It is a common error to assume that the defense of Europe against the threat of Soviet domination is the primary cause for European unification. Nor is it true that such unification would come to a standstill if that threat disappeared. The idea of European unity is much older than the threat of Soviet domination and is deeply rooted in Europe's historical past. Indeed, in a very real sense, Europe has always culturally been a unit, possessing a degree of homogeneity and community of outlook which greatly exceeds that of other large entities such as India or the Roman Empire. In the age of nationalism it was common to assume that culture was primarily national in structure, but the great achievements of European culture have always been a common possession of all European peoples. It simply is not possible to assign the great poets and philosophers, the great writers, painters and musicians to any one nation. But even so, the rise of the national state in the early modern period obscured this European unity by preventing its effective political organization. Ever since the disruption of Medieval unity, European life has been characterized by a fateful split between the cultural community and the political and economic community.

In the twentieth century the need for economic cooperation and the need for the consolidation of resources and markets are basically more important in stimulating European unification than the rise of the Soviet Union. In this perspective, the Soviet threat appears as the occasion rather than the cause of unification. This need for economic consolidation has general interrelated causes. One of the major causes, which is universal in impact, is technological in nature. The more advanced the technology, the more complicated becomes the machinery of production, and the more complicated that machinery becomes, the larger must be the market which is to provide an adequate revenue for the construction and maintenance of such machinery. Technological and economic advance are therefore thwarted if the political order within which they operate remains too limited.
Besides this fundamental cause, two other causes stand out in relation to the problems of European unification. First, there is the disintegration and liquidation of Europe's colonial empires which have taken place in this century and at a rapidly accelerated rate in recent years. Connected with this disintegration and liquidation of Europe's colonial empires is the destruction of Europe's predominance in world trade. While Europe is still providing a substantial part of that world trade, there are now rival forces at work and, in terms of statistical percentages, Europe's share is steadily declining. These two interrelated developments, the disintegration of the empires and the destruction of trade predominance, while primarily affecting the colonial powers, England, France, the Netherlands and Belgium, secondarily and indirectly affect the entire European economy, because of the relations between the several European powers. Their trade and therefore ultimately their respective national income cannot remain unaffected by this worldwide emancipation from Europe's predominant leadership.

The second of these major causes is, of course, related to the emergence of the United States and the Soviet Union as the world's two most productive countries, when measured in the absolute production of steel or electricity. This emergence of the United States and the USSR has in turn many, and complicated, causes, but their large size and consequent massive resources are certainly a major factor. From this emergence of the two super-powers, disadvantages have resulted for the small economies of the several European nations in any attempt to bargain with these giants.

The other major cause for the economic consolidation of Europe namely the disintegration of the colonial empires, brought in its sequel the emergence of new political orders of great potential power in place of the former colonial and traditional societies. These societies had been pre-industrial in economic and social structure and had led an existence characterized by stagnation and dependence. More particularly, India and China with their vast populations represent powers of primary significance in this context, but other units surely are going to be of real consequence in this world rivalry.

It is particularly the third of these factors which seems to me to contain forces of global significance. These forces increasingly suggest the pattern of the future world order, if such an order can be achieved at all. In this connection, it may be permissible to point out that in the constant discussion over the alternatives of constitutional de-