

ADDITIONS, INTEGRATIONS, CORRECTIONS AND SUPPLEMENTS
TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ARNOLD JOSEPH TOYNBEE*

by Teodoro Tagliaferri (University of Naples Federico II)

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Addition to Part I, Works by Arnold J. Toynbee

1950

307) Rowland Rebele, *Historian Asks West To Unite*, in «The Stanford Daily», Monday, October 23, 1950, p. 4, column 5.

NOTE

Report of and excerpts from *The Political Future of the Western Community* – a lecture given by Toynbee in the Memorial Hall of Stanford University on Friday night, October 20, 1950, during his 1950 five-days visit to California.

Published together with no. 309 (q.v.) under the general heading *Toynbee Ends Stanford Visit; Talks On Future*, ivi, columns 3-7, with photograph (see no. 309).

Toynbee's speech was broadcast directly from the stage over the KZSU radio station and recorded on tape (see no. 308).

308) *Sound recording of Toynbee speech made in Memorial Auditorium, Stanford University, Stanford, California, 1950, October 20* (two disks, digital version available), second of three *Sound recordings of speeches by Arnold Toynbee in San Francisco and at Stanford University, 1950, relating to the prospects for Western civilization*, Hoover Institution Library and Archive, Stanford University, Toynbee (Arnold Joseph) Miscellaneous Papers, 1921-1950. Cp. no. 307, note.

NOTE

According to the description of «Scope and contents» of no. 307 (https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt4489r674/dsc/?query=toynbee#aspace_484a06a3b94027272119084621368936), Toynbee spoke «On how the West sees itself as a cohesive body; it's not "we" Americans, "we" Briton, or "we" Germans, but "we" Westerners. Toynbee on the path toward a world government, formalizing this new identity. He sees the Christian tradition as a tying bond. He also compares the world to the Roman Empire».

* *A Bibliography of Arnold J. Toynbee*, compiled by S. Fiona Morton, with a Foreword by Veronica M. Toynbee, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1980.

THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF THE WESTERN COMMUNITY

Smiling, white-haired Arnold J. Toynbee got down to cases last Friday night before 2200 silent spectators who crammed Mem Aud, the Little Theater, and the west patio of Memorial Auditorium.

Speaking little of the «rediscovery of religion» he had emphasized in a previous address that noon to members of San Francisco's Commonwealth Club, the wiry British historian told his audience in relatively practical terms how the West might unite to defeat Communism by forming a common state.

Attired in a typically English, conservative dark suit which contrasted sharply with his flashing smile and snow-white crest, Professor Toynbee advanced the opinion that only a «strong concentration of political and military power is the answer to the stopping of a third world war.

«But», the learned historian questioned, «will that center be located in the United states or in Russia? Further, will it be accomplished with or without a world war?»

Historian Toynbee took the view of the optimistic Westerner. He indicated that a third world war (in which space and time would mean little) could be averted if Western nations would unite in what he called «a supra-national government [...] including parliamentary control over all members». He said such a government «must be situated in North America».

Then the speaker explained what he meant by «supra-national».

First, by way of example, he said we could learn a lesson from Augustus Caesar, who brought about a 400-year period of peace by compromising the nationalistic tendencies of conquered lands with the dominant ends of the Roman state.

Second, he said there is an area of «edged truths» which have caused supposedly «united» nations eventually to dissolve their partnership. Such truths, he said, must be worked out «on a federal basis» to insure harmony.

Finally, Dr. Toynbee told his audience that it is a matter of urgency that «we find a middle way that does not scrap our national pasts – but that will rather subordinate those pasts and translate them into Western democratic action [...]».

«I believe that a union around the United States cannot be [...] healthy [...] unless we face this problem of creating some type of common federal government for the Western community as a whole».

Later, he said «we must unite in a way that is least painful to national feelings».

Nary a cough could be heard from the 1700 persons seated in Mem Aud as the learned historian passed swiftly from one point the next in the course of his 42 minute address, titled *The Political Future of the Western Community*.

Speaking from notes which he had scanned hastily during Stanford Professor Edgar E. Robinson's introduction, Dr. Toynbee said an army of Western nations would soon be formed to «protect our beachhead in Western Europe».

But he returned to the theme of his talk when he indicated that such an army would fail in its purpose if it were not backed up by a supra-national government in which certain nationalistic ends and sovereign powers are sacrificed.

He said the West no longer has an unchallenged future – as it had after the Mohammedan invasions and the Crusades.

He said right now the Western community is «groping for common institutions and actions with which to unite [...]».

Dr. Toynbee's talk was broadcast throughout the campus via station KZSU. In addition, it will be brought into the home of at least one enthusiast who had remembered to bring his movie camera and record parts of the memorable appearance on celluloid.

Professor Toynbee took off for Princeton yesterday.