Part Four
International Actors
A. Introduction – Finding the State

I believe that when the history of our times comes to be written with the perspective which only a half-century can bring, our generation will be distinguished, above all else in the field of social relations, for the progress which we have made in organizing the world for co-operation and peace.¹

Seventy-five years after Professor Manley O. Hudson dared write these prophetic words, their content strikes one as, on one hand, evidently anachronistic and, in light of the great suffering dawning over the old and new worlds at that very moment, cruelly misjudged. On the other hand, juxtaposed with the contemporary world, these words can be read to contain more than just a grain of truth. Prima facie, of course, the world today can hardly be considered to be any more pacific or collaborative than the world of the 1920s and early 1930s. While the sort of international organizations to which Hudson dedicates his book may have come a long way since his time of writing,² examples abound of the deliberate lack of cooperation in contemporary international relations. And, while war in the classical sense may no longer be formally considered an option, its continuing de facto occurrence in many places, as well as its general shift to a wider, if hazier, object in the form of terrorism, also seems to belie Hudson’s optimism. However, in a different and perhaps unintentional sense, Hudson’s vision points to the emergence of a host of processes that, in the aggregate, can be said to stimulate cooperation and to privilege peace over war in the traditional sense. The rise of new types of international organizations such as the European Union or the World Trade Organization, which are endowed with partial sovereignty and hard sanctions for non-compliance with their norms, would appear to point to “progress” in international cooperation. As does many a government’s realization that some form of multilateralism is needed even in that most uncooperative of

¹ Manley O. Hudson, Progress in International Organization 5 (1932).
² See Kaiser, in this volume.