published directly or arranged for the publication of the work of its members, present or former. That responsibility rests with them.

Perhaps I should have read your letter as a request for financial assistance towards the LSE publication. Had I done so, I would have been compelled to make the same reply. The small resources we have for that purpose do not suffice for the urgent needs of the current faculty. I could hardly have put a request from a long-separated member ahead of those needs or expected that the faculty members involved would have made that choice had it been put to them.

In any case, no substantive judgment of the merits of the work or its author is in question. Both as an academic administrator and a scholar with substantial knowledge and experience in the field, I am well aware of how such judgments are made when they are appropriate.

Very truly yours,

CK

NOT Sent.

Kingston Blount
Oxford

23 Sept. 74

Dear Dr. Kaysen,

Your note of August 2 appears to have been thrown off, for whatever reason, with the eyes of temper, without relevance to a clear and courteous inquiry.

When an institution with the unique standing in the social sciences of the London School of Economics takes the initiative to honour the work of a former member of the Institute, was it an intrusion to inquire whether the Institute itself might wish to share in that act? Would it in any way discredit the Institute if it chose to do so? But whether it did so or not, it certainly is within the proper way of any administrator to have such a matter considered on behalf of the institution, perhaps in consultation with competent members of the faculty.


You might in any case have remembered that you were writing to an old man, to one who had been among the few chosen to start the Institute; and one not without honour among students and scholars in America as much as in England and on the Continent, even in the more restrictive countries of eastern Europe. And on a more personal side, one who during long years of distant separation through war and a heavy personal problem has to this day retained the close friendship of the most distinguished families at the Institute and in town; and no less the kindest friendship of all among the working staff who had known him at the Institute.

-2-

Such personal regard may mean little to you, or you may know nothing of them; but you need not know. It does not relieve the officer of a scholarly institution from seeing that ~~whatever~~ comes into his hands is at least considered - not just thrown back with such brusque discourtesy.

American freinds, from outside the Institute, last year sent me press reports of the unfortunate incidents which divided the Institute. One had no way to judge, and no wish to judge. It is little satisfaction to be given in a personal experience, wholly without cause or reason, and with no personal involvement, a glimpse of how what was meant to be a 'society of scholars' could come to such a pass.

Sincerely

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'D. Mitrany', with a horizontal line extending to the right.

David Mitrany

Dr. Carl Kaysen

MITRANY

August 2, 1974

Mr. David Mitrany
Kingston Blount
Oxford, England

Dear Mr. Mitrany:

Thank you for your note of 15 July. I have been absent from Princeton for some time and have only just returned.

It is agreeable to hear of the LSE's decision to sponsor a volume collecting some of your works on functionalism as an approach to international relations. However, I do not think I can see any way that the Institute can be useful in helping you find an American publisher. I think your English publisher is a more likely channel for the provision of such assistance.

With all good wishes for the success of this venture.

Sincerely yours,

Carl Kaysen

July 26, 1974

Mr. David Mitrany
Kingston Blount
Oxford
England

Dear Mr. Mitrany:

Thank you for your letter of 15 July to
Dr. Kaysen. He is away on vacation at the
present time, but will answer your letter
upon his return.

Sincerely yours,

Lynne N. Lambert
Secretary to Dr. Kaysen

Plädoyer für die europäische Union is a development of the ideas first outlined by Ralf Dahrendorf in anonymous articles in *Die Zeit* and later in *Encounter*. When they first appeared they caused something of a stir among students of the European Community and among those actively involved in the institutions in Brussels, for it became known very quickly that Professor Dahrendorf—a member of the Community Commission—had written them, and they amounted to a severe criticism of present arrangements.

His main points were that it was time to abandon the rigid formula of the first Europe—the Europe of bureaucracy, of centralized institutions in Brussels and Community rules—in favour of a much more flexible set of arrangements in which institutions would be more closely adjusted to the problems faced and would reflect the continuing interest of the national governments. It was time, in Professor Dahrendorf's view, to abandon the theoretical orthodoxy which he calls *Functionalism* in favour of a *problem-orientated* approach involving, where necessary, inter-governmental arrangements within the Community. These would allow governments to get down to the real business of striking well-founded agreements among themselves.

In practice, it was argued, the decline of the first Europe was already visible in the more intergovernmental Davignon arrangements for attempting to coordinate foreign policy questions among the Nine, initiated at The Hague Summit of December 1969, and in the meetings of economics and finance ministers which took place outside the Community framework. These developments offered the opportunity of escape from the bureaucratic inertia of Brussels.

Professor Dahrendorf makes these points at length and with great vigour in the book, as in the articles, and it is not surprising that they did not go down well with some of his fellow Commissioners. President Ortel in his introduction to the sixth general report on the activities of the communities, published in Brussels in February 1973, appealed for the disappearance of the distinction between Community problems and problems which were

Curing the inertia of the EEC

a matter of political cooperation; Emile Noel, Secretary General of the Commission, no doubt reflected the views of many Commissioners when he appealed in the autumn of 1972 for the amendment of the Rome Treaty under the terms of Article 236 in order to involve new areas of common activity in the Community framework. Precisely when some Commissioners were attempting to preserve their role as the lynch-pin of the system and bring all questions of integration, "political" or otherwise, within their sphere, Professor Dahrendorf was arguing the opposite: that the new, looser inter-governmental arrangements were more appropriate to the wide range of problems with which Europe was now faced.

Professor Dahrendorf's book is penetrating and full of insight. It is also a useful reminder that further progress must depend on the convergence of the diplomatic objectives of states and that it must avoid the development of a Europe which is "closed" and exclusive. And Europe cannot be viewed as a panacea for all our ills: it is inappropriate to the settlement of many problems which extend beyond European frontiers and need to be tackled at the appropriate level. Our existing political and institutional arrangements are frequently too confined or too extensive, or undemocratic.

But, in fixing blame for some of the difficulties in contemporary Europe, and for the failure to move towards greater unity, Professor Dahrendorf uses instruments which are sometimes too blunt. He is right to criticize the style of thinking about integration which holds that a particular step must necessarily lead to another, that the Common Agricultural Policy must necessarily lead to monetary union, and that monetary union necessarily leads to political union. As he points out, politicians can all too easily find themselves in situations which lead them to deny this "logic" and to refuse the next step and, if this hap-

RALF DAHRENDORF:

Plädoyer für die europäische Union
241pp. Munich: Piper. DM 25.

pens, there is no way of demonstrating that they are wrong. This way of thinking about Europe is also linked with the tendency to bundle plans together, as in the Werner proposals, because they happen to add up to political union. This not only frightens governments away from tackling particular problems because they are made more conscious of the dangers of losing authority, but it also makes it more difficult to extract smaller-scale, more amenable problems from the lump. The practical steps are sacrificed for fear of the great leap. Having stated these difficulties, however, Professor Dahrendorf is led dangerously close to the opposite fallacy: that political action can be a product of a kind of free-wheeling political creativity, and that politicians can be freed from the constraints of circumstances.

Professor Dahrendorf primarily blames Functionalism for the theoretical, hazy of the "necessary logic" approach to integration, and sees the Commission as its most influential disciple. To blame Functionalism in general is surely much too sweeping a judgment. Indeed, some of the problems found by Professor Dahrendorf in Functionalism apply only to the present phase of European integration and not, as he implies, to all the various phases of integration in Europe since the Second World War. The theory of Functionalism in fact points to the way in which political judgment may be subjected to the discipline of the economic, social, cultural and strategic conditions, and, more specifically, it asserts that the changing of these circumstances might dispose policy-makers to take one kind of decision rather than another.

Furthermore, David Mitrany, who

is the founding-father of Functionalism, lays great stress on the step-by-step approach and is quite explicit about not linking this with a necessary political outcome: it is deliberately indirect and problem-orientated. Professor Dahrendorf would have done better to concentrate his fire more closely on those who have deduced strategies for international integration from modern interpretations of Functionalism, particularly from the Neo-Functional theories of Haas and Lindberg, which have been so influential in Brussels. These theories do lead the unwary to deduce strategies which stress the need to relate technical adjustments to political goals.

Professor Mitrany's style of Functionalism is more compatible with Professor Dahrendorf's approach than the latter seems to think. He recommends the identification of particular problems and the attempt to solve them on their own terms. He also accepts that there may come a time in a process of integration when it is appropriate to concentrate on political creativity or constitution-building. Professor Mitrany would argue that this can only apply to global integration. But the point is mirrored in the European context by the view that, in advanced phases of regional international integration, more purely political measures for further integration may be necessary. This is not to deny that the conditions in which it is appropriate to rely upon inter-governmental techniques, or political creativity, have been created by Functionalist means.

One of the corollaries of Professor Dahrendorf's criticism of the Commission and of Functionalism is an excessive faith in the capacity of politicians for clear thinking and balanced judgment. It is implicit in his view of the new Europe that the intergovernmental approach is preferable in some areas because governments, if left to themselves, are in some way more in touch with reality, more careful in control and more sophisticated in judgment.

There is very little evidence to support this view. The Davignon framework has hardly got off the ground; the recent summit conferences, particularly that of October 1972, were remarkable mainly for the vast scale of the stated ambitions and the smallness of the actual achievements; and, more importantly in the context of this argument, in the early 1950s before the adoption of the Functionalist approach, the governments of the Six waxed lyrical in their communal enthusiasm for the European Defence Community only to relapse into suspicious introspection during 1954.

Of course, governments are capable of great common sense, and of patient skill in the pursuit of their goals, and these are qualities which should be tapped, in the new Europe as in the old one, and in international society in general. But they are also liable to be seduced by their own rhetoric or to be diverted from their purpose, or to misunderstand each other; the result is spasmodic enthusiasm followed by profound suspicion.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that attention should be given to the conditions and circumstances in which governments are more disposed to agree than to disagree. In previous phases of European integration the Brussels institutions and the Functionalist approach certainly made a contribution to improving the climate of European diplomacy. And, though Professor Dahrendorf is right to criticize the strategy of the "necessary logic" of integration—which is no logic at all—he does not show how the scale of bureaucracy in the Commission could be reduced without endangering its role as coordinator and manager of the system. The implication is not that the Functionalist approach should be abandoned and intergovernmentalism embraced: it is rather that a real Functionalist strategy should be adopted, rather than a Neo-Functionalist one, and that the Commission should be better equipped to link governments actively together, to coordinate and manage their relations with each other, and to counteract their continuing propensity to disagree. It is certain that if Functionalism does not work no other approach will.

Kingston Blount
Oxford

15 July 1974

Dear Director, I am writing to inquire whether, through you, the Institute might take an interest in a matter of interest to me; I am writing personally as I do not know what are the arrangements or possibilities, and I do not want to cause you any inconvenience. If there are any difficulties in taking ^{me} up, I would appreciate it if you would be kind enough to tell me so frankly.

The L.S.E. have decided to sponsor a volume with some of my writings (having two years ago made me an honorary fellow), which is all the more generous as I have never been on the staff of the School, only a student, in its early years. This follows upon other signs of interest in my work -- in the fall of 1969 the Carnegie Endowment sponsored a small (at my request) international academic conference on 'functionalism', at Bellagio; the two rapporteurs at that conference, Paul Taylor of L.S.E. and John Groom of University College, London, have brought together a volume of some twenty essays by various contributors which is due this fall from the University of London Press (it should have appeared over a year ago but printing firms ~~have~~ have been plagued by strikes); there have been quite a number of articles in learned journals (not without criticism), and doctoral theses in Canada and Poland; and now the School has taken the initiative for this special volume.

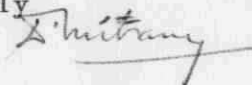
This one is to be a personal book. It will begin with a longish autobiographical paper --strictly 'functional', relating only activities and experiences which contributed to my work, nothing about private affairs or adventures --, and it will end with a full bibliography; and in between a small selection of papers and extracts. We agreed not to include papers easily accessible or recently published, or anything included in the Quadrangle Press volume, 1967. I am enclosing an outline of the proposed contents; also a few references put together by their officer for the School's publications committee. (I might add that Merrifield and Spinelli also referred specifically to my work, and that the selection might have included something from Prof. Gerda Zellentin, Cologne, now perhaps the main expert on European East-West non-political relations,

~~and~~ who very kindly dedicated to me, when I had not even met her, her book "Intersystemare Beziehungen in Europa", 1970.

The L.S.E. volume is to be published by an independent new firm, Martin Robertson, set up some two years ago to publish exclusively in the social sciences, and to publish without the strange delays now habitual with the old big firms. Where any interest by the Institute could be of help would be with arrangements in America and with the nature of the production. I must tell you that when the idea was first mooted, a little over a year ago, one of the managers of the Princeton Press happened to visit London and the School, and he expressed great interest in joining in the venture (I myself had nothing to do with any of this, I was only told about it); but after keeping the School waiting quite a time someone else wrote from Princeton this spring to say that their advisers did not think there would be sufficient demand for a book on the subject. (This has rather puzzled the London academics as eighteen months of efforts direct and through booksellers have failed to produce a single copy of the Quadrangle book published in 1967, in both hardback and paperback editions; and that had been also the experience of the University of Southern California group who run graduate courses for U.S. air and naval personnel in England and in Germany.) L.S.E. have ~~therefore~~ decided ~~not~~ to wait any longer but to go ahead on their own, and I am now working to get the final text ready; but the questions of U.S. and of production are still open.

As I said, I am writing this in a personal way as I have no idea what are the arrangements in such matters at the Institute -- I have never asked or received any help for my publications --. I have longed to come over for a spell of quiet work as life here is pretty difficult, but I have a personal problem which has not allowed me to get away.

With my thanks and good wishes, sincerely



David Mitrany

Dr. Carl Kaysen.

L.S.E. Volume

1. Introduction: The Place of Functionalism in International Theories.
 (Paul Taylor)
2. "The Making of the Functional Theory - An Autobiographical Note.
 2a. Notes and References.
3. Extract from "The Progress of International Government", Yale ^{Dodge} Lectures,
 1932.
4. "Territorial, Ideological or Functional International Organization"
 (Foreign Office paper, Jan. 1941)
5. Introduction to "Working Peace System", 4th ed. 1946.
6. "A Political Theory for the New Society" (1973 Taylor-Groom volume).
7. The Functional Conception in Political Theory: Retrospect and
 Prospect (WZM)
8. The Functional Approach applied to some central international issues
 (Brief extracts and summaries from published and unpublished
 papers):-
 - Nationality and Nationalism
 - International Consequences of National Planning.
 - The New Deal in U.S.A.
 - The New Meaning of Neutrality.
 - Security and Sanctions.
 - War and Ethics.
 - Peaceful Change under Covenant and Charter.
 - Conflict Resolution (~~letter to John Burton~~).
 - Human Rights and International Action.
 - Ombudsman
 - The Problem of Minorities.
 - Equality of States in a Collective System.
 - Regionalism.
 - Colonial Self Government (Hansard Society)
 - The Teen-Age States (2 Articles)
 - The U.N. in Historical Perspective.
 - War Papers: Agenda of Peacemaking.
 What to do with Germany.
 Eastern Europe.
 War Organization.
9. Bibliography
10. Index

THE FUNCTIONAL ROAD TO INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY

- I. The world is in a "transitional crisis" between one great historical period and another. "The functional justification of the territorial state is overcome by developments in its economic and military spheres, the two areas in which it had operated most self-sufficiently in earlier periods.....This development, however, is not paralleled by supranational assumptions of power and authority."

(Richard Falk, "Historical Tendencies and the International Legal Order", Howard Law Journal, Spring 1962)

"In the present disturbed conditions of "general theory" in international affairs it is encouraging to note the beginnings of new approaches to the international society. The generic term of Functional Development is sometimes used to describe these efforts without, perhaps, doing them justice. For they are novel in the sense of attempting to articulate alternatives to the classical concept of Power and its corollary: peace by force, if necessary....

"The question rather is, from what sources shall authority be permitted to arise; what shall be its permissible methods of use; and what ends shall it be permitted to serve?

"In short, since coercive power is self-defeating, the pressing problem of this stage of history is to find a general theory of non-coercive authority. Moreover, it must be a theory which is politically viable and practical; and most of all, one which is capable of being understood and participated in by the broad range of human beings it serves.

"These are stiff requirements. But, fortunately, the Functionalist hypothesis appears to fulfill them - in so far as it has been articulated and developed over the past 150 years of experience in the sub-field of political science called International Organisation."

(Prof. Charles Merrifield, "Beyond Power", International Associations, 1966 No. 12)

"The quiet achievements of these organisations encouraged a number of writers during and after the First World War, such as Leonard Woolf, H.G. Wells and, a little later, but most influential, David Mitrany, to move towards a philosophy of international functionalism."

(Prof. Richard Symonds (ed.) "International Targets for Development", 1970)

- 2 -

"When it was becoming evident that the League of Nations was failing, there appeared in 1933, in London, David Mitrany's book, 'International Government', that theoretical-programmatic work which developed in masterly fashion the functionalist argument for a peaceful world society. Writers like Pittmann Potter, G.D.H. Cole and many others less well known, had written on particular issues and empirical aspects of international co-operation, but David Mitrany has remained without question the most important theoretical writer on the functionalist conception of peace. The collection of Mitrany's chief essays, published in 1966, appeared under the same title as that of his original main work, 'A Working Peace System', of 1943. An analysis of these writings forms the basis for the discussion of functionalism which follows...."

(Eva Senghaas-Knobloch,
"Frieden durch Integration und Assoziation",
Stuttgart, 1972)

"While many scholars have focused on conflict, others have turned to the study of integration at the international level....Although integration theorists have developed a variety of models and drawn upon several disciplines for concepts and hypotheses, they owe a considerable intellectual debt to the interwar writings of David Mitrany. More recent writers have attempted to refine and reconceptualise hypotheses about functionalism that he first set forth. Scholars have sought answers to questions that he first raised...."

(Robert Pfalzgraff, *jr.* "International
Relations Theory", International
Affairs, London, January, 1974)

- II. "Functionalism cannot be classified as a theory of international organisation only. Its theoretical principles are very broad and deep: without doubt functionalism may be considered as a general theory of social affairs, based on philosophical principles linked with the tradition of liberal thought. That is evident in the functional approach to human nature and to the problems of social relations in general. It is not possible or justified to ignore the philosophical background of functionalism. To limit the functional idea to international problems only, is to prevent its being classified as a general theory, and deprive it of its fundamental values.

- 3 -

"However, keeping in mind the general theoretical principles, it is possible to present them also as a theory of international organisation. Taking the functional approach as a basis one can work out the methodological as well as the substantial principles for a theory of international organisation. These principles can be found in the works of David Mitrany. Functionalism gives an adequate description of the origins, workings and structure of international organisation. It makes it possible to appraise the place and limits of organisational activity in the international field.

"One of the strongest aspects of functionalism is the pragmatic character of the theory. According to this pragmatic approach of functionalism there exists a natural linkage between theory and practice. Themes formulated on the basis of functional methodology are deeply rooted in the social area. They permit functional recommendations to be applied directly to the real social situation. On the other side, social experience provides functionalism with the data needed for the proper development of the theoretical background. This interpretation creates favourable conditions which are as suited to the formulation of theory as to its practical application...."

"Functionalism does not create a new basis for a set, formal and systematic theory, but rather the general framework for progressive and proper activity which makes it possible to solve problems created by the contemporary development of mankind....Functionalism gives one of the alternatives for dealing with international affairs and social problems. It does not reduce or exclude other approaches, but points out its own way for solving the main problems of our time."

"The growing web of international activity in its different forms (based on the multi-lateral principle) is the best demonstration of the rightness of the functional interpretation. These changes cannot be brought about at one stroke, but through a long process of transforming the contemporary structure of international relations. The continued existence of contradictions to the functional course of events does not disprove the value of functionalism, but is a natural reflection of our contemporary situation. Functionalism takes into account the evolutionary character of change. A working peace system has to be understood not as a static structure, but as a dynamic state of social reality based on co-operative elements in social relations."

(Franciszek Golembki, a young Polish philosopher, doctoral thesis on "Functionalism", Warsaw, 1972)

- 4 -

- III. "My survey has, I hope, shown that a marked advance in integration has occurred in the last half-century and that despite setbacks it continues. The advance has been carried on by a partly fortuitous combination of private and public enterprise directed to particular tasks without over-all definition of purpose or plan of concerted action. If there has been any underlying theory, it is of the functionalist type propounded in the last three decades by David Mitrany and his followers."

(Prof. Percy Corbett, "From International to World Law", Lehigh University Research Monographs, No. 1, October 1969)

"In contrast to the federalists, the functionalists have never organized themselves, but their ideas have spread everywhere. When European statesmen were faced with the problem of European unification, they espoused the functionalist approach, adopting federalist points of view with hesitation and half-heartedly only when forced by necessity and discarding them when the pressure diminished."

(Antonio Spinelli, former Secretary General of the European Federalist Movement, in "European Integration", ed. C. Groves Haines, 1967)

"On the traditional issues of trade, tariffs and international currency, the dominant coalitions of the past twenty-five years are falling apart. New issues are arising - economic exploitation of the oceans, the control of environmental pollution, increasing demands for nuclear energy.... The goal should be the emergence globally of the kind of complicated webs of special interests and associations found in many of the advanced industrial nations.... Civil wars are most rare where an interlocking of individual interests restrains those who would pulverize the society". A new diplomacy would "seek special opportunities for practical co-operative projects with those with whom one has general ideological disagreements.... If we are to envision world community in these terms, the current disorder, with all its threatening aspects, might appear a time of constructive opportunity."

(Seyom Brown, "Constructive Disorder in World Politics", Brookings Institution Bulletin, No. 4, 1972)

- 5 -

"Given the proper political environment, the old functionalist dream of world peace might be possible in a functionalist sector that becomes world-wide."

(Ronn Kaiser, "Towards the Copernican Phase of Regional Integration Theory", Journal of Common Market Studies, Oxford, March 1972)

"The conceptual framework Mitrany postulated in 1943 has remained free from slippage through the years. In fact, his 1965 essay on European integration reflects a self-satisfaction with the course of events that apparently substantiate his premises. Consequently, his views have worn well for a quarter of a century: it is not often that a prophet can see his utterances come to pass.... While the record is not yet complete, functionalism has proved to be a useful concept in nudging sovereign nation-states toward unity, as two case studies by Ernst Haas show. Decision-makers have embraced functionalism, while the more spectacular programs for peace (e.g. Burton's Peace Theory and Etzioni's A Hard Way to Peace) have never been accepted.... Functionalism has proved itself a 'serviceable' bridge between theory and reality: a working peace system is the proper emphasis to give Mr. Mitrany's approach."

(Gene Edward Rainey, review of "A Working Peace System", in The Journal of Politics, vol. 29, 1968)