

## IX

In concluding, let us repeat that a truly functioning constitutional system, achieving a synthesis of liberty and equality can only be thought of on a global scale. Precondition for its establishment is the elimination of war. Should global catastrophe overtake us, we need not speculate about democracy or parliamentary systems. Much will depend on where, whether, and when we can achieve an "institutionalization of peace" (Bergstraesser). To achieve and secure permanent peace, we would need to reach a peaceful solution of the great international conflicts by way of compromise, we would need to substitute non-violent action and disarmament for military strategy, and we would equally need to build up an international police force and to institute supra-national governmental agencies on a regional, continental and global level.

A peaceful world order will enhance the chances of democracy within states and on a world scale. A stabilization of the world population and a renunciation of the expending of resources on space travel and space control would have similar effects. All this would have to go hand in hand with a revolution in culture and personality. In other words, humanity would have to work towards perfecting itself here on this earth. Should it succeed in so doing, our dynamic transition period might be followed by a new, more stable era.

Such a development, were it to take place, may not come about in our century. Our *fin de siècle* will rather be characterized by the competition and cooperation of contradictory forces. Even in the event that the positive forces do become stronger and in the end win out, state and politics will still bear many heavy burdens. While totalitarian, military and capitalistic tendencies may be declining, they are likely to be replaced by bureaucratic, technocratic, and collectivistic trends rather than by democratic or libertarian features. Thus a renaissance of democracy pure and simple is not likely to occur. Still we can hope during this transition period to at least conserve and perhaps even strengthen a few liberal elements and the rule of law. If that much can be achieved, humanity will carry over into the new century an equipment which may fall short of the desired ideal but which may suffice to insure the survival and the further progress of the human family.