

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

by

FLOYD W. OWEN

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Michigan State
College in Partial Fulfillment for
the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

International Organization is a broad and serious problem, which touches the welfare and the existence of every nation and every human being. It has absorbed the best minds since the time of Plato, yet has grown gradually more and more acute. Many plans for a solution have been devised and tried but the horror of the Great War put the final stamp of failure upon all previous effort. No one will deny the importance of the subject, its fascination for those who study it, or their determination to find a solution if possible. Perhaps there is need for some form of "organization", a term which Webster defines as follows:

DEFINITION: Organization: - State or manner of being organized; organic structure.

'What is organization but the connection of parts in and for a whole, so that each part is, at once, end and means?' Coleridge.

That which is organized; any vitally or systematically organic whole; as, a religious organization.

Webster's New Int. Dictionary, 1922.

In this study, social organization means any form of Social structure. The expression "International Organization" may mean a World State, a Federation of Nations, or any form and degree of International Government. It may also mean any definitely organized association or league of nations, say for conference, mediation and cooperation, without the actual power of a super-state or super-government.

Some definite and permanent form of organization is implied, however, - something more than mere diplomatic exchange and procedure between nations.

PURPOSE OF STUDY: The purpose of this study is to sketch the important social changes that have occurred to date, and to find, if possible, answers to the following questions: -

1. Is some form of International Organization needed?
2. What are the Forms of International Organization, their merits, and their implications for U. S. A.?
3. What methods can be devised that may contribute toward a solution of this international question?

METHOD OF STUDY: There is an intellectually elite, a comparatively small number of scholars with varying degrees of general international knowledge and experience, but with a sound knowledge of scientific research, inquiring minds and intellectual integrity. What fundamental steps have been taken in this field since the World War, are largely due to such scholars, and their work is still holding. Theological and metaphysical efforts have long since failed, and if there is a final solution of the international problem, it would appear to be reachable only through the scientific method. Man has no greater tool with which to work.

Science consists in the careful and often laborious classification of facts, in the comparison of their relationships and sequences, and finally of the discovery by aid of the disciplined imagination, of a brief statement or formula which in a few words, resumes a wide range of facts.

Pearson, Karl; Grammar of Science.

The physical sciences deal with the structure, function and relationship of comparatively inert matter such as minerals, metals and chemicals, and these sciences have brought great relief to man. The behavior, stress and strain of materials has been determined, and reduced to formulae. Today, man can design a device, and know in advance that it will carry him beneath the sea, or across its surface, or through the air.

The organic sciences such as botany or medicine, deal with the structure and function of living cells and tissues. They too have been of great use to man. They have assisted in the supply of food and clothing. Through them, man has been able to cure and to prevent disease. Nearly all human knowledge of physical and organic environment has been won through the patient and persistent use of scientific method.

Science is beginning to bring relief in the social world. Methods for its application to social problems have been developed, and have brought reliable results within reasonable limits of probable error. A lump of coal or a grain of wheat are relatively stationary things, but let human beings pick up the coal or the wheat and a moving social phenomena has begun. The material becomes a factor in their interaction. What they do with it or in consequence of it, may constitute a "social problem", and only a social solution will solve it. The traditions, customs and habits of the people concerned must be known; their interests and needs must be examined; and logical

conclusions must be drawn in accordance with tested and accepted methods.

The international situation is involved with the dynamic and continuous "stream of life" which can neither be arrested for examination, nor adequately understood by a glance at its behavior at any single point of its movement. For this reason it seems necessary, and especially helpful in this problem, to view first some of the important factors, and the events which have occurred over a period of time, in the great process of social change. This preliminary examination, which is made in the second chapter, will illustrate the social background, and assist in evaluating our present position and apparent direction. The result will provide a starting point for a consideration of the actual problem.

There seems to have been a marked tendency to assume that international organization is, or is not, needed; to neglect or pass over this fundamental phase of the question and take a position, for example, for or against the League of Nations. Obviously, the question of need is primary to the question of treatment, and cannot be assumed or accepted, however apparent, without proof.

Many of the studies examined, touch this question of the need, and reveal much useful data, but their treatment is often subjective, nationalistic, unitary, temporary or expedient. Some studies take a purely national point of view; others stress the importance of geography, race,

law, migration, militarism or trade; and a few look for some expedient solution. Each of these subjects is important and very complex, but it is only an element or a factor in the whole problem. Any unitary study may lead to a pitfall from which there is no egress. A selected bibliography is appended, and the most distinctive works are given special mention.

International Organization is a world-wide and continuous concept, and many factors are involved in ascertaining whether or not such an organization is needed.

In so far as National interests and needs materially affect other nations, they become common problems and constitute the factors in the inquiry, together with all matters of general international concern. While admitting the possible need of separate nations, it is necessary to assume a cosmopolitan position and to avoid the national habit and prejudice which has so often been the stock-in-trade of the politician.

The end desired is the welfare of society, hence an attempt is made to give the data a sociological interpretation.

...Before we can derive much wisdom from a study of the details of international affairs we must be clear what we want of international arrangements. And to get some notion of what we must pay for what we want (say, peace) we must have some notion of the basic mechanism of human society, should be able to explain for instance why we expect anarchy as between nations to work smoothly when we do not believe that anarchy as between individuals would work at all...P; 180
Angell, Norman; World Unity; June 1929

The third chapter is, therefore, an examination of the factual data pertaining to the question of the need for International Organization. Social theory, social organization, social-economic-political and other international phenomena are examined as data and evidence on the primary problem of the need and its trend. Due to the importance of this phase of the problem, and its very elementary examination heretofore, an effort has been made to practically exhaust the field by a voluminous assembly of data from all available sources. The collection of the material has been in process for two years, has been guided and facilitated by many years of foreign experience in all parts of the world, and it is believed that the data and conclusions of this chapter are a valuable contribution to a solution of the problem.

The fourth chapter is devoted to a description of the possible forms of International Organization, and their respective merits at the present time, together with the apparent implications for U. S. A. in particular. The opinions and judgments of many and varied authorities have been compiled, and finally some conclusions are drawn.

Methods of International Organization are dealt with in the fifth chapter. A large number of established social, economic, and political concepts now pertinent to international views and behavior, are first given a critical examination in the light of present fact, need and practice. Fundamentally important corrective measures

are also suggested. Authoritative and up-to-date opinion and examples in support of these suggestions have been sought, found and appended. With the correction of these fundamentally necessary concepts as a basis, new methods and extensions or alterations of former methods have been devised and suggested as practical working plans for a solution of the general problem. An effort has been made to discover and deal with every possible method.

In the conclusion will be found a summary of the study, together with the findings.

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FEAR AND AGGRESSION: The history of International Relations is composed largely of periods of war and peace, repetitions of conflict, and effort to prevent its recurrence. Fear on the part of one group or nation, and aggression on the part of another, seem, historically, to be principal factors in the general causes of war. Fear on the part of any nation is most unfortunate since it centers attention and energy upon the problem of defense, and restricts normal development. Aggression, an outgrowth of old national concepts and once regarded as legitimate, was even believed to bring the "honor of conquest" to a nation. It has preyed upon mankind, often disguised by various emotional appellations, such as "For Humanity's Sake". Both separately and together, Fear Aggression have held the world in a tension, built up hatreds, created colossal armaments, and long defied solution. Every worthy attempt to prevent another World War will justify the effort. An example of modern thought is expressed by Angell:

The European continent will not be able to support its population if its thirty-five states continue the hates and animosities which mark their nationalism, unless, that is, they can achieve some measure of unity, like that achieved by the forty-eight states of the American continent. In calm moments the minority of thinkers and students admit this. But the voices of thirty-five nationalist peoples rise into flaming protest if any move is made to act upon the evident truth. Patriotic fanaticisms are likely still to cause as much misery in Europe as was caused by the religious fanaticisms which produced the wars of religion and the Inquisition.

P. 179 Angell, Norman, World Unity; June 1929

TRADITION: Tradition, Custom and Habit have held men to the established ways of thinking and acting, even when they may have recognized the need of change. Tradition especially has given an emotional content and sanction to racial belief, national solidarity, and warfare. From olden times adjacent peoples were usually traditional enemies; fighting was the customary method of settling disputes, and these habits on the part of the masses have resisted rational treatment. Instinctive behavior has tended to dominate intelligence. It is hard to get an idea into the mind of man, but once there, it is equally hard to change it. Lippmann speaks of our mental patterns as stereotypes:

Each of us lives and works on a small part of the earth's surface, moves in a small circle, and of these acquaintances knows only a few intimately. Of any public event that has wide effects we see at best only a phase and an aspect. P. 79. We imagine most things before we experience them. And these preconceptions, unless education has made us acutely aware, govern deeply the whole process of perception. What matters is the character of the stereotypes, and the gullibility with which we employ them...But if our philosophy tells us that each man is only a small part of the world, that his intelligence catches at best only phases and aspects in a coarse net of ideas, then, when we use our stereotypes, we tend to know that they are only stereotypes, to hold them lightly, to modify them gladly...P. 90.

Lippmann, W. Public Opinion. 1927

Nations and Governments are still under the powerful influence of conformity to custom:

There are many reasons why one abides by custom. Habit is one such factor. But in addition to habit, conformity to custom seems to be insisted upon, consciously or unconsciously by a

group of others. One hesitates to deviate from a code of manners. A pressure to conform is felt if the prescribed regulation is broken. Conformity is found not only in connection with folk ways and customs, but social rules are quite consciously made, as in legislative enactments, and departure from them is prevented by the force of police, courts and penal institutions. P. 180
Ogburn, W. F., Social Change.

Although conformity to custom has advantages, it is also an iron band that checks the advance of the human race by delaying the acceptance of needed reforms.

Communication: Because Language is the major method of communication, it has been a leading factor in group cohesion and unity; it has likewise been a barrier between peoples who speak different tongues. Inability to communicate means lack of understanding which often becomes misunderstanding, suspicion and even conflict. Lack of adequate communication between groups tends to set up a polarity; at best, it begets and maintains an undesirable indifference to important common interests which would otherwise draw them together. Inability to communicate is a barrier to international harmony and a problem because it practically prevents that face-to-face contact which is so helpful to a meeting of minds:

The average man is not often troubled about foreigners. The Englishman eats the oranges grown by Spaniards, the Frenchman drinks coffee from Brazil or Java; but neither thinks of the foreign peoples whose labor has produced the food he uses, for the products of the world are more truly international than are the minds of men.

The representative of France argues for the Rhine frontier, the representative of the United States argues for the Monroe Doctrine, the representative of Great Britain argues for freedom

to blockade (each for the special interest of his own country) P. 2. The chief problems of international politics therefore, arise from an absence of the international mind in the conduct of practical life...There is no country or people which is now able to take a world-view, and consequently no representatives, even if they wished, would dare to take action based upon anything but a more or less enlightened selfishness. Even national interests, however, if selfishness were sufficiently enlightened would compel attention to international problems. P. 3. Disease crosses frontiers, disorder spreads; and impoverishment abroad means smaller markets and more unemployment at home. P. 4.

Burns, C. D., International Politics, 1920

SOCIAL PROBLEMS: It will be shown that Industrialization, Communication and Transportation have expanded into a world network, and that Social Problems have expanded in like manner. Old methods are no longer adequate. For example, the increase and the differentiation of population has been considered for a long time, but has now become a world problem. The increasing density of population within many nations together with the modern problem of unemployment raises many questions that are international, especially that of new territory. A dense population sharpens the rivalry for food and territory, and magnifies the competition for raw materials and markets to the very point of conflict. It will be seen that this pressure is straining the national boundary lines and that some form of international relief is imperative. The animosities of race and color, and the millions of blacks and backward peoples are imminent problems which may break out at any moment. Adjustment of such large matters takes time, and provisional measures should be made well in advance, rather than after an impasse has arrived.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS: Heretofore each of these problems such as the tariff or finance, has usually been dealt with singly and from the point of view of each nation. Each one of these problems has been so complex as to seem to warrant this unitary and localized consideration. In fact, this method is necessary up to a point, but there is now an indication that these supposed unitary and localized problems are only factors of larger, world problems, and require a world viewpoint. Commodities and prices seem to be passing out of national control. Business enterprises of magnitude are no longer confined to national limits but are being tied in with foreign enterprises in ways which seem likely to revolutionize many well-established economic conditions. There are those who believe that our major social and economic problems are already out of government control; that they are no longer subject to the usual checks and supervision of organized society, - that they are at the point of independent monopolies. A surprise is in store for anyone who investigates this field. He will probably discover that any unitary, nationalistic or expedient consideration of any major economic commodity will neither embrace the whole problem nor provide a satisfactory solution. The final problem will prove to be international.

INSECURITY: Only a few international problems have been mentioned and briefly sketched, but they suggest the continuance and increasing pressure of traditional, nat-

ionalistic drive for achievement and recognition, backed by heavy national armaments. This drive has extended beyond national boundaries and has become socially and economically involved in the fabric and life of other nations. Of itself, this can be a fortunate phenomenon - it can mean an extension of opportunity, an expansion of mutual interests, and a broadening of civilization; - but it can also mean, an increase in the likelihood, number and severity of conflicts. Each nation has some form of government - some form of social organization for the social control of its internal problems. Within each nation, the rights of man and of property are protected; roads, health, labor conditions, etc. are regulated, and disputes are settled by courts of justice. But outside the nation, save for a weak "diplomacy", its affairs have been exposed to the anarchy of a "no-man's-land". One may even question the wisdom of acquiring freedom and property, and of building up a nation without some adequate form of international security. So deep-dyed and ancient is man's dependence upon social organization, that a state of International Insecurity would seem almost a disgrace, were it not that the establishment of world order requires a world knowledge. Perhaps man is not a rational being; some one has said - "not yet", which Mr. Lloyd George appears to confirm:

Suspicious amongst nations exist just as ever, only more intense; hatreds between races and peoples, only fiercer; combinations forming everywhere for the next war; great armies drilling; con-

ventions and compacts for joint action when the tocsin sounds; ...new machinery of destruction and slaughter being devised and manufactured with feverish anxiety; every day science being brought under contribution to discover new methods to destroy human life - in fact, a deep laid and powerfully concerted plot against civilization, openly organized in the light of the sun. And that after his experience of four or five years ago! Man the builder, and man the breaker, working side by side in the same workshop, and apparently on the best of terms with each other, playing their part in the eternal round of creation and dissolution, with characteristic human energy.

P. 28. Lloyd-George; D.L., Where are we going?

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY: Man is a composite of his heredity and his environment. His attitudes and actions are a product of his instinct and his intelligence, which of course have been moulded somewhat by tradition, custom and habit, - by experience. As the individual grows older, his willingness to approach unknown and uncertain situations is likely to decrease - he prefers to wear the old shoe. The average man has extended the range of his direct contact somewhat by means of the automobile; he has extended his indirect contact by means of the printed page, movie and radio; but his environment is still circumscribed by the local aspect of affairs. He has no opportunity for extended world travel, no time for a detailed study of world affairs, and no background for the comprehension of the meaning, implication and changing aspect of such concepts as democracy, nation, nationality, imperialism, isolation, race, and sovereignty.

This "lag" in psycho-social behavior has often prevented society from advancing and accepting needed reform, or delayed action until some consequential catastrophe has

fallen. It would therefore appear to be necessary to find some method of expanding man's mental horizon so that he will at least recognize the nature and importance of international problems:

The effect of emotionalism and popular excitement upon the foreign policy of our own and other democratic countries, where those who conduct the foreign relations are influenced by public opinion, has often proved to be an obstacle to the maintenance of peace and friendship; and it is likely to be more so in the future as popular control of foreign policy is extended...P. 18

Garner, J. W.; American Foreign Policies, 1928

THE LOWER CLASS: A major difficulty in a solution of this problem rests with the fact that any important action on the part of a democracy - such as U. S. A. for example - must have the consent or backing of a majority of the citizenship. The said majority is usually composed of the lowest level, intellectually. They have the controlling vote, but obviously do not comprehend the need; they probably do not even sense the situation. They are not over-patient or tolerant, but are often dubious and suspicious over what they do not understand, and are not, as a class, noted for a progressive spirit. Furthermore, this class of voters are probably more easily influenced by the leadership of the office-seeking politician who glibly offers some immediate though minor return for their votes, rather than by the statesmanlike and qualified leader whose vision, judgment and sincerity may over-reach their own.

The more untrained the mind, the more readily it works out a theory that two things which catch its attention at the same time are causally con-

nected... P. 154

Does Jones' opinion, Jones being a weaver in a textile mill, come from the attitude of his boss, competition of new immigrants, his wife's grocery bills, or the ever present contract with the firm which is selling him a Ford car and a house and lot on the installment plan? Without special inquiry you cannot tell. The economic determinist cannot tell. P. 183. Lippmann, W.;
Public Opinion.

Even though the present mature generation of this class may not be teachable, it may be that their offspring can be reached during the more plastic school age, since primary education, at least, is fortunately compulsory. The present state of the Press is hardly a helpful influence:

The competition to win circulation is so keen among leading newspapers and magazines that a tendency has developed among editors to test all "copy" by the formula: will this appeal to the average reader? Incidentally, I will say that the opinion which the average editor privately holds of the average reader's tastes and intellect is not very flattering. If it is true, as foreign observers aver, that our press is characterised by a kind of uniform vulgarity, the reason is to be found just here: in order to appeal to all readers, the editor must seek, not the best kind of reading matter, but the kind which will be welcomed by the lowest common denominator in the community's literary appetites; so that actually, in practically all newspaper offices, events dealing with crime, sex, scandal, adventure, are valued above more sociological, scientific, or political events, however significant, and an ordinary editor will devote incomparably more money and effort to hounding the principals in a sensational divorce case than to reporting events of national or international importance. P. 132. Mowrer, Paul S.; Our
Foreign Affairs, 1924

THE MIDDLE CLASS: This class also has the vote, but while the members may be tolerably conversant with local

and even with national matters, it would appear that - as a class - they have not advanced beyond the most superficial knowledge of international problems. They do possess interest, but it would seem to be "tourist" interest among a large percentage:

It is true that some hundreds of thousands of Americans travel every summer to Europe, visiting mighty seats of commerce and of power. Not more than a handful, however, know how to utilize the opportunities thus provided them. Ignorant of languages, untrained in observation, unaccustomed to think in terms of national needs and national psychologies, the majority, unprepared and unheeding, pass through London and Paris as if these were great amusement parks, instead of great capitals, and form their generalizations of mighty peoples - if at all - not upon commercial, financial, political or military data, but upon some pleasant street scene, some disagreeable frontier incident, or upon the quality of the lodgings into which they may have happened to stumble. As for those who do not travel, they are in even worse case, for their personal experience of the Far Eastern question is apt to have been limited to the Chinese laundry, or the chop-suey restaurant; renescent Italy is perhaps personified to them by a banana-peddler, and the most that they have noted of the Balkan imbroglio may be the low brow and fierce moustaches of the Greek candy merchant at the corner... P. 125

Mowrer, Paul S.; Our Foreign Affairs, 1924

Marked and inexcusable ignorance is found among "our best people": A woman graduate of the University of Kansas, who had written the national advertising of a large company for six years, and who "know" London and Paris (perhaps only Bond Street and the Rue de la Paix) blandly asked the name of the organization that is attracting people to Geneva! This Middle Class in U. S. A. present almost as great a problem as the Lower Class. They have been bet-

ter fed, possess a sort of self-sufficiency, and no little national superiority complex. They will quite possibly be brought to a more considerate attitude by the present effort of other nations to check the enormous export sales of U. S. A. and the consequent prosperity which this country has enjoyed. Education would appear to be the best remedy for this class whose National isolation still leads them into making gross international errors. Mowrer offers an example:

...The reason the southern planter and the midwestern farmer cannot sell their cotton and their corn may lie hidden in a political situation four thousand miles around the globe; yet the planter and the farmer, if they rely merely on their five senses, will blame the railroads or the local congressmen, and declare for abstention from European affairs... P. 125

Mowrer, Paul S.; Our Foreign Affairs, 1924

THE LEADERS: Every coordinated group and every great movement possesses a leader, and would soon break up without one. At any point or stage of the international question, all hope of improvement rests primarily upon leaders. The quality and ability of a leader largely predetermines the degree of success of any enterprise; likewise, a poor state of affairs presupposes incompetent or inadequate leadership. A leader dealing with changed conditions in a democracy, however, cannot advance very far ahead of his group without losing their support and being overthrown.

A good many of these special obstacles to changes arise because society is heterogeneous, consisting of many classes and groups. The need

of the change in the adaptive culture is felt by only one class or group, whereas the change must be made by the society as a whole. P. 260

Ogburn, W. F.; Social Change.

The best leader is therefore limited by the capacity and willingness of the group to follow, yet a real leader may often reduce or overcome this limiting factor. It is a provoking fact that throughout history and at least until 1920, international life and relations have never seemed to receive adequate leadership. For one reason, the necessary knowledge was not generally available:

We are all supposed to know, vaguely at least, what the Superman is. Taking the term in its best sense, Supermen were needed (after world war) - men who possessed wide vision, with a calm judgment raised above the revengeful passions of the moment, men loving justice and seeking for justice, looking beyond the present to the future, seeking the good of mankind as well as the temporary advantage of their respective nations; men who were able to appreciate the workings of those better forces which alone can bring peace and reconciliation to a distracted world. Such men did not appear. Why should they have appeared? Why should they have been expected? There is no saving more false than that which declares that the Hour brings the Man. The Hour many and many a time has failed to bring the Man, and never was that truth more seen than in the last seven years. P. 41

Bryce, James; International Relations, 1922

Is solution impossible; is international leadership impossible; has the leadership been inadequate; or may there be some subtle factors in the method or phenomena which science has overlooked and might detect? This is the problem.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS: This league may be justified, but all the facts need to be examined. Treaties,

alliances and leagues are old in the history of man:

In recently recovered historical materials there is evidence of arbitration and treaty negotiation among the nations of western Asia as early as 4000 B. C. Both opponents of the League of Nations, who protest against rash adventures upon new and untried paths, and enthusiastic supporters, who hail the League as opening a new era in international life, ought to be sobered by the reflection that the problem of international federation is at least 5000 years old. P. 23 Potter, P. B.; Introduction to Study of International Organization, 1922

Any student of international affairs will soon be amazed at the many-sided nature, and the countless conflicting elements in such problems. The methods proposed for solution are often equally involved; the study of almost any treaty will reveal these facts. Above all, the national leaders and their followers represent every conceivable combination of personality, experience and point of view. International conferences, due to language and other difficulties, are trying beyond words. After a few weeks, some delegates are mentally unable to face their opponents for more than an hour or so per day, yet the issue is often so important that they strain every nerve to hang on toward a decision. Results are not always obtained, yet conference is regarded as the basic hope for ultimate peace.

When President Wilson proposed the League at Paris, he touched the highest ideals and hopes of the struggling world. He played a very strong but unfortunately single hand. In debate with Clemenceau and Lloyd George, he did well to implant his ideal even though he had to accept it

in such form as they would allow. Clemenceau thought that he too had compromised, for he answered his critics by saying: "What could I do - I had Julius Caesar on one side of me and Jesus Christ on the other." Although the individual strength of Wilson won the day in Paris, his unsocialized personality contributed to his subsequent failure with the larger group in Washington. The Senate seemed to feel that it had been affronted, and politics so colored the debate that the real issue of International Organization was overlooked, at least in this country. This political conflict expanded to leaders throughout U. S. A. where the real merits of the issue have never been adequately considered.

The public mind had been horrified by war and was principally concentrated on the thought of prevention. In this country, at least, the idea of the League was therefore generally accepted as a measure for this single purpose, and discussion immediately concentrated upon the question of accepting or rejecting the obligations of the instrument itself - the Covenant. It is quite clear, and needs to be emphasized, that there had been no previous discussion or general recognition of the degree to which national life had expanded to the international plane; the question of international organization for peace-time cooperation had not been considered and was not then within the purview of public opinion. The case was urgent; the patient had been at the point of death; the doctors were

assembled in Paris; treatment was quickly prescribed without a full diagnosis; and this situation was repeated in Washington, where it failed miserably due largely to professional quibbling.

The primary problem for the world is therefore not the League, but the broad question of whether international organization is now needed. If it is needed, then the possible forms of organization can be examined, and the best one chosen, whatever it may be. Nearly all of the nations joined the League, and are still members. Fortunately, the world has had ten years of experience with this institution, and it will be thoroughly examined.

CHAPTER 11

BACKGROUND OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Society has not always been arranged just as it is today. Various influences are always at work, and from time to time important social changes occur. Social organization has been subject to rearrangement. Time brings a succession of new situations, and taken together they constitute the social background. Before entering upon a consideration of any problem, it is often helpful to view the steps which have led to it. Some of the more important influences which have brought about the present situation, will therefore be outlined.

SOCIAL CHANGE: The youth studies history, and is inclined to accept the "ups and downs" and the revolutions of the past merely as history. The older generation may have witnessed many changes, either local or world-wide, and its members enjoy relating their experience or opinion of this or that event. But neither the young nor the old, with few exceptions, comprehend the great process of Social Evolution, or recognize Social Changes as important and often cumulative factors in an evolutionary process.

Social Change is a frequent phenomenon; it may range from local to world-wide events, or from a slow to a rapid or sudden movement; and it may meet with any degree of success or failure. Every event has an influence upon the one to follow. Ideas and inventions

follow each other in succession.

Social Change is of great importance in National and in international problems. The larger the field in which it may be at work, the more subtle and obscure yet cumulative, is its influence likely to be. Only a trained and thoughtful mind can recognize, observe, and prepare for its impending effect. The nation or the world, unaware and unprepared is suddenly caught in a tight situation like the World War, and forced to accept the consequence however serious it may be.

...This nation grows weaker; that nation stronger; this territory, once uninhabited, grows to be an important center of population; new national feelings appear where careless and self-ignorant masses were once herded together by a foreign power; the nation yesterday subjected grows stronger than its subjector; economic and financial currents are reversed. Between the static set of law and the dynamic set of forces there appears thus a set of conflicts. At every point in the world disruptive forces begin to act. This may be said to be the normal state of the world considered as a whole. P. 44.

De Madariaga, S.; Disarmament, 1929

EARLY ORGANIZATION: The beginning of organization is not known; it may have started with the family. It was doubtless used before historical time, at least as an elementary social control. Its early development is best described by the following authorities:

Neither the primitive horde, nor its successor the tribe, was in any true sense of the word a political society. Even the tribal confederation was not, strictly speaking, a state. Political society came into existence when it became necessary to devise a plan of organization broad and elastic enough to include men of more than one cult and of more than one kinship, or,

as often happened, of personal allegiance to more than one chieftain. That necessity confronted practical men when they began to live in towns. P. 9. Giddings, F. H.;

The Responsible State, 1918

The city state of Greece was a small but highly integrated community which had achieved a level of civilization and culture and a degree of social and political consciousness almost unique in the world's history. Freed from the necessity of productive effort through the institution of slavery, the citizens of Athens (to take the best typical case of a Greek city state) were able to devote themselves to the achievement of a rich and full self-realization. They perceived that the most perfect development of personality was possible only in society, and nowhere have social relationships been so untrammelled or flowered out so perfectly as in the golden age of Athenian democracy....It was out of this soil and induced by this environment that the great works of Plato and Aristotle grew.

P. 397. Barnes, H. E.; Hist. & Prospects of the Social Sciences. 1925

Early organization was a trial and error process. There was confusion between religious and civil authority with incidents of one exploiting the other. The need of national and even international organization was recognized by a few of the ancient philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle but inexperience and arbitrary divisions in society, made these early efforts largely experimental; Aristotle examined 160 different state constitutions. The Greeks achieved a successful city organization, but the empire established by Rome rested on autocratic authority which is now regarded as an insecure foundation. Religion was a powerful emotional force for the cohesion and control of vast groups of peoples during the Middle Ages. The independent

monarchy, and democratic federal evolution had not yet arrived.

RELIGIOUS CONTROL: During the early experimental state of social organization, especially in the thirteenth century, the struggle between religious and civil authority for control, resulted in comparative success for religion. This was perhaps a natural result since religion rested upon the powerful influence of emotion, while a universal acceptance of civil authority would have required a more rational effort than the degree of education and thought of the time permitted. This early power of religion and its final failure as a basis of sound social organization marks another important Social Change - a stage of Social Evolution - which is well attested by Bryce and Potter:

After the days of Pope Gregory VII, the Church of Rome was at least the equal, and sometimes almost the mistress, of the Empire...P.338The high aspirations which had marked the beginning of the thirteenth century died away and before the middle of the fifteenth a decadence had set in which seemed to threaten all the influences of Christianity upon national and international life.
P. 13. Bryce, Jas.; Holy Roman Emp. 1904

Religion and law were the great forces used by Rome to bind her peoples into one society. P. 304. One Church and Faith, one Empire and one body of neo-classical enlightenment - such was cosmopolitan Europe in the latter Middle Ages. Then came the dissolution. In political power, in ecclesiastical organization, in dogma and ritual, one after another, the Church was shaken from end to end. P. 305. Potter, P. B.;
Intro. to Study of Int. Org. 1922

The Reformation, although it was sometime in crystallizing, finally overcame the dominance which religion had exercised over social organization. A new, more rational, and independent, form of organization was needed, and grew out of the Reformation in the form of the Authoritarian or Monarchical state. This was an event which is worthy some discussion.

AUTHORITARIAN GOVERNMENT: The rise of the Monarchical form of organization, virtually independent of religion, marks the next important step. During this period the Kings and Emperors possessed the final authority, although many of them still found it convenient to allege, with Dante, that their authority rested upon "Divine Right". This period of Absolute Monarchy in Europe served to create a unified and more or less efficient organization within the state. The nation took definite form and became a solidly political, if not a social, unit. To this extent it was a success, but the monarchical form was not suited to a rapidly developing people. This system was too rigid; it placed a premium upon mediocre conformity to the king's will, and curbed the initiative of originality and ability. The King was often ignorant of, or indifferent to, the true needs of the people and the country. He controlled international relations as he wished, and often plunged his people into wars of aggression or defense. Although Authoritarian government seems to have been a necessary

step, it had to be replaced because of the development of social and economic life. Dewey shows that Authoritarian control restricts the normal social processes:

...In an autocratically managed society, it is often a conscious object to prevent the development of freedom and responsibility; a few do the planning and ordering, the others follow directions and are deliberately confined to narrow and prescribed channels of endeavor. However much such a scheme may inure to the prestige and profit of a class, it is evident that it limits the development of the subject class; hardens and confines the opportunities for learning through experience of the master class, and in both ways hampers the life of the society as a whole. P. 363 Dewey, John;
Democracy & Education, 1916

The era of monarchical absolutism was a necessary stage in political evolution in Europe. Until the national state, through its king, had succeeded in establishing its complete independence of external control, whether papal or imperial, and its complete supremacy over all internal authorities, civic or feudal, no further progress toward modern constitutional government was possible...P. 411 Barnes, H. E.;
Hist. & Prospects of the Soc. Sciences. 1925

DEMOCRACY: Man has had a long struggle to gain the principle of democracy. There is often a prolonged preparation and even occasional trial, of great movements such as a new form of social organization, before final adoption. Democracy is a case in point; it was tried by the Greeks, and traces of it have permeated thought and effort for centuries. This illustrates what is meant by the subtle and important nature of Social Change which could often be better turned to the service of society if it were more frequently apprehended

and studied. Democracy was necessary to give expression to the fact that man is a social being:

A democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience...P. 101
Dewey, John; Democracy & Education, 1916

Montesquieu, Rousseau and others contributed to the rise of Democracy which is the next step, and which finally took an early form in the establishment of the British Parliament. By an evolutionary process, Democracy was advanced a little further by the U. S. A. Constitution wherein the King and his "Divine Right" were completely thrown off. The Republic of France followed, and Democracy seems to have now established and justified itself, yet it has not been a straight course. Various problems, including international questions are pressing for consideration. Adequate social organization, political, legal or other types, seems to persistently lag behind the needs of social and economic life. Democracy was a long time in coming, but it was needed to permit a normal development and expansion of society.

Thomas Paine defended the French Revolution. He was an outstanding exponent of democracy, and his "Rights of Man" stimulated the American colonists to throw off their autocratic yoke.

Individualism: This is a social force which may arise within any group. It is a movement contrary or indifferent to the status quo and to the normal course of events. It may in the end result in a beneficial change

or it may be destructive in nature. Individualism aided in replacing authoritarian government with the principle of democracy, but in a democracy, however, it is often a disorganizing or destructive influence. It may interfere with normal and mutual interaction between peoples and thus arrest or retard their natural development and expansion. In this sense, individualism may have a tendency to hold nations apart, and it is, therefore, a factor to be reckoned with in international questions. The working of individualism is illustrated by Dewey:

In the medieval period there was a religious individualism. The deepest concern of life was the salvation of the individual soul. In the later middle ages, this latent individualism found conscious formulation in the nominalistic philosophies, which treated the structure of knowledge as something built up within the individual through his own acts, and mental states. With the rise of economic and political individualism after the sixteenth century, and with the development of protestantism, the times were ripe for an emphasis upon the rights and duties of the individual in achieving knowledge for himself. This led to the view that knowledge is won wholly through personal and private experiences...P. 341 Dewey, John;
Democracy & Education, 1916

MUTUAL INTEREST: This is a positive social factor which tends to destroy individualism, and which seems to be slowly winning against it. Mutual Interest counteracted the movement that occurred after the establishment of Democracy. It multiplies with the development of social and economic life, yet it does not seem to be sufficiently recognized. It is a magnetic force in social organization, and would appear to be a valuable

principle to utilize in the solution of international problems. Minor & Stratton touch upon the force of mutual interest in the advancement of man:

But as the society becomes more stable and civilized, influences begin to work which materially improve the condition of mankind. A spirit of cooperation and of mutual aid and dependence takes the place of the former spirit of rapacity; common interests make men more friendly; suspicion and distrust give way to mutual confidence; selfish ambition and cupidity yield more or less to an appreciation of the rights of others; and violence surrenders dominion to the gentler arts of reason and peace. P. 1.

Minor, R. C.; Republic of Nations, 1918

...Great things have been done for humanity while human nature remained the same. Our civilization has been rid of human sacrifice in religion, of private blood vengeance in our civil life, of piracy upon the high seas, of slavery in all our leading communities. Every one of these social institutions has had the support of men's permanent passions, of men's deep impulses. To rid the world of these ancient instruments it has not been necessary to rid the world of men. Nor have we needed to wait until all sinners have been changed to saints. It has been necessary merely that men should be socially progressive, inventive, adventurous. Men have had to cooperate with one another untiringly to change the old habits of their life. New ways of justice and law and order have had to be viewed with hospitality, without a too-tenacious clinging to the cruder and less effective ways. P. 250.

Stratton, G. M.; Soc. Psych of Int. Conduct, 1929

MODERN EDUCATION: For a long time, Education had been largely a private matter for the development of ecclesiastics and "gentlemen of leisure". As the common school developed and became compulsory, Education took on a rather rigid and disciplinary aspect tending to conform youth to the accepted doctrines,

and to retard social advance. Education was authoritarian; it was imposed by those in control; it was often confined largely to a long period of service under the name of apprenticeship. Any school curriculum which extended beyond the "three R'S" was frowned upon and thought of as "spoiling the child". This was naturally a check upon the development of society.

But modern democracy paved the way for a great change in education. The school and the university were expanded; all knowledge including the new and practical sciences was introduced, and made easily available. Education became general, and the theory of disciplined conformity was replaced gradually by a desire to aid the development and growth of normal faculties. This released initiative, stimulated interest, investigation and research. Now knowledge and new ideas came rapidly as a natural product. Modern education released man from his former bondage, but it also increased the complexity of his environment. It has increased the rate of social change to an amazing extent, and is an important step in the background of the present world situation

...The individualistic theory (of the 18th century) receded into the background. The state furnished not only the instrumentalities of public education but also its goal. When the actual practice was such that the school system, from the elementary grades through the university faculties, supplied the patriotic citizen and soldier and the future state official and administrator and furnished the means for military, industrial, and political defense and expansion, it was impossible for theory not to emphasize the aim of social

efficiency. And with the immense importance attached to the nationalistic state, surrounded by other competing and more or less hostile states, it was equally impossible to interpret social efficiency in terms of a vague cosmopolitan humanitarianism. Since the maintenance of a particular national sovereignty required subordination of individuals to the superior interests of the state both in military defense and in struggles for international supremacy in commerce, social efficiency was understood to imply a like subordination. The educational process was taken to be one of disciplinary training rather than of personal development.

... P. 109. Dewey, John;
Democracy & Education, 1916

SCIENCE AND INVENTION: The rise of democracy and education paved the way for the great development of science and invention. Darwin exercised a strong influence upon modern science. His studies and discoveries encouraged other students and pointed the way to the present accumulation of orderly knowledge of both inorganic and organic phenomena. Knowing structure, function and relationship, man has changed the old into the new and effected combinations which constitute the long list of remarkable utilities which he enjoys today. Materials for food, clothing and housing are highly developed. Electricity and other forms of energy lengthen the day, speed communication and transportation, reduce labor, and increase the exchange of social and economic life. Science and invention have brought man a control over nature, which has enabled him to dominate and expand his environment. As a result, this is another social change which has set up new conditions that do not appear, as yet, to be generally recognized.

Science and invention have contributed materially to the present extended relationships within the nation and throughout the world.

The traditional perspectives of history are so filled with the figures of a passing show that the obscure but enduring elements escape attention. There are two things more important than all others to the human race, work and thought; the day's labor and the inquiring mind. Until our own time these two never met - or never met to know their common task which is the amelioration and enlightenment of life itself. Their meeting, in the inventions and discoveries of the scientific age, has caused the greatest of all revolutions in history. P. 24. Shotwell, J. T.; War as an Instrument of Nat. Pol., 1929

Dr. Livingstone, a profound scholar in Plato, believes that were Plato among us today, he would praise our Social Means, but be shocked at our disregard of Social Ends, and the danger of repercussion. There would seem to be pressing need for the organization of Social Means to Social Ends, especially in the international field.

NATIONAL COMMUNICATION: The Social Changes enumerated, especially science and invention, made possible the great growth of Communication which first occurred within the nation. More than any other factor, it tied the parts of a nation together into a social unit; it favored a submergence of local differences and tended to lift thought to the level of the common interest. An example of the rapid development of national communication is shown by the following data:

United States Postal Service. (millions)
 Year No. pieces mail handled in U. S. A.

1890	4,005	
1893	5,022	
1898	6,214	
1903	8,887	
1908	13,304	
1913	18,567	P. 351

Year	No. of telephones in U. S. A.	
1895	339,500	
1900	1,355,900	
1905	4,126,900	
1910	7,635,400	
1915	10,523,500	
1920	13,329,400	P. 361

Dept., Commerce, Stat. Abst. 1929

NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION: On the heels of communication, great railroads, and later thousands of motor cars, tied the nation into an economic unit. The figures for any of the principal nations tell much the same story:

Railway Mileage Operated in U. S. A.

Year	Operated	
1850	9,021	
1860	30,626	
1870	52,922	
1880	93,262	
1890	156,404	
1900	192,556	
1910	240,831	
1920	259,941	P. 395

Registration of motor vehicles in U. S. A.

Year	Total (thousands)	
1900	8	
1905	78	
1910	468	
1915	2,446	
1920	9,232	
1925	19,937	P. 385

Railroads; Freight, Tonnage in U. S. A.	
Year	Tons of revenue freight carried (thousands)
1891-1895	692,446
1901	1,089,226
1906	1,631,374
1911	1,781,638
1916	2,347,396
1920	2,427,622

P. 405

Dept. Commerce; Stat. Abst. 1929
See Int. Stat. Year Book of League of Nations for
Statistics of other nations.

NATIONAL INDUSTRIALIZATION: The next great Change is the enormous transfer of manufacture to machinofacture known as Industrialization. This phenomena multiplied the number and kind of commodities, and so reduced costs that luxuries became "necessities". Industrialization, with some national variance, has occurred in each important nation; Japan, India and now China are being industrialized. As a result, the commodities and the life of each nation have tended to assume a uniformity of habit and pattern which never existed before. The original hand production has been greatly exceeded by the use of power, as shown below:

Manufactures, Value of products in millions of dollars in U. S. A.:	
Year	Factories & hand & neighborhood industries.
1849	\$1,019
1859	1,886
1869	3,386
1879	5,370
1889	9,372
1899	13,000

Factories, excluding hand and neighborhood industries and establishments with products valued at less than \$500, in U. S. A.; in millions of dollars:	
1899	\$11,407
1904	14,794
1909	20,672
1914	24,217

P. 785

U. S. A. Dept. Commerce; Stat. Abst. 1929

Power - Annual Supply of Energy from Mineral
Fuels and Water Power in U. S. A.:

Year	Grand total fuels & water power. Trillions of Brit. thermal units.	
1876-1880	1,857	
1886-1890	4,221	
1896-1900	6,690	
1906-1910	13,867	
1916-1920	20,648	P. 367

U. S. A. Dept. Commerce; Stat. Abst. 1929

THE MODERN NATION: These events have contributed to the development of "The Nation" as a remarkably powerful social, economic and political unit, and it is most important to note at this point that the Nation is the largest area which has been subjected to a real and complete social organization.

The Nation, with all of its attributes, represents the foundation of every international question. It has risen to a position of such great importance in the life of mankind, that it calls for special consideration. The various phases of social life have a local community setting, but nearly all of them are now tied in some manner to national organizations. Commercial activities, which were once confined largely to local districts, have come to be mere links in chains which bind the nation into a unit. Corporations, which provided public utilities in particular sections have been gradually merged with others, and many of these larger units have now been brought under the control of holding companies on a national scale. There are convenient political divisions, each with its own local government, but even these are grouped finally under the national government. Communication and transportation facilities form a nerve and blood system for the whole nation. The people have come to think and act as factors in a national life, and to set themselves apart as a coherent national group. These facts, the remarks of North, and the following items summarize the important status of

the nation today:

....The policy of developing within the State those resources that would enable it to maintain itself in time of war was a sound policy under the circumstances for the period. And the policy of developing a variety of National industries through the protective tariffs in modern times has had the support of many thinkers and statesmen. While carrying along many abuses of special privilege to certain groups within the Nation, the very general use of the policy by most modern states at some period is evidence that at a certain stage of national development the policy has been a valuable factor in promoting the strength of the National life. That the later development of International relations should seem to render many features of the policy obsolete does not detract from its earlier value...In fact, it constitutes the chief bond of modern society and is an effective substitute for the autocratic authority of earlier days. P. 272 North, L.L.;
Social Differentiation. 1927

The Nation has been the principal unit of social and economic organization, as is revealed by the following:

Various National	brands of foods.
"	" makes of clothes.
"	" toilet preparations.
"	" brands of drugs and medicines.
"	" makes of household equipment.
"	" types of business equipment.
"	" makes of automobiles and equipment.
"	" books, periodicals, movie and radio programs.

National laws, flags, schools, money, elections, societies, lodges, conventions, chain stores, branch offices, etc.

National parks, seasonal playgrounds, and touring data.

Free movement of persons and property; absence of barriers.

NATIONALISM: The great development and solidarity of the nation as described above, creates in its people a collection of attitudes and corresponding behavior which is expressed by the term nationalism. It is a powerful force for national coherence, and is manifested by overt behavior concerning national patriotism, militarism, tariff protection, imperialism, historical shrines, holidays, and everything of national character and interest. Nationalism represents the culture of a people; it is a product of their background; it is usually proportionate to the solidarity of their nation, although it is not necessarily dependent upon the continued possession of a nation or of original allegiance. While nationalism is of great value up to a point, it can be, and usually is, a serious barrier to necessary and desirable international relationships. It tends to hold nations apart; it sets up rivalry, opposition and conflict, even where common interests should draw them together. All of the cumulative experience of a people finds an expression in their nationalism, which thus becomes an imposing force to reckon with whenever an international problem is approached. Many irrational extremes are worshipped upon the altar of nationalism. It is only desired here to briefly establish its nature and importance, but special reference should be made in passing to a profound discussion of the nation, nationalism, and nationality by Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes in his work, "Essays on Nationalism".

The Sentiment of Nationality is that feeling or group of feelings which makes an aggregate of men conscious of ties, not being wholly either political or religious, which unite them in a community which is, either actually or potentially, a Nation. P. 118 Bryce, Jás; Int. Relations, 1922

Nationality may be taken to mean a certain spiritual unity observable among a group of people, usually arising from a greater or lesser degree of racial unity and from community of language, art, religion, economic interests, and ethical ideals, although at times it is manifested by groups not very clearly possessing any of these bases for their apparent spiritual unity....P. 51. We may therefore take the State system of 1648-1918, with its implications for the institution of national Statehood and international relations as the foundation for the study of modern international organization.

P. 58. Potter, P. B., Introduction to Study of International Organization. 1922

U. S. A. and ISOLATION: An attitude of isolation may be influenced by various factors but it is often a by-product of extreme nationalism. U. S. A. is respected and appreciated by the world as a great benefactor, but the charge of Isolation is laid especially at the door of her people, and through them to their representatives in Washington. It is said that we act alone as a nation, and refuse to join the cooperative effort of the other nations. This is largely a fact and due to our background; it will be discussed later, and need only be established here as a national attribute. This is well described by Lippmann in his "Public Opinion". Two views are submitted here:

The difficulty, however, of maintaining an enlightened public opinion with respect to international matters is very great and it has been increased in this country by the lack of general interest, at least until recently, in foreign affairs.

This good-natured indifference, except in grave emergencies, our geographical position, the extent of the country and the wide range of domestic opportunity, have developed a sense of self-sufficiency. We have only begun to think internationally, and we find the attitude of the public mind to be still illadjusted to the magnitude of our financial power and to the international interests which we have suddenly accumulated as the result of the World War. P. 251 Hughes, Chas. E.;
The Pathway of Peace, 1925

The North American Republic's habit of imagining herself as pursuing in happy contrast to other wicked peoples a simple and peaceful life with no desire for acquiring territory, no wish to interfere in the affairs of others in the world but not of the world, of suggesting to the lesser tribes to follow her high principles, is not only more than a little exasperation to the foreigner but it is actually dangerous to herself, as a false chart would be to a navigator in difficult waters.
P. 75. Fox, Sir Frank; Mastery of the Pacific, 1928.

NATIONAL ARMAMENT: Another, and a very important, attribute of the solidarity of national organization, is Armament. The urge for self-preservation, the desire for free action, and the emotional feeling of nationality have long conspired in utilizing and in advancing science to enforce the will of one nation against that of another. It is important to note that the early Knight, the duelist, and the nation have long sanctioned and even honored the murderous use of arms under justifiable "conditions", while the "conditions" are only recently being adequately reviewed with respect to nations. The persistent assumption that each nation is practically independent of others, and has the right to make war at will is a "hang-over" theory which seems to be a colossal fallacy when compared with the present interdependence of nations and

the use of law within the organization of the nation itself. It raises the question of why law is limited to the internal organization of each nation, and becomes a paramount issue in international life, apart from the questions of cost and misery.

Navies maintained as a permanent force go back to the eighteenth century, when France, Spain, and England kept small fleets ready for emergencies, but the cost of building and equipping warships was in those days light indeed when compared with our own days. Immense armies came later, and are the creation of the French Revolutionary epoch, which introduced compulsory military service, or, rather, developed it on a far greater scale, for the obligation to serve in war had existed in most countries, as in England, for instance, from primitive times. . . . P. 210

Bryce, Jas.; Int. Relations, 1922

NATIONAL IMMIGRATION: Since U. S. A. was settled comparatively recently, it might be supposed that its population is still relatively free from conditions of congestion and unemployment which prevail in older nations. There are those who believe that U. S. A. is self-sufficient and justified in continuing its policy of comparative isolation. As a partial answer, which will suffice for the moment, it should be stated that the great change of Industrialization had such profound success in U. S. A. that the enormous opportunities for labor and for land settlement brought unprecedented Immigration. More than 31,000,000 came in a sixty year period, with the result that considerable unemployment now occurs, and that life in U. S. A. cannot be regarded as totally differentiated from that in other nations. U. S. A. cannot be segregated; it is

a nation among nations, and has similar problems - they may vary in degree but not essentially in kind.

Immigration to U. S. A.			
Period of year	Number	Census year	Increase over preceding census - per cent
1851-1860	2,511,060	1860	35.6
1861-1870	2,377,279	1870	22.6
1871-1880	2,812,191	1880	30.1
1881-1890	5,246,613	1890	25.5
1891-1900	3,687,564	1900	20.7
1901-1910	8,795,386	1910	21.0
1911-1920	5,735,811	1920	14.9
Total -	31,165,904		

Dept. Commerce, Stat. Abst. 1929 P. 2 & 93

FOREIGN TRADE: Originally food and clothing were largely produced where used, and foreign trade was a slow and somewhat casual enterprise, often interrupted by war. But the great development of the nation, plus the change to industrialization, multiplied production and consumption to a point where a world-wide search for raw materials and markets became imperative to the welfare of the leading nations. Foreign trade has now become a vital necessity if wheels are to turn, and employment is to hold. And this is the position today: Economic life has expanded beyond national boundaries and carried a measure of social and political influence to other lands:

Economically it (the new Western civilization) required ever more markets and ever more raw materials (Western Civilization issuing from the Industrial Revolution); the more industrialization proceeded, the more necessary became the opening up of new markets and new sources of raw material.

P. 10 Woolf, L. S.;

Imperialism and Civilization, 1928

In 1913 the United Kingdom imports were valued at £768,734,739, and the exports at £634,820,326 exclusive of bullion. The result shows that in

1913 the United Kingdom imported goods worth about 124 million pounds more than the value of exports. But this only indicates another peculiarity of the United Kingdom; for in the same year, there was the following additional income accruing:

Interest on foreign investments	L200,000,000
Freights, services of ships, etc	130,000,000
Insurance, Banking, Commissions"	30,000,000
	<u>L360,000,000</u>

Therefore it was possible not only to pay for the extra value of imports, but there was a Balance of L236,000,000 to be spent or saved in the United Kingdom.

Switzerland also has a large international trade, and interest, because she has hardly any raw material. P. 85. Burns, Foreign Trade.

The following table shows the great increase in the value of Foreign Trade for thirty leading nations, from 1913 to 1927 in millions of dollars:

Country	1913	1927	Increase
U. S. A.	4,223	8,926	4,703
United Kingdom	5,764	8,776	3,012
Germany	4,966	5,788	822
France	2,953	4,237	1,284
Canada	1,051	2,362	1,311
India	1,383	2,062	679
Japan	670	1,901	1,231
Italy	1,170	1,853	683
Argentine	1,007	1,799	792
Belgium	1,597	1,544	53
Australia	755	1,473	718
China	710	1,333	623
British Malaya(G)	399	1,159	760
Dutch E. Indies	456	1,013	557
Switzerland	624	868	244
Sweden	446	859	413
Brazil	643	818	175
Denmark	379	801	422
Union of S. Africa	520	790	270
Spain	426	725	299
Cuba	304	578	274
Egypt	291	471	180
Mexico	246	460	214
New Zealand	206	441	235
Roumania	244	432	188
Norway	247	430	183
Chile	270	335	65
Finland	174	320	146

Greece	57	246	189
Colombia	61	220	159
Totals-	<u>37,797</u>	<u>62,800</u>	<u>25,003</u>

P. 129, Int. Statistical Year Book,
1928. League of Nations.

(Affected somewhat by changes in price levels.)

INTERDEPENDENCE OF NATIONS: From Foreign Trade tables and from population records, it is possible to work out an easily understandable measure of the degree of economic interdependence for each nation by families. The population of any nation is divided by three to approximate the number of families. The quotient is then used as a divisor for the total foreign trade of the nation. Assuming three persons to a family, the average amount of interdependence per family in dollars for 1913 and 1927 was approximately as follows:

Country	1913	1927	% Increase
U. S. A.	\$131.25	\$224.46	71
Unit. Kingdom	403.08	576.84	43
Germany	250.68	273.69	9 Retarded by
France	212.34	310.02	46 war.
Canada	425.61	739.68	73
Japan	37.65	93.06	147
Italy	94.86	136.26	43
U. of S. Africa	246.69	307.77	24
Argentina	383.13	506.88	32

Differences in price level affect the above somewhat, but the figures illustrate the increase in interdependence. It is obvious that the above turnover has some importance to nearly every family, and that it is especially vital to those whose living is directly concerned. There is also the fact that a percentage of imports always represents raw material, food, medicine, and other commodities upon which

the life of a people depends. It would appear necessary to accept and to safeguard this important condition of interdependence between the nations. Authorities recognize the situation:

The total foreign investments in Canada, in 1913, are stated to have amounted to about two billion five hundred million dollars. In 1927, they amounted to over five billion two hundred million dollars. In 1913, the portion of the investments in Canada coming from the United States was less than five hundred million dollars and in 1927 was nearly three billion dollars. It appears, however, that in recent years there have been large re-purchases by Canadians of Canadian securities amounting to what has been called a repatriation of Canadian enterprises. Canadians have been largely increasing their investments in foreign countries. It is estimated that in 1927 their investments in the United States amounted to nearly seven hundred million dollars. P. 32

Hughes, Chas. E.; Our Relations to the Nations of the Western Hemisphere, 1928

....Five-sixths of the human race were involved in the Great War, which brought men to fight one another in regions where civilized armies had never contended before, in West Africa, in East Africa, in Siberia and Turkestan, on the shores of the Baikal and the Caspian, in the isles of the Western Pacific, while ships of war were fighting on all the oceans from the White Sea to the Falkland Isles. As this unity was apparent in war, so it is apparent now the war has ended. Everything that affects industry and commerce in one country affects it in every other, and affects it instantaneously, so widespread and so swift have communications become. Electricity is the most potent of the unifying forces for the purposes of knowledge and the interchange of thought, as steam began to be for commerce a century ago. This is a fact which has "come to stay". The human race, whatever the differences between its branches, is now a unit for economic purposes, and as economics have now become a chief basis of politics, it is a unit for the purposes of international diplomacy. We see the germs of political strife in the claims made to the enjoyment

of such sources of natural wealth, wherever they are found, as coal and oil. P. 257

Brvce, Jas.; Int. Relations, 1922

At the moment of writing these lines, I happen to be living in Paris, which is one, but only one, of the great modern centers of civilization. I am wearing a suit of clothes, made in France, from Australian or Canadian wool, spun in England. My shoes, also made in France, are of hides, probably from the Argentine, treated in England. My hat is of Italian felt. My handkerchief, of Dutch or Russian flax, spun in Dublin; my shirt of American cotton spun in France. The raw silk of my necktie came, doubtless, from Italy or Japan. I have a Swiss watch on my wrist, and the gold of the ring which is on my finger was mined, maybe, in Alaska or South Africa. I have just breakfasted on North African fruit, bread mixed perhaps of French and American wheat, and Brazilian coffee, sweetened with sugar which may be French, or may have been brought from Cuba, or from Czecho-Slovakia. The room in which I am sitting has a Turkish carpet, and is heated by English coal in a French stove. My typewriter is American, my desk-pad Italian, my scissors German, my penknife Swiss, my pencil Czecho-Slovak. My little whetstone, bought in France, was quarried in Arkansas. My paperknife, of African ebony, was inlaid with bits of silver by fuzzy-haired, black artisans of Mauretania. I am writing with a German pen, upon coarse paper, made probably of Finnish or Norwegian wood-pulp, and I expect to use a telephone in a moment, the receiver of which is German-made and whose wires are of American copper, insulated with rubber from South America or the Straits Settlements. P. 259. Mowrer, Paul S.;

Our Foreign Affairs, 1924

The following table gives some idea of how the Foreign Trade of one nation is divided among many nations, and how noticeably interdependent they are with respect to both buying and selling.

Share of U. S. A. in Imports and Exports of Leading

Countries. Country	Table 3.					
	Imports from U.S.			Exports to U.S.		
	% of total imports			% of total exports		
	1913	1923	1927	1913	1923	1927
Argentina	14.7	20.9	24.7	4.7	11.6	9.1
Australia	13.4	18.9	25.3	3.4	8.5	6.5
Belgium	9.2	11.2	11.1	3.0	9.0	9.1
Brazil	15.7	22.3	28.7	32.2	41.4	46.2
Canada	64.9	67.3	64.9	39.0	41.8	39.8
Chile	16.7	26.7	29.7	21.3	46.6	32.7
China	6.0	16.3	16.1	9.0	17.1	13.2
Cuba	56.3	68.5	62.1	80.0	87.2	79.3
Czechoslovakia	----	7.0	6.8	----	4.4	5.0
Denmark	10.2	12.5	15.1	1.1	1.8	0.7
France	10.7	14.8	13.3	6.1	8.0	6.5
Germany	15.9	19.1	14.7	7.1	7.8	7.6
India, Brit.	2.5	5.4	8.2	9.0	9.7	11.3
Italy	14.4	26.8	19.4	10.7	13.7	10.5
Japan	16.8	25.8	30.9	29.2	41.8	41.9
Malaya, Brit.	1.5	3.2	3.6	12.1	40.8	43.9
Mexico	47.9	74.7	67.2	75.8	83.0	66.6
New Zealand	9.7	16.1	18.1	----	7.3	5.8
Netherlands	11.3	12.7	10.5	4.3	5.3	3.4
" " E. Ind.	2.1	5.5	8.7	2.2	10.0	15.7
Norway	7.1	16.7	13.7	7.7	13.6	10.7
Poland	----	15.3	12.9	----	0.6	0.8
Sweden	9.0	16.5	12.7	4.2	11.2	10.9
Switzerland	6.3	8.0	8.8	9.9	11.3	10.5
Union S. Africa	9.5	12.9	16.0	1.9	5.3	3.3
Unit. Kingdom & Irish Free State	18.4	20.0	17.2	9.4	10.0	8.6
Venezuela	38.5	47.6	52.3	28.7	26.9	23.6

The relative gain of the United States in international trade is indicated by Table 3. Of 25 countries for which data are available for both 1913 and 1927, twenty-one took a larger proportion of their imports from the United States in the latter year and seventeen sent a larger share of their exports to this country...P. 4

Dept. of Commerce; Trade Inf. Bulletin #602, 1929

EXTENSION OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS: The Social Interdependence of nations is another great Change which involves such problems as health, labor, crime and many others. These matters have been dealt with by the organization within each nation, but this method appears to be no longer adequate;

many social problems have become international, and their solution calls for international action:

All national problems, such as the drug traffic, health conditions, commerce and tariff, are becoming international, because the world is being made smaller by fast transportation and communication, and the problems of one are becoming the problems of all, Prof. A. Zimmern said.

Lansing State Journal, 2-22-30

It is well to remember that every postman is in a sense an international official since he is carrying out, for part of his duties, rules laid down by the Universal Postal Union. P. 149 Another natural sphere for international action is protection from epidemic diseases...The early attempt of each nation by quarantine to segregate itself was proved a failure, both because it put obstacles in the way of commerce, and because no State acting alone had enough information as to where and when the epidemic disease existed. The States were compelled to take joint action and a convention was signed in 1903. ...International sanitary councils were set up to supervise certain Eastern trade routes. P. 150. Burns, C. D.;

International Politics

DIPLOMACY: Of course the ability of individual diplomats varies, but the national institution of Diplomacy is one element in social organization which is practically unchanged since the 13th century. The diplomat to each foreign country was usually selected by his King, given precise instructions, and expected to obtain certain ends for his own nation. While superficially conforming to a highly traditional court etiquette, the diplomat has often been a "listening post" and a perpetrator of intrigue. He was too often the sharp tool of his own nation, rather than an international statesman.

Today, it seems clear that, while traditional Diplomacy may have improved and may still be useful, it is grossly

inadequate to the multitude of problems that have arisen in the increase of international interdependence. The former type of diplomatic negotiation will not solve present problems. It is no longer a question of one nation making a diplomatic adjustment with another nation. All problems touch all nations. Prolonged, world-wide and expert research is required. Only impersonal and competent bodies can obtain results, and hold the respect and confidence of the family of nations. The secret treaty, entente, and alliance arouse suspicion in a shrinking and interdependent world. Where relationship has become universal and continuous, the localized and expedient methods of Diplomacy cannot succeed. The following statements are evidence of this fact:

Until the actual declaration of war in 1914 the British House of Commons was without full knowledge of how far Great Britain was pledged to France in the event of a German attack. The French people were in utter ignorance of the correspondence upon war preparations between Poincare and the Russian War Minister. The Germans knew nothing of the intentions of the Emperor or the war party which ruled in the background. P. 466 Sept. 1929

Gibbs, Sir Philip; Readers Digest,

International government is still so rudimentary as to leave to individual nations almost entirely the business of defining and obtaining satisfaction for their rights. P. 405. Potter, P. B.;

Intro. to Study of Int. Organization. 1922

...The normal wielders of armaments are not the soldiers, but the diplomats. The gun that does not shoot is more eloquent than the gun that has to shoot and above all than the gun which has shot.

P. 57. De Madariaga, S; Disarmament, 1929

German "honor" demanded annexation of Belgium. Japanese "honor" demanded that Japan should predominate in Eastern Asia, etc. P. 34.

Dickinson, G. L; International Anarchy, 1926

Alliances between strong Powers excite and prolong jealousies, rivalries, and suspicions among other States. Though they may purport to be purely defensive, no one can tell what secret provisions contemplating encroachment upon others they may contain....P. 237 Bryce, Jas.;

International Relations, 1922

The whole diplomatic system, Foreign Offices, ambassadors, consuls, conferences, and their products, and treaties, is dominated by the antique conception that a common interest will be attained most easily by a conflict of opposite interests. This is the hypothesis of foreign, as contrasted with international policy.

P. 130. Burns, C. D.; Interna. Politics

CLIMAX OF WORLD WAR: All the great Changes in the nature of social organization which have been described would seem to be stages in the process of social evolution. Their culmination in the world catastrophe of 1914 does not prove that organization is a failure, but it does clearly show that the form of organization was inadequate to the need. Every available device was utilized by nearly all of the leading nations in frantic efforts to forestall, even to delay, the World War, but it is most important to note that all the efforts were local, spasmodic, disorganized, and distrusted because there was no truly international organization, leadership or method. A burning building is seldom saved unless a previously organized and well-led fire department takes charge. The World War repudiates the probability of local wars between the leading nations; it is proof of their vital interde-

pendence; it teaches a severe lesson in the necessity of adequate leadership and organization wherever social interaction develops; and it raises the pressing question of why organization is still confined within the national boundaries, when life is so definitely international

It is now conceded that the recent terrible war cost above two hundred and fifty billion dollars! \$250,000,000,000.

This vast sum if piled one dollar upon another would reach over 394,560 miles above the base; which is the distance from the earth to the moon and two-thirds of the distance back to earth again. P. 13. L. of N. News, #91, Vol. VI.

This war has been a continuous revelation of the inability of formal agreements to modify the actualities of historic evolution. P. 323.

Powers, H. H.; America among the Nations 1921

....Now, as never before, men are being impelled by their experience to think of a new set of rules for the Society of States. Nature has given them a fresh and more insistent command, "live rationally or perish!" P. 148

Morrow, Dwight W.; The Society of Free States, 1919

Public affairs today differ from the affairs of a generation ago in three main respects: their scale, their complexity and the pace at which they move... There had never before 1914 been a world war. In fact the belief that war was a force which could still be localized was one of the causes which led to the outbreak of hostilities in 1914. Today by the Covenant of the League of Nations, under which over 50 states have pledged themselves both to go to war and to abstain from war in certain contingencies, war has been delocalized... 'Private war' as it has now come to be called, has been curtailed, if not wholly abolished...P. 16. Zimmern, Alfred;

Learning and Leadership.

...General Smuts said he had studied the documents on the negotiations between the governments of the world during the last fortnight of July, 1914, with the object of finding out "where the screw was loose." He came to the conclusion the fault was

that there was then no machinery to deal with disputes between nations.

Detroit Free Press; 11-17-28

LAG OF ORGANIZATION: It seems that the need of organization must be widely experienced before action will result. Even then, there is the momentum of former methods to be overcome. Tradition, custom and ignorance may retard needed change. We succumb to a traditional desire, bodily feeling, or habit contrary to our reason. Nationalism is traditional; national organization is the custom; national diplomacy backed by armament is a habit; and although intelligent inquiry, and even bodily feeling, may point to a new need, a long interval may precede a response. The size and status of the group, ignorance and fear, lack of leadership, and other factors may also effect delay or "lag". Furthermore private business usually has better attention than public business, which may be the chief reason why social and economic life have extended far beyond the control of any social organization.

International trade is an interchange of services and products between groups of producers and consumers, and not an interchange between peoples organized politically, still less an interchange between States. P. 83. Burns, C. D.;
International Politics.

Action has moved faster than thought in these last few years, and practice is ahead of the programmes. This lag in the development of theory has had a curious effect on political discussion. P.265.
Lippmann, W.; Causes of Political Indifference;
Atlantic Monthly, Feb. 1927.

There are, therefore, a great many instances where the material culture changes first and the other social changes which it causes follow later.

In some cases these lags may be so brief as to be insignificant, but in a great many cases the lags causing maladjustments may be so long as to be socially very significant. The extent of the lag and the severity of the maladjustment should be measured in each instance. The great size of material culture today, its rapidity of change, and its significance as a source of other changes in society make the material culture in modern society play a most important part. P. 279. Ogburn, W. F.; Social Change. 1922

...So long as the national governments strive by international cooperation to satisfy the legitimate interests involved, the development of world trade, world science, - world organization in short - can only stimulate and strengthen the system of national States and the fabric of international relations among them. Let the national governments manifest an obstinate attachment to extreme nationalism however, and attempt to ignore the facts, arrest the march of political evolution, and shut their eyes to the realities of world life today, and the world's life will simply pass by on its own course.

P. 300. Potter, P. B.; Introduction to Study of International Organization, 1922

INADEQUACY OF NATIONALISM: It is not denied that certain social, economic and political problems are definitely national matters requiring national treatment, but it is clear that many of these problems have now passed outside the national sphere and constitute a complex and inter-related class of matters with which national methods alone can no longer cope. National institutions are not equipped to handle matters that in their very nature are international, and no single nation should expect to dominate in matters which affect all nations; furthermore, and in such fields as Health, the single nation is no longer able to accomplish results for itself without the organized cooperation of others.

Up to the World War, at least, the nation had become solidly entrenched, and was the largest group under complete social organization. It is generally accepted that the well-established nation is a necessity, and that it is an essential part of the foundation of any ultimate organization. All the facts clearly indicate, however, that the nation alone is inadequate to the present world need; that it is not the final or end concept of social organization; and that any contention that the nation is, or can be made, final for international requirements, is a fallacy. An investigation of international authority supports this statement. The judgments of three scholars are appended:

....The world has reached such a degree of interdependence that decisions taken in any one country may bring about grave and even tragic consequences in other lands. Nothing but the sluggish pace of men's mental evolution can justify the citizen's of a particular nation in considering themselves as privileged exclusively to control a government whose activities react on other countries with almost as much effect, if not with more, than in their own.... P. VIII. DeMadariaga, S.; Disarmament, 1929

....The volume and complexity of the commercial transactions which bind States together compel constant adjustments. Governments may try to erect barriers, cutting off one State from another, but no barrier is strong enough to prevent entirely the interchange of scientific or religious thought or the interchange of commercial products.

P. 80. Morrow, Dwight W.;
The Society of Free States, 1919.

...International organization is not merely a reform to be accomplished in the future but is a phase of the actual historical development of the world, and is entitled to attention as a part of present political reality on a par with national,

state, or provincial, and local or municipal government. P. 357. Peace must be attained indirectly, and international organization may be regarded as the means to the end. P. 360. Potter, P. B.; Introduction to Study of Int. Org. 1922.

CHAPTER III

NEED OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

WORLD INTERWOVEN: Today, the affairs of the world are like a loose fabric in which each thread represents a nation or a people; if any thread be pulled, it affects all of the other threads. And the difficulty is that the nations hesitate to recognize this international fabric. Each nation has tried to deal with the others separately, which does not solve the problem but does seriously complicate it. Over 1700 treaties are known to be in force, - but no one knows the total number or nature of secret treaties, ententes or alliances.

It is true that much cooperative work has been done for various groups of nations by many private and public commissions and administrative bodies, but these have usually been temporary, limited in scope, not inclusive of all nations, and not subject to the coordinating and technical assistance, supervision or check of any impersonal international body. The delegates have been "nationally instructed" and often without experience or proper leadership. Frequently, there has been no organization to carry out their decisions, and in case of inability to agree they have had to break up, with no provision for further effort.

...A vast skein of commercial treaties, most of which have been made between two countries but many of which are multinational, has attempted to regularize international trade, giving the merchants of one nation the right to trade in another nation, subject to the protection of its laws. These treaties have begun to embody principles of economic internationalism, the extension of which eventually may lead to a unified world.

P. 121. Buell, R. L.; Int. Relations, 1925

These facts, and all that has been said before, lead to the hypothesis that there is an imperative need for some form of International Social Organization. A properly constituted and permanently established, impersonal public body or bodies for the impartial consideration, coordination and treatment of purely international matters appears to be needed. The rights of all nations and peoples would of course be respected, and the form of organization would be for their benefit.

History may shed some light upon this problem. Perhaps social theory will offer some evidence. There may be analogous cases where interaction between colonies or states has developed mutual social, economic or defense interests, and brought them into one organization. Geographical and other conditions may exert an influence upon the situation. Any investigation as to whether international organization is needed, is complicated by the fact that relations between nations occur in many ways. These activities touch at many points, and some of them appear to conflict, while others seem to be mutual interests. All of them may contain some mutual features that could be developed if an organization for this purpose were available. Fifty subjects covering a wide range of activities, have been selected as factors in the problem, therefore, and the nature of each will be examined for any evidence it may furnish as to whether a real need exists for some form of international organization. These factors have been grouped and will be discussed according to the following list:

FACTORS EXAMINED FOR EVIDENCE OF NEED

HISTORIC FACTORS: Social Theory
 Civilization
 N. American Colonies
 Great Britain
 India
 Italy
 Canada
 Germany
 Switzerland
 Australia
 South Africa
 Pan-American Union
 British Commonwealth of Nations
 China
 Creation of League of Nations
 U. S. of Europe
 Society is not static

GEOGRAPHIC FACTORS: World Geography
 Territory Distribution

SOCIAL FACTORS: Race and Color
 Population
 Citizenship
 Backward Peoples
 Health
 Labor Influences
 Isolation
 Crime
 Law and Politics
 International Communication
 Language
 Education
 Science, Lit., Art and Philosophy

ECONOMIC FACTORS: Patents and Copyrights
 World Transportation
 Raw Materials
 World Markets
 Tariffs
 Economy and Efficiency
 Finance
 Business Organization

SECURITY FACTORS: Services of the League of Nations
 Conformity to the " " "
 Kellogg Pact
 Neutrality
 War and Security
 Modern War

GENERAL FACTORS: Leadership
Complexity
Mutual Interest
Social Ends

SUMMARY:

HISTORIC FACTORS

SOCIAL THEORY: However and whenever human organization may have commenced, the most ancient writings reveal that it has long been recognized and used as a necessity. Even hordes and tribes were semi-organized, as were also the Egyptians. The Code of Hammurabi numbers some three hundred laws. Plato said:

Tell me, then, does our newly-organized state contain any kind of knowledge, residing in any section of the citizens, which takes measures, not in behalf of the state as a whole, devising in what manner its internal and foreign relations may best be regulated? P.140. Plato; The Republic; Davies & Vaughan translation.

Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca and Justinian were profound students of social organization, as were also Bodin, Machiavelli and Montesquieu. Others could be mentioned. None have denied the need; all have rather been concerned with origin or method. Social Organization appears to have been used since the history of man is known, and the relations between nations call for consideration, as shown by Giddings:

If, then society is to endure, individual growth is subject to imperative limitations. It must be a function of inhibitions no less than of spontaneous actions. Natural justice prescribes the limitations. The individual has a moral right, confirmed in natural rights, to develop on equal terms with fellow individuals. All have equal, but only equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

In like manner, if civilized human society is to survive and civilized man is to continue his career of progressive achievement, the growth of communities must proceed within the limitations set by natural justice. Nations may not equally develop. Probably they never will or can. But they must develop on equal terms. No more than individuals may

they grow by murder, theft, or fraud. They have equal but not unequal natural right to utilize the resources of the earth, to trade, to navigate the seas. Only on this basis of natural justice can an enduring peace be established. P. 67.

Giddings, F. H.; *The Responsible State*, 1918.

According to social theory, social interaction should be subject to some form of organization.

CIVILIZATION: An uncivilized society is one which lacks order primarily; it is a disorganized group. If it was desired to civilize such a group, order would be the first necessity. Organization is the method of establishing order, and would therefore appear to be a fundamental requirement of civilization. In fact one measure of the degree of civilization, is the quality of its organization. But organization is a rational process, - something which has to be thought out, created and built up. If "anarchy" in international affairs is to be replaced by a civilized condition, it follows that an international social organization is needed. History does not report any civilized people or any degree of civilization, except such as rest upon a definite social organization. This is so integral with daily life that one forgets its importance: There is the municipal organization of our towns, which attends to health, water, sewage, lights, streets, police, courts, etc.; there is the county organization, also the state and federal organizations. Since these have proved to be necessary, it is strange that international life should remain disorganized in an interacting world.

Contributions to Humanity: Some societies there have been and are which will forever be remembered among men for their contributions to that supreme form of social organization - the state... Such were Athens and Rome. Athens the creator of democracy, Rome of administration. Such are England and the United States, the creators of these great federal forms which conserve local liberties, while establishing efficient central power. P. 543.

Giddings, F. H.; Descriptive & Historical
Sociology.

While no case parallels the present problem of international organization, history provides a number of analogous situations with similar conditions, and these reveal a uniform tendency for interests to reach out, and for a successful organization to follow. Each will be discussed in historical order:

AMERICAN COLONIES: One example is the thirteen American colonies; Each colony had its own charter and came to be like a small, isolated nation. Each traded directly with the mother country, and there was no such communication or transportation between the colonies as now exists between the present nations. Outside the small ports and the habitations which lay along the coastal rivers, the whole country was heavily wooded, infested by Indians and wild animals, and such roads as existed were often impassable. Coastal transportation was meagre, and travel beyond the local community was not customary. For a long period, an occasional traveller would say: "I am from Fairfax County, sir." The county marked the boundary of interest. Finally,

Contributions to Humanity: Some societies there have been and are which will forever be remembered among men for their contributions to that supreme form of social organization - the state... Such were Athens and Rome. Athens the creator of democracy, Rome of administration. Such are England and the United States, the creators of these great federal forms which conserve local liberties, while establishing efficient central power. P. 543 Giddings, F. H.; Descriptive & Hist. Sociology.

One would hear the expression: "I am a Virginian, Sir." That the American colonists spoke the same language was of little importance because few of them from different colonies ever met. Far less was known of other colonies than we know now of other nations.

As the colonies developed, interaction grew, and common resentment was felt against British taxation. Here were problems which no single colony could solve; mutual interests and interdependence were recognized by such leaders as Hamilton, who sought an "international" organization; and history records the traditional lag of the people in the years of struggle between the preliminary Confederation and the final Constitution of U. S. A. The "international" organization of the Thirteen Colonies brought great success, however, to the Colonists and their successors. The plan has proven to be thoroughly practical, and it is most important to note that the millions of people of almost every race and language, who finally came to this nation, have been able to peacefully cooperate in much closer proximity than would be necessary at first under an organization of the various nations. This seems to be ample proof that the people of

the more advanced nations, at least, can interact peaceably if the sources of their opposition can be replaced by an adequate and general organization.

If the present forty-eight states of U. S. A. were entirely separate nations, the oppositions and conflicts over the forty-eight separate systems of armament, law, health, labor, money, immigration, communication, transport, would seriously restrict every phase of life.

To transport a person or a commodity from New York to San Francisco would involve the delay, formality and expense of crossing ten national frontiers. The high quality and low price of such articles as a Ford automobile, would be impossible because tariffs would restrict its sale and prevent the present methods of economic production and distribution. Some forty-eight wars might destroy the entire population.

Now it happens that the above condition is a fact except for a narrow margin: The forty-eight states are separate nations in nearly all respects. Each has its own laws and organization; only a few items such as purely inter-state, and foreign matters, have - for mutual benefit - been intrusted to an organization in Washington, - a sort of "international organization" for the benefit of these forty-eight "nations." Keen competition prevails but injustice and war-fare are prevented by this Washington organization. For example, Florida and California compete in oranges for Chicago; if the railroads

were to discriminate in favor of either, the Inter-state Commerce Commission of Washington would prevent it. Thus fair competition is permitted but warfare does not develop, because the Washington organization has facilities for keeping all interaction under social control. This delicate adjustment between freedom and control has given the people of U. S. A. an efficiency and a breadth of opportunity which has never been duplicated. Furthermore, in the face of competition between the people of Florida and California, each has a certain brotherly feeling for the other, and all share an interest in the general welfare of all of the forty-eight "nations." Each citizen has come to feel more an "American" than a Californian or a New Yorker, and not one would tolerate the thought of eliminating the National organization. Several authorities support these statements:

The forty-eight States of the American Union may be seen in possession of a genuine though limited political autonomy." It was enough that they should undertake not to establish between each other tariff barriers, different rates of transport, different currencies, for them to live in peace with each other, and for them jointly to realize the maximum of prosperity. The Federal States of Brazil, the Swiss Cantons and the German States are other cases in point. P. 428.

Delaisi, F. Political Myths & Eco. Realities.

A real integration has undoubtedly occurred in American history. In the decade before 1789 most men it seems felt that their State and their community were real, but that the confederation of States was unreal. The idea of their State, its flag, its most conspicuous leaders, or whatever it was that represented Massachusetts, or Virginia, were genuine symbols. That is to say they were fed by actual experiences from childhood, occupation, residence, and the like. The span of mens experience had rarely traversed the imaginative boundaries of their States...

They needed a common defense. They needed a financial and a economic regime as extensive as the Confederation. But as long as the pseudo-environment of the State encompassed them, the State symbols exhausted their political interest. An interstate idea like the Confederation, represented a powerless abstraction...Thus to most men of the time the question of whether the capital should be in Virginia or in Philadelphia was of enormous importance because they were locally minded. To Hamilton this question was of no emotional consequence; what he wanted was the assumption of the State debts because they would further nationalize the proposed union. So he gladly traded the site of the capital for two necessary votes from men who represented the Potomac district. To Hamilton the union was a symbol that represented all his interests and his whole experience; to White and Lee from the Potomac, the symbol of their province was the highest political entity they served, and they served it though they hated to pay the price. They agreed, says Jefferson, to change their votes, 'White with a revulsion of stomach almost convulsive'. In the crystallizing of a common will, there is always an Alexander Hamilton at work. P. 217.

Lippmann, W.; Public Opinion.

...'A selfish habitude of thinking and reasoning,' wrote one who styled himself Yorick, in the New York Packet, 'leads us into a fatal error the moment we begin to talk of the interests of America. The fact is, by the interests of America we mean only the interests of that State to which property or accident has attached us.' 'Of the affairs of Georgia,' Madison confessed in 1786, 'I know as little as those of Kamskatska.' ...When the other New England States closed their ports to British shipping, Connecticut hastened to profit at their expense by throwing her ports wide open... P. 6

...In undisguised alarm, Washington wrote: 'There are combustibles in every State which a spark might set fire to...I feel...infinitely more than I can express to you, for the disorders which have arisen in these States'...Rightly or wrongly, men of the upper classes believed that the foundations of society were threatened and that the State governments would fall a prey to the radical and unpropertied elements, unless a stronger Federal Government were created...P. 23.

For many years Virginia and Maryland had been at loggerheads over the navigation of the Potomac River and Chesapeake Bay...P. 26.

Johnson, Allen; Union & Democracy, 1915.

This and the following analogies are intended to

show that peoples have a tendency to expand their interests; that a corresponding extension of Social organization in some form, though difficult to achieve, has been customary, practical and beneficial; and that when opposition can be removed or brought under control, differences of race and language among advanced peoples, are not serious barriers to cooperation.

GREAT BRITAIN. It is a significant fact that it was often the ambitions of ruling houses that brought on wars of aggression, rather than the peoples themselves who are comparatively peaceable; cooperation is more natural than conflict; but once in a war, protracted hatreds are set up which may interrupt the normal growth of intercourse between peoples for long periods. But exploitation can only delay the more natural process of cooperation. For generations the English, Scots, Welch and Irish fought each other when in fact their greatest interests were growing more and more mutual. It is not necessary to go into the details, but it is important to note that in time their greater mutual interests rose above their lesser local differences, and they became and have remained the United Kingdom. Since then there has been no civil war save the local religious disturbance in Ireland. And these peoples, united under one general organization, then became "British", presented a united front to the world, and by closer cooperation among themselves, they have become one of the greatest and most advanced nations

of the earth. This achievement of organization, occurring when distance was in effect great due to very slow communication, shows the need and possibility of replacing opposition by cooperative organization where mutual interest prevails.

INDIA: India is a large unit of territory, and its great population reaches far back into history. It is socially divided into some 2500 "water-tight" religious castes, hence it is not a real nation. For years it has provided the world's example of a people, contiguous yet disorganized, and therefore isolated, ignorant, poor and continually suffering from the consequence of internal opposition and conflict. The British super-imposed as much organization as was possible, and the resulting measure of safety, sanitation, education and communication is saving millions from famine, disease and death. This gradual improvement of conditions is now bringing the Indian people to recognize the benefit of organization and to desire the status of a nation. Obviously the only hope for this vast and divided people, lies in organization for the welfare of both their internal and external relations. The feeble efforts of Ghandi, Nehru and others are early tendencies in this direction.

ITALY: The separate Italian states were small and comparatively unimportant. Their energies were depleted in conflicts with one another and in attempted defense against Napoleon and Austria. Traditional feeling and

the local leaders held them apart, but the leadership of Cavour, Garibaldi and Mazzini who recognized the need of a united Italy, finally achieved a unity of organization, and the Italian nation was born in 1860. This enlarged organization has increased the status of the Italian people, and there is no voice among them for a return to the former condition.

CANADA: When the struggle for the control of Canada culminated in the success of Wolfe at the Battle of Quebec, the British had to deal with the large French population. The bitterness of the French defeat enhanced the social distance caused by their tradition, custom and language. The severity of the problem has hardly been appreciated. But the proverbial British respect for the customs, language and good qualities of other peoples, together with their talent for organization, encouraged all of the Canadian population to cooperate for their mutual interests. Today, Canada stands as a fine example of one people and one organization. The French and English share in mutual respect, cooperation and leadership. Adequate social organization for the benefit of all, is undoubtedly the basic reason for the peace and prosperity of these two peoples who now cooperate as "Canadians."

GERMANY: The rulers of the various German states had been ultra-conservative, and the life of the people had been largely provincial, but contact between the states began to increase and such barriers as tariffs be-

gan to be felt. Industry advanced but trade was restricted, and in 1820 the states established a Confederation which permitted free trade. This mutual organization opened communication and transportation between the states; it yielded new sources of material, expanded markets, and brought the people of the various states together in such a way as to constitute the nucleus of the final constitution which created the German nation in 1871. It was unquestionably the cooperative influence of this organization that submerged petty local differences, and permitted the development of the great Power to which the World has turned for scientific and industrial achievement in many fields.

An expansion under organization appears to free a people and multiply opportunity to the advantage of all. And it may well be surmised that had international organization existed in 1914, the German authorities would never have driven their people into the terrible World War.

SWITZERLAND: This country offers one of the best examples of the need, the difficulty, and the success of social organization. Composed of French, German and Italian people, each with a long tradition and history behind them, and held within the vortex and influence of France, Germany and Italy, the final grouping and unification of twenty-two cantons under one successful and universally respected organization is a tribute to the

intelligent cooperation of the Swiss people.

AUSTRALIA: Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, Northern Territory and Tasmania were originally created as separate colonies by Royal Charter. With their growth in population, and having local government, great rivalry arose and persisted between them. For example the railways of each colony seem to have been purposely built according to a different gauge from those used in the other colonies. These colonies were under the British government, hence warfare between them was prevented. Their mutual dependence was greatly enhanced by the distant location of their continent, yet it was not until 1900 that the pressure of mutual interest succeeded in bringing them all into a cooperative organization known as the Commonwealth of Australia. The success of the enterprise was recently attested by the selection and the building of the city of Canberra as the capital.

SOUTH AFRICA: The Dutch and the British were both firmly established in South Africa. There was a wide difference in the history, habit and purpose of the two peoples, probably a wider difference than that which existed in Canada. The situation was complicated by a vast territory, several states of uncertain status, and the native problem. Legal authority came into the hands of the British, but their effort at development and organization was repeatedly thwarted by the Dutch class known

as Boers.

The safety and welfare of both Europeans and natives demanded a stable organization which was finally accomplished by the British forces. Under this control, a certain freedom to develop was accorded the Boers, especially with respect to their language "Afrikaan"; normal interaction was renewed, and differences were so rapidly composed that by 1910 the states voluntarily united as the Union of South Africa. As a further indication of the good feeling between the Dutch and English, which their cooperation brought about under the new organization, it may be stated that Gen. Botha, a recent enemy of the British, was chosen by the British governor to be the first prime minister.

PAN-AMERICA: Here is a closer analogy in the form of some twenty independent nations forming a large portion of the Western Hemisphere. Many of these nations, which constitute Latin-America, are relatively small and have been exposed to the influence and exploitation of large and powerful nations. They have also been subject to local revolution and to conflicts among themselves, regardless of many mutual interests. Peace for normal development, and cooperation in the solution of common problems, has clearly been aided by the organization of the Pan-American Union. The inclusion of U. S. A. has been a strong influence of course, but not a controlling factor in the affairs of the Union as the record of its proceedings will show.

Since the members are so-called sovereign states, it was doubtless wise as well as necessary at the beginning that this Union should have been a comparatively simple form of organization. After a number of previous efforts, the present Union was consummated in 1910, and it provides a permanent foundation for the necessary functions of conference, mediation and arbitration. It has not always brought a final settlement of difficulties, but it is new; it has, however, held war in check and settled a number of problems. No doubt the Monroe Doctrine has been a factor in restraining outside governments, but it is the Pan American Union that has maintained good relations among its members.

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS: What is sometimes called the break-up of the British Empire, should be mentioned since it might be supposed to contradict the other evidence in favor of organization. A sharp distinction exists and must be kept in mind, between local or national organization within the state or nation, and the general or international organization of states or nations. Although the British Dominions had a measure of local government, they had always been subject to the mother country.

As the Dominions developed in strength and importance, they attained the status of nations and sought the complete control of their local affairs. Their brave contributions to the winning of the World War demonstrated

their stability, and in 1926 the Mother country awarded them autonomy. Each achieved the desired control of its local governments, but all, including the United Kingdom, remain in one organization under the King, which is known as the British Commonwealth of Nations, the affairs of which are directed by the annual conference of the premiers. Each nation is also a member of the League of Nations. The advanced British people, therefore, fully accept and practice the principle of organization. The dual obligations to the Commonwealth and to the League involve fine distinctions but are not expected to conflict.

CHINA: Until recently, these ancient and honorable people were ostensibly under an old authoritarian form of organization which subjected them to comparative isolation, and held them back in the evolution of the nations. Their present struggle, however, to throw off extraterritoriality and to establish a modern national organization is interesting evidence in support of our earlier discussion. They appear to recognize that a sound national organization is not only needed for internal affairs, but that it is also fundamental to participation in international affairs. This opinion is supported by statements of their educated nationals, and by the fact that China has had experience as a member of the League of Nations. They recently issued a proclamation demanding that the powers abandon their extraterritoriality.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS: When President Wilson proposed

the League of Nations at the close of the World War, the general idea was accepted with tremendous enthusiasm throughout the world. The people were war weary, and wanted some method to prevent its recurrence. The League appeared to offer a solution of the international problems which might lead to war. Its use as a basis for peaceful cooperation between nations had not been generally recognized or considered. But it was welcomed and accepted, largely as a great hope for the world. This broad fact of almost universal acceptance of the League, is of itself, good testimony that some form of international organization was believed to be needed.

The further, and more important, fact that the League has now retained its existence and continued to function for ten years, would appear to be most valuable evidence of the actual need for such an institution. The question of the services rendered by the League will be considered later; it is only desired at this point to show that its acceptance and continuance indicate that some type of international organization was called for after the World War. The League was the first modern attempt to expand or extend social organization throughout the world.

On September 7, during the Tenth Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations on the tenth anniversary of the First Assembly, the cornerstone of the new League Secretariat was laid. With a silver trowel M. Gustavo Guerrero, President of the Assembly, made the ceremonial gesture as five workmen laid the cornerstone in which was imbedded a lead casket containing two copies of the League Covenant, one in French and

one in English, coins from forty countries, and a description of the ceremonies.

On the sunny hillside of Ariana Park, looking down upon the blue lake and across toward Mt. Blanc, more than 2,000 people watched the impressive scaling up of records and the beginning of a permanent home for the League of Nations which has accomplished its first decade...P. 12

L. of N. News; Sept. 1929

UNITED STATES OF EUROPE: Another indication of the need to expand organization beyond the national boundary is the proposal for a United States of Europe which was developed by Count Kalergi and sponsored by M. Briand in 1929. The idea of this proposal seems to be based upon the realization that the great success of U. S. A. is largely due to the federation of its forty-eight states into a powerful social and economic unit, and that some similar union of European nations might bring similar results. The details are immaterial here, but the proposal is being carefully considered throughout Europe, and shows a definite trend toward the social organization of areas which were previously disorganized.

This completes the evidence of analogous situations. Fourteen cases have been cited, all of which conform to the sociological principle that groups normally tend to interact with each other, and will do so in so far as the various barriers permit. These illustrations also show that the tendency toward cooperation is stronger than the tendency toward conflict. It follows that some form of international organization is necessary if this normal extension of social interaction is to be kept under

social control. We now pass to a consideration of more concrete factors in the general problem.

SOCIETY IS NOT STATIC: Public affairs are usually in the hands of the older members of society; they often grow conservative, arbitrary, and even lethargic with time; they are in power and are inclined to maintain the status quo. They do not desire change, and as long as they remain in power, there is unlikely to be any conspicuous change. This is one reason for the lag in social development. There are always the radicals calling for "reforms", but they can seldom effect them unless they step into power.

Society is never static, however; change is inevitable; one regime prepares the way or calls for another. What may have been entirely satisfactory for one period, is totally inadequate for another. If the national organization assisted by national diplomacy was sufficient in the past, it does not follow that it will be sufficient for the future; in fact, probability is in favor of the negative. It would, therefore, seem advisable to look for a change, to expect, and to prepare for an expansion of organization that would be in keeping with the general tendency. Morrow finds the principle applicable to the modern state;

As the world has grown older the general tendency has been for the different units which we call States to amalgamate, with the result that the number of the units becomes smaller and the size of a single unit larger. This tendency to

amalgamation naturally results from increasing contact between two units... Such a process of amalgamation went on in France five hundred years ago, such a process brought England and Scotland and Wales together, such a process made Texas a part of the United States, such a process made a united Italy... P. 3. Morrow, Dwight W.;
The Society of Free States, 1919

GEOGRAPHIC FACTORS

WORLD GEOGRAPHY: Originally, certain geographical factors such as oceans, mountain ranges and deserts were almost complete social barriers. Only adventurers attempted to cross them, and this has been an important reason for the differentiation in peoples. Climate, soil and altitude have also affected this differentiation. The Geographical Determinists have attempted to explain history by this method; Huntington is conspicuous among them. Geography does exert a definite influence; a people will cling to a fertile valley; another group will settle around a mineral deposit; and herdsmen will seek the grassy slopes. Deposits of coal and copper, oil, and iron, or perhaps of gold, have to be mined where they lay.

Man is not the helpless victim of geography, however. He is a dynamic and social creature, and he has accumulated a culture with which he is more and more able to control or surmount geographical conditions.

...The directly determining factors of cultural phenomena are not nature which gives or withholds materials, but the general state of knowledge and technology and advancement of the group; in short, historical or cultural influences. P. 182. Kroeber, A. L.;
Anthropology, 1923

Man now crosses the ocean, builds a road over or through the mountain, and meets a cold climate with artificial heat. Today he knows the whole world, and his daily habits involve the use of commodities from many quarters of the globe. Man "wants what he wants", and he has it, -

wherever it may lay. Economic life and transportation are now organized to deliver his orders, no matter where he lives. His habits are organized and established with this expectation.

Geography is therefore no longer a barrier; it is, however, a cause of interdependence throughout the world. Coffee might be grown in Canada under glass at a cost of say ten dollars per pound, but it is better for Canadians to obtain it from Brazil or Java, and they do so. Instead of geographical barriers, we may speak of geographical interdependence, and this is of increasing importance, especially with respect to oil, radium, helium and other essential materials. Geographical conditions bring about such extensive foreign ramifications of national interest, that they appear to call for international organization for regulation and protection. Mowrer, the well-known foreign correspondent describes the range of U. S. A. interests which geography has influenced, and his remarks are adaptable to many other nations:

The first thing to be understood is that the United States today has interests literally everywhere; in the Far East and the Near East, schools and missions; in North and Central America, the Caribbean and the Pacific, vital political preoccupations; in South America, the maintenance of the Monroe and Pan-American Doctrines; in Africa, a special concern with the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Liberia; in Europe - ancestral home of our civilization and of our own forefathers - close cultural ties and the necessity of working together, in the cause of world-order, with the great European powers whose influence predominates over most of the world today. We have marine guards in Pekin and Constantinople, and a fleet in the Near East, and we had until recently

an army on the Rhine. We are acquiring Pacific and Atlantic submarine cables. Our naval radio stations encircle the globe, and a great American corporation is rapidly extending the scope of our commercial radio communications. Our merchant ships sail the seven seas. As the equal of Britain in naval power, and as being second only to Britain in merchant marine, we cannot affect to ignore any question involving the world's great seaways, ports, and navigable rivers. Our raw products are sent out to all manufacturing countries. We are exporting billions of dollars in the form of foreign investments. Our banks are everywhere establishing branches... P. 307
Mowrer, Paul S.; Our Foreign Affairs, 1924

Economic Nationalism is a term applied to the theory that all essential commodities, especially for a war of defense, should be produced within the nation regardless of cost. This is an example of a nationalistic view of international problems. Large sums have been invested and wasted upon this theory, often to the profit of its local advocates. The plan has been tried, frequently at great loss. It is a temporary and expedient attempt to defy natural geographical conditions, and is contrary to important sociological principles which find advantage and strength in interaction between peoples. The theory is discredited by no less an authority than Lord Bryce:

...There is visible in Australia, and, indeed, in some other countries, a sentiment, assuming the guise of patriotic self-reliance, that the country should be self-sufficing, able to provide herself with everything she needs which climatic conditions do not absolutely forbid her to produce, even if in so doing she incurs heavy economic loss. This is a strange and futile resistance to those laws of geography and natural development which have given special opportunities to particular regions and peoples... P. 87 Bryce, James;
International Relations, 1922

Finally, geography is no longer a safe barrier between

nations; on the contrary, it means interdependence, and is at the bottom of many disputes. It may locate a tense situation of serious social consequence in almost any part of the world and yet many nations may be involved. It would therefore appear that nothing short of international organization can cope with problems of a geographical nature.

TERRITORY DISTRIBUTION: The social consequence of territory distribution, is so broad that it might be worthy a complete study. History reports the transfers of territory throughout the past, but it does not attempt to picture fully all that it meant to the peoples involved. The life of man is dependent upon territory or land. He has maintained a ceaseless struggle for its possession. The mind turns to many of the great wars, and especially to the death grip along the several fronts during the World War. Land, and what it means, is the primary bone of contention between the nations; it is the basis of almost constant dispute; it is the reason for millions of money in armament; and it defies the plans for peace. Every conceivable scheme - conquest, purchase, intrigue, intervention and war, - all have been used to gain land. If there were some method of settlement, many other world problems would be automatically settled. The following authorities indicate the complexity of this problem:

On December 17, 1914, Egypt was formally declared by the British Government to be a protectorate. The problem however is not solved. P. 74 The whole subject is full of obscurity, for in general the practice of governments is empirical,

and not based upon any clearly conceived principles. It is an example of the small amount of political thought and imagination so far devoted to international affairs. P. 77. Burns, C. D.; International Politics.

The outstanding political issue at the Kyoto Conference was that of Manchuria. It is the most difficult and the most serious international problem in the Far East. Manchuria is a great, wealthy, fertile region - equal in area to France and Germany combined - in which there meet the conflicting aims and policies of three states, China, Russia, and Japan. P. 17. Blakeslee, Geo. H.; Oriental Affairs in the Light of the Kyoto Conf.; For. Pol. Assn., 1929

During the past two or three years one of the major problems in Latin American international relations has been the settlement of long-standing boundary and territorial disputes. Recently some have been successfully adjusted, notably the Tacna-Arica controversy, but there still remains a long list of unreconciled boundary claims, the pressing of which by either party to a dispute may lead at any time to armed encounters. Such conflicts actually have occurred recently in the Chaco, disputed by Bolivia and Paraguay, and in the Motagua valley, disputed by Guatemala and Honduras, and the possibility of further friction in these two sections has not yet been removed. For. Pol. Assn.; Unsettled Boundary Disputes in Latin Am., 3-5-30

No part of Europe, except, of course, Russia, has fallen since the end of the war into a state of poverty and misery so pitiable as has Austria, and especially the once proud imperial city of Vienna. The severe terms of the Treaty of St. Germain, treating her with her greatly reduced resources as liable for a very large part of the sum due for reparations and indemnities by the old monarchy, piled on her a load of debt so far exceeding her capacity to pay that the currency sank to less than one per cent of its former value, and the starving population of the towns (especially of Vienna) has been kept alive by charitable gifts from Great Britain and America...P. 48 Bryce, Jas; Int. Relations, 1922

But many factors are involved: There are advanced and backward peoples; there are wide variations in value and productivity; there are different degrees of population

density and need; there is also national solidarity, habit, ownership, investment, and finally the principle of constant change. Obviously, no nationalistic, unitary or temporary solution will work here. In the first place, any change in the status of any territory will apparently enhance or retract the rights or opportunities of every nation to some extent, hence the problem seems to be universal. Secondly, no single nation or particular group of nations could be allowed complete authority. Thirdly, no international organization could be given complete authority, owing to the acknowledged right and ownership held by various nations. Lippmann analyses "ownership":

Almost nothing that goes by the name of Historic Rights or Historic Wrongs can be called a truly objective view of the past. Take for example the Franco-German debate about Alsace-Lorraine. It all depends on the original date you select. If you start with the Rauraci and Sequani, the lands are historically part of Ancient Gaul. If you prefer Henry I, they are historically a German territory; if you take 1273 they belong to the House of Austria; if you take 1648 and the Peace of Westphalia, most of them are French; if you take Louis XIV and the year 1688 they are almost all French. If you are using the argument from history you are fairly certain to select those dates in the past which support your view of what should be done now. Arguments about 'races' and nationalities often betray the same arbitrary view of time. P. 144. Lippmann, W.;
Public Opinion

Fourthly, the problem is continuous, requiring frequent or gradual adjustment. The only alternative seems to be that of conference, mediation and cooperation between the nations concerned, under the leadership of a permanent international body composed of delegates from

all of the nations. A scientific consideration of the social implications involved in each proposal would probably minimize any disturbance, and smooth the way to adjustment or assimilation.

SOCIAL FACTORS

RACE AND COLOR: We speak of "pride of race", and usually refer, of course, to our own so-called race. All men belong to groups, and they have a tendency to stand apart from other groups. Each group desires to establish and to advertise some point of superiority, - of desirable differentiation from other groups whether the claim be sound or not. Race and Color are easily detected, and have provided the most convenient and universal basis for claims of differentiation. This fact has long fostered the rivalry, opposition, conflict and hatred between peoples. Every race has laid almost every weakness and fault at the door of other races. Nations have long been thought of as racial groups, as seen in the words English race, French race, Anglo-Saxon, or Latin race. This usage has tended to hold peoples apart, and has contributed toward many wars. It still has an important effect upon international relations.

The peoples of the world are sometimes classed as the white, yellow brown, and black races. This division is based largely on color, and color is known to be merely a matter of pigment. Color itself affects only the skin, and is therefore seen to be an unimportant distinction, except as it may be a cause of prejudice. The structure of whites, mongols and negroids varies only slightly, and this is unimportant since there are known to be greater variations among the individuals of one race than there are between the means of races.

It had been supposed that the whites were also divisible by race, especially into the Nordic, Alpine and Mediterranean types in Europe but investigation has exploded this idea. Sir Halder Mackinder has shown how the Nomadic whites have merged in Europe and finally settled in various favorable geographical areas. History has developed the same fact. The Franks and the Latins are united in the French together with a people from the North. The English are a mixture of many early groups, and are in no sense a race. The yellows, browns and blacks are also a mixed people; there are people with all stages of color among them, and the great numbers of mulattoes and eurasians show that miscegenation occurs on a large scale. It can be said, therefore, that there are no pure races, and this important fact is attested by the following students of the subject:

It is generally agreed by the scholars of the world that such a thing as a pure race does not exist...P. 98 Duncan, H. G.;
Race & Population Problems, 1929

...The differences found among European peoples are not correlated with race, or at least have not been shown to be so correlated, but, on the other hand, are highly correlated with culture divisions. Thus the results of the tests tend to disprove the cultural importance of race traits.
P. 102. Wallis, W. D.; An Introduction
to Sociology, 1928

...A pure race is the Holy Grail of physical anthropologists. We are all mongrels. America is no more mongrel and no more in danger of becoming so than, say, Italy, Spain, England, France, or any other modern people. Successive inundations of invaders have 'corrupted' their blood and modified their population types; and the process still goes on, less noisily perhaps, but no less surely...

P. 314. Todd, A. J.; Theories of
Social Progress, 1926

Race and Color have been generally supposed to mark both physical and mental difference. An offspring was expected to carry the traits of personality as well as a physical resemblance to the ancestor. But the fact of race is biological; heredity can involve only structure; a human being may physically resemble his forebears and he does inherit a brain, but all knowledge and behavior must be acquired after birth, and is determined largely by the group in which the individual chances to find himself. He conforms to the customs and the attitudes of the group, in so far as his structure permits. We face therefore an important distinction between heredity and environment. We see that the claim of "race" is largely a fallacy especially with respect to behavior, and that behavior is an acquired culture pattern.

This means that there is no sound justification for the differentiation or opposition of peoples solely on the ground of race. Such claims are apparently the result of ignorance and emotion, and should be abandoned, especially as it has been discovered that the mental possibilities of the so-called races are approximately the same. It now follows that National differences are not innate in the structure of the citizens of the various nations, but that they are largely a social product of group culture, solidarity, supposed interest and prestige.

The writer has participated in many conferences composed of delegates from more than fifty nations, where almost every "race and color" were included. Loyalty to supposed national interest was often observed, but it was always social in character. He has never been able to detect, even between whites and blacks, the slightest difference in social behavior which could be attributed to fundamental or "racial" difference. Quite recently, the Maoris of New Zealand were one of the most fierce and dangerous, native races, yet the writer has seen four of them function as able and respected members of the New Zealand Parliament. Many East India men are Oxford graduates, and hold responsible positions in the government of India.

The fact that so-called race is comparatively unimportant, and that peoples can and do interact principally on a basis of social and group interest is supported by North, Gault and Hankins, who are here quoted; further evidence is supplied by the remarkable cooperation of many peoples in U. S. A., as shown by the appended table.

Further evidence of the small part played by mental differences of race in determining culture is supplied in abundance by the European situation. It is now recognized that the European population is made up of three distinct elements which are inextricably mixed in most of the Nationalities. And yet in both French and German for example, we find that all the different racial elements are equally representative of the culture of their Nationality; National lines, that is, culture and political boundaries, do not follow at all the racial lines. P. 141 North, C. C.
Social Differentiation.

Recent Developments in Psychology. Racial

differences create a barrier to social unity...So far as reliable studies have gone it appears safe to say that inter-racial obstacles are not of an intellectual nature - in any proper sense of the word. What racial differences do exist, without doubt, are in respect to physical appearance... P. 140. Under the influence of common environment, interest, language and religion these heterogeneous races may, by a process of fusion, become one homogeneous race. P. 142. Gault, R. H. Social Psychology.

When therefore one thinks of those groups who have swept across the pages of European history in either prehistoric or historic times he must conceive them as being already more or less heterogeneous. The acquisition of the very cultural equipment which enabled them to migrate and conquer was largely due in large part to those contacts which, while facilitating a diffusion of culture, would also involve a crossing of strains. P. 271.

It appears to us that since the first work of Francis Galton the steady accumulation of evidence favors the view that social stratification in a democratic society is explained more fully by the variations in inherent qualities than by any other factor. From the same home, from the same social class, from the same racial elements, individuals rise or fall to all levels of the social system. P. 369. Hankins, F.H. Racial Basis of Civilization, 1926

United States 1920 Census returns show about one-third of white population that year was of foreign white stock.

German	7,250,000
Aust. Hungary	4,400,000
Irish	4,100,000
Russian	3,800,000
British	3,000,000
" Can.	1,700,000
French "	850,000
	<u>36,300,000</u>

P. 97

Fox, Sir Frank, Mastery of the Pacific, 1928

It may now be said that supposed racial barriers are largely social barriers which are changeable by education. International cooperation is therefore possible, and an organization for this purpose would appear to be advisable as a means toward the elimination of injurious, "boxed-up"

national claims based on race and color antipathies.

POPULATION: With the close of the World War, population problems appear to have grown in importance, and many of them have become international in character. The Treaty of Versailles, in attempting to adjust some of the important population questions, set up a number of new nations, reinstated old ones, and shifted boundaries in ways which were bound to disturb the habits and feelings of large groups of people. In some cases these changes were to be gradual and prolonged; future plebiscites were considered; occasionally the ultimate result was subject to various conditions. This whole situation constitutes a group of population problems which can scarcely be handled by the peoples concerned or by occasional conference. All the nations are more or less affected, socially, economically or politically. Nothing short of a permanent international organization would appear to be adequate to the requirement, as the situation involves serious potential danger of conflict.

The settlement of the World War left a number of population groups unattached to the organization of any nation. These are known as Minorities and their ultimate status is often uncertain. They require continuous supervision and protection from covetous national governments. Minorities are not usually directly responsible for their predicament, and a sense of justice, together with international peace, suggest the assistance of an international organization.

The Polish Corridor illustrates this situation, as does also Mr. Lolyd-George's description of the left bank of the Rhine:

We were told the Rhine is the only possible line of resistance. Providence meant it to play that part, and it is only the sinister interference of statesmen who love not France that deprives Frenchmen of this security for peace which a far-seeing Nature has provided. The fact that this involved the subjection to a foreign yoke of millions of men of German blood, history and sympathies, and that the incorporation of so large an alien element, hostile in every fibre to French rule, would be a constant source of trouble and anxiety to the French Government, whilst it would not merely provide an incentive to Germany to renew war but would justify and dignify the attack by converting it into a war of liberation - all that had no effect on the Rhenian school of French politics...P. 106.

Lloyd-George, D.; Where Are We Going.

There have been groups of refugees from Armenia and elsewhere in need of international attention. It is necessary to negotiate for food, and transportation, and a domicile must be provided, usually within some other nation. Refugee problems may occur at any time and the necessary attention required is usually continuous. This type of problem, therefore, also calls for the services of a permanent international organization, especially that such matters may be kept out of the control of individual, and possibly unscrupulous, national governments.

There are a number of small nations whose peoples have been preyed upon and exploited, both by internal disturbance and by external influence. Frequently what appears to be a conflict among themselves, proves to be an incitement initiated by the intrigue of, or between, more powerful

nations, for the possession of some privilege or concession from members of the weaker group. The Balkan nations are a case in point. When in need of the help of a strong nation, they have often had to pay dearly for it by concessions or otherwise. Without a strong, permanent, and impersonal, international body, such peoples have no means of safety or justice; they have no adequate forum of mankind in which to be heard.

The pressure of unemployment and increasing population within certain nations raises the question of migration which is important to almost every nation from the viewpoint of either emigration or immigration. Except on the least effective, negative side, eugenics as a positive factor is not encouraging. Some nations do not desire any policy of birth control that is not shared to some extent by others on some definite policy. Densely populated countries like Belgium or Japan may dispute the right of Australia or of Canada, for example, to withhold unoccupied territory from settlement. An example of present attitude on this question, is expressed by an Englishman, as follows:

Around the ethics of this 'white Australia' policy there has been much controversy. But it is certain that without that policy...Australia would be today an Asiatic colony, still nominally held perhaps, by a small band of white suzerains, but ripe to fall at any moment into the hands of its ten million or twenty million Asiatic inhabitants. Instead of that, Australia is at once the fortress which the white race has garrisoned against an Asiatic advance southward. P. 174

Fox, Sir Frank; Mastery of the Pacific.

What has been a national question, threatens to become in-

ternational, and once it does do so, conflict may result before there is time to evolve a scientific solution and obtain its acceptance by the public opinion of the world. The investigation and supervision of such problems are apparently matters for a permanent, impersonal, international body. World population problems are considered in a work entitled "Migration" and published by the International Labor Office of Geneva, also in "Danger Spots in World Population", a recent volume by Warren S. Thompson.

As a rule, the self-sustaining foreigner is well treated in other countries, yet there are numerous cases of discrimination and hardships with such matters as extra taxation, double taxation, troublesome restrictions, and surveillance. As a matter of fairness, and to avoid unnecessary irritation and humiliation, the many necessary formalities might be agreed upon and supervised by an international organization. Such a policy has already been tried by the International Chamber of Commerce:

Summary - The Trade Barriers Committee, desirous of laws governing the treatment of foreigners as uniform and liberal as possible, suggests the conclusion of two international conventions, one to suppress passport visas, except in certain indispensable cases, and to secure the right of residence and establishment of foreigners legally admitted; the other to secure as far as possible equality of treatment between foreigners and nationals as to the exercise of their trades, professions and occupations, and as to the civil status of foreigners, the status of foreign legal entities and the fiscal treatment of foreigners...

P. 15. Int. Eco. Conf.; Final Report Trade Barriers Com. Int. Cham. Com., 1927. L. of Nations, - C. E. 1. 51

CITIZENSHIP: Since a consideration of population problems involves the matter of migration between nations, the subject of citizenship or naturalization should be examined. It is well known that for years people from various nations have decided to seek a home in some new country. It has been advocated that the individual or the family has a right to move from one nation to another especially if both nations consent, and it is proper for the immigrant to desire citizenship in his new country. In fact, his new government may require him to become a citizen by the legal formality of naturalization. On the completion of these papers, the new citizen is placed on practically the same level as all of his fellows; he has abandoned his former allegiance and accepted the obligations of the new citizenship; in return, he is supposed to receive the same degree of protection from his adopted country as its native-born citizens enjoy. But if he then goes on a visit to his relatives in the former country, even under the support of a regular passport, he may be seized, tried and jailed there, on the ground that he is still a citizen of this former country, and as such, may not have fulfilled some military or other obligation to it. In such event, it appears that his adopted country is considered to be powerless to protect her citizen.

This is a serious social situation; a man may be separated from his family and property, for some time at least. It would appear that the mother country should

grant only a limited passport to a citizen who is still under obligation, and that the adopted nation should ascertain the former status of all applicants. In time of crisis, some nations attempt to recall their supposed, or former, citizens who may be in other countries, and there are frequently situation involving deportations. No doubt many of these irregular occurrences are justified, but the laws vary with every nation; the whole practice is asocial, rough and cloudy; and it would seem that a permanent international organization could well supervise certain phases of the matter. The following extract from a statement by the United States Department of State roughly indicates the practice in twelve countries:

CITIZENSHIP: Status of Naturalized American Citizens in certain countries with the Governments of which the United States has not concluded naturalization treaties:-

While this Government objects to the punishment of naturalized Americans by fines, forced military service, or imprisonment for any unperformed military service which accrued after the entry of the naturalized citizen into the United States, it can give no assurance that any objections which it makes will result in a remission or release.

This Government can not properly protest against punishment for any infraction of foreign law committed prior to the naturalized American's entry into the United States

Naturalized citizens of the United States who come from countries with the governments of which the United States has not concluded naturalization treaties should, before visiting such countries, consider the advisability of inquiring of the appropriate authorities thereof whether they will be immune from molestation in such countries under the military service or other laws. The Department of State does not act as intermediary in such inquiries.

The following information is believed to be correct, but is not to be considered as official in so far as it relates to the laws and regulations of a foreign government:

France. The Department of State has been advised by the French Government that American citizens of French origin who visit France and who, under French military service laws, may be considered as deserters, or as defaulters, will be dealt with as hereinafter indicated. A - Deserters... B -

Defaulters...

- (1) Native-Born American Citizens of French Parentage...
- (2) Persons born in France who acquired naturalization as American citizens before they were declared to be defaulters
- (3) Persons born in France who acquired American nationality after having been declared defaulters...

C - Natives of France who acquire American citizenship through the Naturalization of a parent. A minor son whose French parents acquire naturalization in the United States and who is himself naturalized by the same act according to the American naturalization laws is not considered by the French authorities to have lost his French nationality. American citizens in this category are frequently molested upon their return to France and are sometimes forced to complete the usual military service required of French citizens...

D - Recognition by the French Government of the Naturalization abroad of a Frenchman...

Greece. The Greek Government does not recognize a change of nationality on the part of a former Greek which was made after January 15, 1914, without the Greek Government's consent. Consequently a former Greek naturalized after January 15, 1914, is liable to arrest and forced service in the Greek Army or Navy upon his return to Greece.

Italy. Under the Italian military laws the period of service is 18 months. Subjects of Italy are, however, liable for military service from their twentieth year until December 31 of the year in which they become 39 years of age, with the exception of officers, concerning whom there are special provisions of law, and university students, who may await the termination of their studies...

Dept. of State

Latvia. It is understood that, under Latvian law, citizens of Latvian origin are required to obtain from the Minister of the Interior permission to renounce their Latvian citizenship...

Netherlands. The department is informed that a subject of the Netherlands must register in person or by proxy to take part in the drawing of lots for military service in January of the year in which he reaches the age of 19, if on the first of that month either he or his legal representative resides in Europe...

Persia. ...On the return to Persia of a naturalized American citizen of Persian origin who did not obtain the consent of that Government to his naturalization, he is not permitted to leave...

Poland. ...Persons liable to Polish military service may acquire foreign citizenship only by obtaining permission to do so from the Ministry of War; otherwise they continue to be regarded by the Polish State as Polish citizens and remain liable to military service and to punishment for violation of the military service law...

Rumania. All male inhabitants of Rumania, except those under foreign protection, are liable to military duty between the ages of 21 and 46...

Spain. ...In the first instance the interested persons are exempted from performing their military service in Spain, but if the said naturalization is secured within the period in which he is liable for military service, the interested person will always remain obligated to perform his military service in Spain, and in case of failure to do so will incur penal responsibility under the same conditions as any Spaniard who has not lost his nationality...

Switzerland. ...If a Swiss citizen renounces Swiss allegiance in the manner prescribed by the Swiss law of June 25, 1903, and his renunciation is accepted, his naturalization in another country is recognized, but without such acceptance it is not recognized, and is held to descend from generation to generation...

Turkey. ...The American naturalization of a Turk would not be recognized by Turkey unless it consented to such naturalization.

Yugoslavia. ...All male Yugoslavs, including those bearers of foreign passports and their sons, who have not received permission to renounce their original citizenship, are liable to military service, regardless of age, until the obligation to serve has been discharged.

Notice to Bearers of Passports. Dept of State, Jan.
21, 1929

Transit under passport has been somewhat facilitated by international agreement concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations at Geneva, June 14, 1929.

BACKWARD PEOPLES: It is most unfortunate that the mental pictures of the average man are largely circumscribed by his immediate environment for it tends to narrow his understanding to a mere dot on the map of the world. About all he really sees are a few short and rapidly fading lines which radiate from his own situation. If he had a true perspective, his view would shrink his local affairs to "dot" size in comparison to great world conditions. The world traveller, however, if also a student of world affairs, will know that Africa is 5000 miles long; that it has 145,000,000 human beings, mostly black. He can call to mind the East Indies, teeming with dark

people - fifty million of them; and he can see India 2500 miles wide, yet with more than 325 millions of dark human creatures. He can call up scenes of the many large cities of India, and see masses of humanity so thick in many streets that they are almost elbow to elbow. He will see deformity, disease and emaciation, yet a struggle for life, and will recognize these immense masses as a pressing world problem.

These backward people have raw materials; they supply the world with many needs and they buy goods in return. They are an important factor in potential materials and markets, hence their stability and welfare cannot be ignored, for it is difficult to transact business with illiterate and irresponsible people. They are also our neighbors, which necessitates some interaction, and we do not desire the higher standards of education, health and morals to be polluted by a backward people. Prof. Coupland, head of the department of Colonial History at Oxford, has lived among the backward peoples in both Africa and India, and believes that they present a problem far greater than any which exist among the advanced peoples. Woolf states that they are already knocking at the white man's door:

The white population of South Africa already hears the black man knocking at the three entrances to his house - the economic door at the back, the political door at the side, and the social door in front. The sound is unpleasant; it is terrifying. P. 147. The inclusion within a homogeneous white population of large numbers of Asiatics or Africans, or the inclusion within homogeneous Asiatic or African populations of large numbers of Europeans

must, under present conditions lead to a most dangerous situation. It invariably entails the economic and political subjection of the Asiatics and Africans. But the time when such subjection was acquiesced in has passed, and there will inevitably result a bitter conflict between the subject and dominant parts of the population. P. 153.

Imperialism and Civilization.

The social implications of this problem seem to be world-wide, and of primary importance. In the opinion of Lord Lugard who has spent a quarter of a century as an administrator of backward peoples, they cannot raise themselves to a responsible status without aid, yet cannot acquire a ready-made social organization; they must rather be gradually assisted toward the achievement of a social order suitable to their peculiar needs. This important fact requires time and patience. In the meantime, there is continual danger of trouble among them, and of exploitation or annexation from the outside. The interests of all the advanced nations now involve all of the backward people, and any suggestion of discrimination will naturally arouse a dispute. Conflict of interest must clearly be prevented.

It happens that one method of solution has been under trial for ten years and is still in operation. Several groups of detached backward peoples have been administered by a group of over fifty nations who, as the League of Nations, set up the "Mandates Commission" for this purpose. This is not an economic or political body, but is composed of men who are experts on native questions, and who were chosen for their experience and ability from several nations. They have technical assistance, and their judgment has been

respected and accepted by all of the nations concerned. The working of this international body is endorsed by no less an international leader than Viscount Cecil:

The Permanent Mandates Commission is meeting this week at Geneva, just ten years after Germany surrendered her colonial empire into other hands.

It will hear reports by British, French, Belgians and Japanese on how they are administering former German territories. It will ask questions and make "observations", and publish not only the reports it has heard but also the minutes of its meetings. The charter which will guide it is a single article in the League Covenant in which is embodied for the first time the principle of colonial trusteeship instead of colonial possession.

How has this system worked during ten years? Has it fulfilled the hopes of its creators?

Viscount Cecil of Chelwood thinks it has worked well. With Woodrow Wilson and General Smuts of South Africa he was one of the architects of the mandate system at the Paris Peace Conference. He argued against the small nations which clamored for outright annexation of Germany's colonies; he and President Wilson, at least, wanted some better disposition made of them. He has since been Britain's delegate on the League Council, and has watched the mandate system in operation. Today his opinion is that the mandate system is one of the League's most satisfactory accomplishments... N. Y. Times; 11-11-28

HEALTH: An extensive array of international problems arises under the general heading of health, especially with the present network of transportation between all parts of the world. In the realm of plant life, bacteria, yeasts, moulds and fungi which may originate in some remote spot of the earth, can be so quickly spread to many other localities that tremendous losses may and do result. Great areas of crops have been ruined, and enormous sums of money have been expended in attempts to curb the severity of these attacks. In U. S. A. the effect of the European corn-borer and the Mediterranean fly called for the attention of

Congress and even required the services of the military establishment. Many other plant pests have spread from one nation to others, and the danger is continuous:-

A couple of potato bugs which, the French claim, must have stowed away in some American doughboy's baggage, have reproduced their kind so successfully that the nation is today threatened with a scourge. The French Chamber will consider financing a war on the pest, and the agriculture department is preparing a country-wide campaign to exterminate them. Detroit F. P.; 3-25-30

Mediterranean Fruit Fly: So far as known, the pest originally came from the Azores, where it was recorded in 1833, and penetrated Northern Africa. It has been found in European countries as far north as Paris, and it attacks all fruits and most vegetables, with only a few excepted...

It took Congress only half an hour to accept the urgent appeal of Dr. Marlatt, of the Department of Agriculture, to make available \$4,250,000 cash with which to combat the invasion - a world record in speed of legislation. Lit. Digest; 5-25-29

The diseases of animals are also readily transported between nations. Whole herds are wiped out or have to be destroyed. The animal is also a medium for carrying disease and dangerous insects. Nothing short of the closest kind of inspection and cooperation throughout the world, can keep the transmission of disease under control. The recent effect of transporting parrots is a case in point.

Dr. J. H. Stokes, Professor of Dermatology and Syphilology at the School of Medicine, Univ. of Pennsylvania, and also a member of one of the League of Nations Health Commissions, died on February 10 from psittachosis, or the mysterious 'parrot fever'. It is sadly ironic that an expert on skin diseases should fall a victim to this strange malady which would seem to lie within his own field of study. Dr. Stokes' is one of a number of recent deaths traced to this obscure disease; the frequency of cases occurring in this country as well as abroad prompted Surgeon-General Hugh S. Cumming, himself a member of the League's Health Committee, to

issue a public warning against the promiscuous handling of imported parrots.

League of Nations Assn. News.

Special articles and references upon the nature of this disease and the many cases of its international transmission may be found in the Literary Digest, 2-8-30 and 2-22-30.

The world is tied together today so closely that no man can consider himself entirely safe so long as communicable diseases and epidemics exist. The personal health habits of every human being and the sanitation of every community are now important to the whole world. Food and all kinds of commodities may be handled by diseased or unsanitary natives, then shipped to any part of the world. Considering the amount of travel and the quantities of goods which move throughout the world, it is an interesting question as to how much illness and disease may have come from some foreign country. Health inspection and quarantine facilities at National points of entry cannot be fully effective so long as health measures in any part of the world remain in a neglected or perfunctory condition. Some countries, especially in South America, will not admit a visitor unless he exhibits a recognized and sealed statement from the official health department of his own country to the effect that he has been recently vaccinated, has had a thorough physical examination, and is free from disease.

The Red Cross has had a world experience with catastrophe and health problems; it publishes a magazine called "The World's Health" and in the July-Sept., 1929 issue,

are found articles entitled "The Porto-Rico Disaster", "Tropical Diseases", "Cancer as a World Problem", illustrating the truly international importance of such matters. The very existence of the Red Cross, and the international nature of its organization, is indicative of the need of the times.

The World Conference on Narcotic Education, and the International Narcotic Education Association, having their headquarters in Los Angeles, have found it necessary to have international affiliations. All manner of social problems have a world influence upon health. The traffic in obscene literature, women and children and injurious drugs are cases in point. The inability to enforce the prohibition of liquor in U. S. A. is partly due to its influx from other countries. So long as interaction continues between the peoples of the world, it would appear that the health efforts of any one, or of any few, nations can only fail. The Health Department of the League of Nations has tried international cooperation with remarkable success in many fields. The results of its world-wide epidemiological survey cannot be treated here, but physicians throughout the world now gladly cooperate with it. World health alone, would appear to justify international organization, since it is a continuous world problem.

LABOR: It is now quite generally admitted that the elevation of the laborer's status, even though slight, has been of wide social value. Labor often represents the

greater portion of the cost of the necessities of life; it is quite as important as capital, and the conditions which surround it touch the whole social fabric of the world at many points. Good labor conditions are fundamental to the peace and welfare of society. It is worth while to note that a large organization dealing with world labor problems, has found it necessary to divide the subject into the following categories: Agricultural, children, compensation, emigrants, health, hours, inspection, insurance, seamen, unemployment, women, leisure and forced labor. Labor, therefore seems to be primarily a social problem, or rather to involve a number of social problems, the majority of which have a world significance since labor can be a controlling factor in the rivalry between nations. Labor can largely affect the social and economic relationship of the nations, a fact which John Dewey and other thinkers now recognize:

...Manufacturing and commerce are no longer domestic and local, and consequently more or less incidental, but are world-wide. They engage the best energies of an increasingly large number of persons. The manufacturer, banker, and captain of industry have practically displaced a hereditary landed gentry as the immediate directors of social affairs. The problem of social readjustment is openly industrial, having to do with the relations of capital and labor... P. 366

Dewey, John; Democracy & Education, 1916

The world-wide cooperation of nations in the progressive advancement of the economic standards of peoples is a vital problem of enduring peace. The bringing together of spokesmen of the state, Capital, and labor - accomplished through the International Labor Office - marks a new step forward in the economic organization of the force of international understanding. Hodges, Chas.;

For. Policy Assn.

The exhaustion or discovery of mineral deposits, the creation of state monopolies or of inventions, shortage or surplus of commodities, unemployment, forced labor, and wage rates within specific nations are a few of the matters tied in with labor, which affect the social, economic and political attitude and behavior of each nation toward the others. Any nation with natives or other low labor standards can utilize this factor against others, unless they are able and willing to lower their standards proportionately. With the affairs of the whole world being more closely compressed, and in the absence of organization, the social outlook is darkened. An investigation of the International Labor Office, however, reveals an elaborately organized system by which they have actually lifted the social standard of labor in many parts of the world. A recent effort concerns the standard of living:

An international survey of the cost of living in relation to wages was begun here last week under the auspices of the international labor office at Geneva, Switzerland...The survey's object is to formulate a "commodity budget", which will represent, in terms of food, clothing, housing, light, heat and other necessities, the yearly purchases of the average automobile worker earning \$7 a day - the minimum wage recently established by the Ford Company.

This budget then will be "translated" in 17 European cities of 13 different countries, to show the amount of money necessary in the currency of each nation to maintain the standard of living possible with the \$7 a day wage in Detroit...

Detroit Free Press; 1-12-30

The subject of labor cannot be closed without reference to a form of slavery called "forced labor". It was a surprise to the writer to discover at an international com-

mittee meeting in Geneva in 1929, that this practice was still in force at least among natives in several parts of Africa. The delegates from the nations concerned stated that local laws had been passed against this form of slavery. A face-to-face international conference is very valuable however. When confronted by evidence that the practice was being merely "winked at" in spite of the law, the delegate concerned was tactfully brought to an admission, and a promise to obtain the enforcement of the law, under penalty of world publicity. Perusal of the following report leads to the conclusion that international organization is the only solution of this problem:-

Confronted by an inadequate labor supply, caused either by the sparsity of population or the reluctance of workers to enter foreign employment many colonial governments have made use of forced labor, either for government or private purposes. Forced or compulsory labor is defined as "all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty for its non-performance and for which the worker does not offer himself voluntarily". Compulsory labor takes many forms. In perhaps the majority of colonies, governments utilize such labor for public works and services. In French and Dutch colonies it is exacted in the form of a labor tax upon native populations. Under the French prestation tax, natives may be required to work for a period ranging from three days in Algeria to sixteen days in Indo-China. In principle the work is exacted only for local public purposes. In the Dutch East Indies the government may exact labor from natives up to a maximum varying from thirty to forty days a year. During 1926 the government actually exacted labor aggregating more than 14,000,000 days, or an average of 19.5 days per worker. According to the International Labor Office, "by far the greater part of the compulsory labor levied from the population of the Dutch East Indies is unpaid". For. Pol. Assn.; Forced Labor, 1-8-30

ISOLATION: Association and interaction is the normal behavior between individuals and between groups who have anything in common. It is fundamental to education, growth and development. It is the medium of exchange. Nearly everything we know has in some manner been obtained from others. An isolated human being is like a man who is lost in the woods; he may shrivel and die or lose his mind. The individual who segregates himself from his group becomes ignorant and queer; the others view him with suspicion, derision or pity, and he may become an outcast; Sutherland states that isolation may lead to crime.

This applies also among nations, especially when they have many interests in common. For one to persistently stand out is decidedly provincial, and likely to be dangerous, especially when others covet its trade or other possessions; collusion and conspiracy may form against it. There is some danger everywhere, but there is usually less in "standing in" with one's fellows than in holding aloof. These are elementary yet important social principles. It is "the way the world works." And some one always loses, - usually the outsider.

Furthermore, a nation which isolates itself, loses the value which comes from contact with others. Interaction among nations crosses their cultures in ways which bring sympathy, understanding and friendship. International organization would appear to provide a logical medium for beneficial contact between the nations. Immeasur-

able value is already resulting from the face-to-face contacts in the League at Geneva.

Since U. S. A. has long declined to participate officially in the principal efforts toward international cooperation, some comment may be appropriate: A tradition can be a valuable sanction for a custom, but it can also be a serious detriment. Social change seems to be inevitable, and if it has destroyed the basis of a tradition, then the custom which has issued, needs to be revised. In other words, there must be some foundation for a way of thinking since it largely controls our way of acting, else our actions are meaningless and may do harm.

When Jefferson (not Washington) established the tradition that U. S. A. should avoid "entangling alliances", the nation was new, weak, and fully occupied in putting its own house in order; it had no spare energy or need for foreign obligations, but since that condition has obviously changed, the good advice of Jefferson has lost some of its force. The nation is now mature and strong; it needs and has extensive international contacts which appear to call for some form of organization. It may still be well to avoid "entangling alliances", but any action taken can hardly rest entirely on the Jefferson tradition.

"Isolation to America, either economic or political, is impossible." This is the direct and conclusive statement of no less an International leader than Mr. Owen D. Young, Chairman of the General Electric Co., a world-wide

business organization, director of many international commercial, educational and philanthropic enterprises, and head of the last Reparations Committee. When such extensive experience yields such a broad statement, it can be regarded as conclusive. Other authoritative opinion, however, is appended:

Policy is some times based on the conception that a State should be independent of the need of food stuffs and materials useful in war...The preparation for war by economic isolation tends to produce war by increasing the number of interests favored by war. P. 87. Burns, C. D.;
Industry & Civilization 1925

Isolated communities are very good illustrations of the relative influence of invention and diffusion. The slowness of relatively isolated cultures to change has been likened to stagnation. The growth of cultures in contact with other cultures is much more rapid... P. 89. Ogburn, W.F. Social Change. 1922

Where through some form of isolation, a group is shut off from mental contacts with a wider circle of experiences the minds of the group present a vacuity and narrowness, a pettiness and intolerance that is in striking contrast with the cosmopolitan type of mind with its sympathetic tolerance of differences of opinion, its appreciation of all that life in any form may present... P. 275. North, C. C.
Social Differentiation. 1927

The United States has a great contribution to make to world progress and peace. It has shown much capacity for ideas but considerable hesitancy about method. It has announced, as from afar, the League of Nations, the Washington Conference, the Renunciation of War, but has made its own path more difficult by standing aloof, in semi-isolation, outside...P. 49
Sweetser, Arthur; (An American in the Information Section, L. of N.) The Approach to World
Unity, 1930.

...It is only as the isolation has been broken, through the development of industry and finance and the recognition of common interests in this new world without a frontier, that diplomacy has emerged from its iron framework and grappled with the problems of reciprocal rights and duties in all the varied activ-

ities of a nation's life. P. 29. Shotwell, J. T.;
War as an Instrument of Nat. Pol., 1929

If the Japanese, who have definitely abandoned isolation after a two-hundred years' trial of it, are able to cooperate without becoming unduly entangled, without being duped, and without being obliged to do things against their will, why cannot we?... P. 85
Mowrer, Paul S.; Our Foreign Affairs, 1924

CRIME: The problem of crime is so colossal that its study constitutes a branch of science. Society has always struggled against it. Crime has come to be a profession among cunning characters in the "underworld"; it is now highly organized, and is known to be often very profitable. The great growth of cities enables a man to be both "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde". He can turn a corner and often get away, or he can quickly lose himself in any crowd. With a motor car or plane he can cover many miles at great speed, and quickly land in another state or nation. He can reach a foreign nation, commit a crime and return to his own country in a few hours. Or he can operate through a series of confederates who may or may not know that they are "tools".

The differentiation in national tariffs and prohibitions has made smuggling highly profitable. Many kinds of international crime are increasing, are perpetrated on a large scale for huge profits, and are the most difficult to solve. Extradition by treaty between many nations is provided for but has not solved the problem.

This returning of a fugitive charged with crime to the place of his misdeed for trial is called interstate extradition. International extradition was probably aided in development by the practical operation of this clause. It was more than half a

century after it was written in 1787 that England entered into a treaty of extradition (1842) with the United States. This was followed from time to time by treaties among leading countries. P. 159

Norton, T. J.; Constitution of U. S. A., 1930

The criminal must be caught before he can be extradited.

There are many treaties of this class which imply good intent but which often fail in execution through the lack of a permanent international organization to carry them into effect. International crime has become so serious that some countries will not permit a foreigner to enter unless he exhibits a satisfactory certificate from the police department of his home district. The whole problem is a social menace to the world, as will be seen from the few incidents which are quoted:

The police of three of Europe's chic capitals - London, Berlin and Paris - are uniting in a war of three nations against crime.

Arrangements are now being perfected for an interchange of detectives between Lord Byng, head of Scotland Yard; M. Jean Chiappe, French prefect of police, and Herr Karl Zoorgiebel, head of the Berlin police, which will make the three police organizations one unit in the fight against three classes of criminals - white slave traffickers, drug smugglers and international crooks.

Hitherto police have been handicapped in coping with international organizations of criminals, a coup brought off in one country being usually engineered by criminals known to police in another capital, but not where the crime takes place.

Detroit Free Press; 3-3-30

Britain's efforts to gain closer cooperation among nations in the apprehension of international criminals have met with approval in the United States and certain South American countries, it was announced Monday. The home office said the United States, Argentina and some other South American countries had signified willingness to join the movement. The step follows the recent announcement of an anti-crime pact among Britain, France and Germany. This accord includes arrangements to exchange police.

Detroit Free Press; 3-25-30

When a million dollars in false money is being seized by the authorities throughout the world every year, it is obvious that a great deal more than this is being put into circulation, and a conference has been going on at Geneva to adopt the convention for the suppression of counterfeit currency everywhere. Counterfeiting, "far from fading into oblivion with the Nick Carter tales", to quote a New York Times dispatch from Geneva, was represented as a growing menace by Dr. Vilem Pospisil, of Czechoslovakia, president of the conference...

The thirty-five nations represented at the Conference include five non-League countries - Ecuador, Brazil, Turkey, Russia, and the United States... Literary Digest; 5-11-29

...The exportation of liquor from Canada is not illegal; but a conspiracy between Canadian exporters and Canadian or American rum-runners to violate American laws is an act unfriendly to this country. The Canadian liquor interests have used their financial resources to force their government into aiding and abetting them in it. Obviously the situation has potentialities as unpleasant for the Canadian nation, as for the American border patrol...

Detroit Free Press; 12-23-29

Seven customs officers and an employee of the customs service marine storage base here (Miami) were disarmed of revolvers and a machine gun by British authorities in Bimini before they were allowed to land a seaplane there today in search of eight rum boats stolen last night from the storage base.

The theft of boats from the storage base is the third this year, it was recounted today.

Detroit Free Press; 3-6-30

A short time ago "dope," with a market value of \$2,000,000 was seized in New York on a train about to start for Chicago. Later, agents of the federal government found \$4,000,000 worth of the stuff on a Jersey City pier. And now from Philadelphia comes a story of a \$20,000,000 consignment successfully smuggled into that port as a distributing point for the "domestic" trade...

The discovery of an effective way to suppress the trade in dope is one of the pressing matters before the nation. Detroit Free Press; 12-26-28

LAW AND POLITICS: Law and Politics are different concepts, but they are often related, and there is a twilight zone" in which they may touch, hence they will be

discussed together. Law is a technique of social control; it is a set of generalized rules based upon custom, belief and precedent, which can be applied to specific cases. Politics, however, is an art of statecraft for use within the bounds of law, political science and the situation. A body of general law is desirable, but in cases for which there may be no law, some form of political adjustment, arbitration or compromise becomes the only form of peaceful settlement.

States and nations have such a complete body of law that most of their internal disputes can be settled by this method. But there is a comparatively small body of international law, and what does exist has not been fully coded or accepted. As a result, a great many international questions are still open to dispute; just and peaceful settlements are therefore seriously endangered. Furthermore there are many international questions which involve matters of national policy and other factors which are not in their nature justiciable, and may never be subject to legal procedure.

Thus international questions are only slightly under the recognized forms of social control; they are still largely exposed to the danger of serious conflicts. The development of a body of law - especially international law - is an extremely slow process. This is partly due to a wide difference in the legal structure and procedure of the various nations, as described by Potter and by the

United States Department of Commerce:

It is necessary to note that Great Britain and North America are under the English common law, that Eastern Europe lives under Slavic Law, and that Asia and Africa possess many indigenous legal systems of their own. Added to this is the fact that even where supposedly common legal systems exist, the practice of constituent and statutory law making has so worked upon and made over the historically received private law as to produce endless variations among the nations. P. 307

Potter, P. B.; Intro. to Study of Int. Org. 1922

...The commercial judges of Buenos Aires, the Federal capital, are not in agreement with respect to the interpretation of the corporation laws of certain States of the United States. Different judges have expressed conflicting opinions, and for that reason it is rather difficult to state definitely whether a corporation organized under the law of a given State of the United States can acquire a domicile in Argentina by mere application to the courts... P. 67. Trading under the Laws of Argentina; U. S. Dept. of Commerce.

Experts in World affairs have long agreed that an international court is a practical necessity, and that all justiciable questions between the nations should be brought under the jurisdiction of such a court as rapidly as possible toward an increase of social control.

The enactment of rules of international law to be for a commonwealth of mankind what statutes are within each State is a comparatively simple matter. The process of preparation and enactment will doubtless take time, because all States must be consulted, and on some points their divergent interests (real and supposed) will long delay and perhaps prevent agreement. Nevertheless the matters on which agreement can be secured will be far more numerous, so a fairly complete international code may be expected. P. 174 Bryce, Jas.; International Relations, 1922

The Hague Courts of Arbitration were all weak, because the judges had to be selected and assembled after a dispute had occurred; war might easily break out in the

interval. What is needed is a permanent court, ready and obligated to sit at a moment's notice. To organize, sanction and maintain such a court requires a permanent organization among the nations. The League of Nations has already established the "Permanent Court of International Justice" at the Hague as outlined above. More than fifty nations support it, and forty-two of them have signed the "optional clause" by which they accept the jurisdiction of the court in all justiciable disputes. Codification is also proceeding:

There is in session at the Hague, as this is written, a Conference for the Codification of International Law, which began on March 13. It represents the culmination of some five years of labor, and offers one of the best possible illustrations of the careful preparation now possible for international conferences through the machinery of the League of Nations

The conference will undertake to codify the law on three important subjects: Nationality, territorial waters, and responsibility of states for damage done in their territory to the persons or property of foreigners. L. of N. News; March 1930

All international disputes divide between law and politics. Since the political questions constitute the larger number, and are the most difficult to adjust, a permanent international organization providing for conference, mediation and arbitration would appear to be greatly needed.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION: Invention has completely changed communication. When mail was carried across the ocean by sailing ships, it required from three to four months to communicate, and receive a reply, across the Atlantic. Now, a few seconds are sufficient for communi-

cation between any of the centers of the world. Telegraph cables, telegraph wireless, and radio telephones enable the most distant persons to converse with almost the same facility as though they were in the same room. Mail of all kinds and between all countries is now speeded by fast ships, trains or aeroplanes. No incident of any consequence can happen in any part of the world without newspapers being able to quickly broadcast the details everywhere. Much information can be had almost directly in the home by radio. Communication has practically tied the world into a unit. It has multiplied and magnified our common interests and all forms of relationship between the nations and their peoples. The tremendous rate of increase in world communication shows that national life is expanding to an international plane and that any change in one nation has some influence upon every other people. It is at once proof of growing interdependence and unity. In such a close relationship, the safety and cooperation of a world society would clearly appear to require international social organization. For example, one serious problem is that of international aviation: Although organized and used for mutual and peaceful purposes, planes can be turned to dangerous weapons of war overnight, and might be, in the absence of a proper organization.

The following data and Mr. Smith's description of the Associated Press, reveal the great growth of international communication.

Before the Postal Union was formed the interchange of postal matter was regulated by treaties which one State made with another. France, for instance, handled a large mass of foreign postal matter in transit and derived a large revenue therefrom. Under this system the advantages of cheap and quick international communication received but little recognition. Postal rates between two distant parts of the world varied according to the route by which the matter was sent, and postal matter missing a mail by the route specified for it was held for the next mail by that route and was not forwarded by any other route that might give quicker delivery. Reinsch states that a letter from the United States to Australia would pay postage of 5 cents, 33 cents, 45 cents, 60 cents, or \$1.02 per half-ounce, according to the route by which it was to be sent. By cooperation and agreement all but a few small countries have combined and formed a world-embracing union for the interchange of postal matter... P. 91. Morrow, Dwight, W. The Society of Free States, 1919

Ocean-Cable Telegraph Traffic.

	1912	1917	1922	1927
Telegrams	2,845,000	6,451,000	9,603,000	7,449,000

P. 365. Stat. Abstract of the U.S. 1929; Dept. of Com.

Wireless Telegraph Systems.

	1907	1912	1922	1927
No. of Co's. or systems	5	4	4	5
No. of messages	154,617	285,091	2,365,109	3,777,538

P. 362 Dept. Commerce; Stat. Abst. 1929

Statement showing the weights of United States mails dispatched to Trans-Atlantic and Trans-Pacific destinations and to Central and South America and the West Indies during the fiscal years 1920 to 1929, inclusive. Prior to the year 1923 the weights of parcel post were not reported separately.

TRANSATLANTIC DESTINATIONS

	Letters and Post Cards Lbs.	Other Articles (Including Parcel Post) Lbs.
1920	2,635,073	37,743,374
1921	2,840,781	37,272,791
1922	2,791,644	30,514,143
		<u>Prints</u>
1923	2,811,432	13,629,773
1924	3,368,195	15,886,847
1925	3,384,099	16,139,779
1926	3,340,164	16,567,331

1927	3,496,932	17,802,860
1928	3,688,917	18,888,386
1929	3,814,664	19,616,776

TRANSPACIFIC DESTINATIONS

1920	632,857	11,410,591
1921	613,203	13,443,994
1922	571,711	10,912,217
		Prints
1923	583,807	6,774,014
1924	561,135	7,328,500
1925	576,328	7,584,052
1926	628,202	7,959,512
1927	654,020	8,278,503
1928	680,642	8,328,650
1929	805,931	9,602,579

To Central and South America and the West Indies

1920	648,146	15,187,395
1921	702,569	13,720,160
1922	541,518	11,256,630
		Prints
1923	653,537	5,865,039
1924	696,003	6,535,573
1925	768,727	6,526,900
1926	863,062	7,100,022
1927	1,029,753	8,066,562
1928	1,324,771	9,957,742
1929	1,476,764	10,660,821

Post Office Dept., Div. Int. Postal Service
Washington, 3/29/30

Growth of International News: ...Twenty years ago, the cable tolls of the Associated Press were only about \$140,000 a year and the total amount of incoming cable approximately a million and a half words a year. In 1928, the cable tolls of the Associated Press matter brought from abroad for use in American papers was nearly \$300,000 and the total number of words brought in by cable was over four millions...

The great increase in the amount of foreign news brought to the United States by the Associated Press was much influenced by the Great War. American newspapers became much more international in their point of view, and with the declaration of peace, continued to seek foreign news.

Furthermore, the increase of all North American interests in Central and South America has greatly stimulated the demand of United States papers for news from those countries. American export trade to South and Central America was greatly augmented during the war.

North American business and banking interests which gained a foot-hold in the southern continent during the Great War period had become thoroughly entrenched, with a result that North America and South America are mutually much more interested in one another...

Associated Press news also goes direct, now, to English language newspapers in China, and the news of China has become so important to American papers, especially to papers of the Pacific coast, that The Associated Press has organized a bureau in Shanghai, as well as Peiping, and retains a correspondent at Nanking, the new capital of Nationalist China...

Cooperation is the cornerstone of the Associated Press. It is one of the world's most successful cooperative ventures. About ten million dollars a year is expended in the operation of this non-commercial organization, out of which no member makes a cent of profit. Nearly 1300 daily newspapers in the United States are members of this organization which maintains bureaus in all the important capitals of the world, and frequently handles as many as 80,000 words of news daily.

The Associated Press has more than 1700 persons exclusively in its employ in the United States and several hundred employees scattered throughout the universe. Its growth is one of the great romances of cooperation. In 1893 it had only 63 members, seven years later its membership had grown to 600, and now it has nearly 1300 members under the flag of the United States and supplies news directly to nearly 100 newspapers in South and Central America and the West Indies...

The news of The Associated Press is printed in a dozen languages. The caption "AP" appears in many countries outside of the New World, as well. Shanghai reads Associated Press dispatches and Madrid gets its news of North and South America directly through The Associated Press...

Through exchange agreement with Reuters Agency in England, the Havas Agency in France, the Wolff Agency in Germany and the leading agencies in other foreign countries, Mr. Stone made the news of the United States available to all the rest of the world and in turn placed the news of foreign agencies at the disposal of American correspondents whom he assigned to the leading foreign capitals.

Foreign agencies, in turn, sent their correspondents to New York where they located in the headquarters of The Associated Press and receive every bit of news which is collected by the member newspapers of The Associated Press in the United States and forwarded to New York.

The Associated Press is a give and take organization. Its members are much like the members of a club. Membership entails upon them the obligation to supply the news of the territory in which their newspaper is located. By this means, its 1300 newspapers are placing their daily

output at the disposal of the papers belonging to the cooperative organization. The Associated Press is not an agency of opinion. It is pledged to send only the facts. It has no political bias and no religious prejudice. Its member papers are Democratic, Republican, Socialist and Independent. Its members are of various religious beliefs.

This neutral attitude of The Associated Press has given it an authority in the United States which is unquestioned. It is free from governmental, commercial and religious influence. All of its members have a voice in its direction. They elect directors from among their own membership, who willingly serve without pay and guide the policy of the organization...

Frequently in a day's news report of The Associated Press there appear cable items from as many as 200 different places in the world, outside of the United States...

The cooperative organization of the United States has been copied by The Canadian Press, a powerful agency, which serves all the leading papers throughout the Dominion of Canada. This organization is affiliated with The Associated Press and works with it very closely. Rengo, the leading Japanese news agency, has also fashioned itself after The Associated Press and cooperates closely with the American agency...

In addition to its voluminous wire report, The Associated Press also maintains an extensive illustrated feature service and a news picture service, which supplies both actual photographs and matrices to member newspapers. The feature service averages about forty pages of printed matter weekly...

For example, New York City has more Italian residents than there are Italians in Rome; California also has a very large Italian population; so has Chicago; and Buenos Aires has a tremendous number of Italian residents. These colonies must be considered in serving the news needs of these communities. Detroit, Chicago and Pittsburgh have large Polish populations. New York, Milwaukee, Cincinnati and St. Louis have great German populations which must be taken into consideration. Minnesota and several of the adjoining agricultural states have large Scandinavian populations. The English and Canadians are so numerous in the United States that news of the British Empire is as eagerly followed by the great newspapers of the United States as it is in London...

The entire text of the Latest reparations agreement, 30,000 words in all, was brought to the United States by The Associated Press and used in full by great newspapers as far west as Salt Lake City...

In the United States communications are not under government control. The telephone and telegraph companies are competitive. Consequently there is keen rivalry between the various organizations, which results in speedy service. American cable companies are also keen competitors and work hard to obtain rapid communication.

The American communications companies have of recent years worked on the theory that low tolls produce much greater business and a better communication system, by keeping the channels busy all the time. This method of operating communication is quite unlike that of many of the European organizations which apparently prefer high tolls and small business rather than a great volume of business at a lower rate...

Official news, the news of the doings of state and national governments, and the governmental news of countries abroad, were the chief concern of news agencies when The Associated Press first came into existence. But conditions have changed radically in the United States news field. Politicians and politics no longer monopolize the space of newspapers. Business, agriculture, sports, labor, amusements - in fact, all activities of the people - are claiming more and more attention from American papers...

Smith, Chas. S., Chief of Foreign Service of
Associated Press, 1929

According to J. L. Jones, Foreign Editor of the United Press Associations, of New York, this great organization has met with such an increased demand for Foreign news during the past three years that it now serves 1220 papers in 40 countries in 18 languages, having the largest foreign clientele of any press association. The foreign news volume has doubled since the war. The United Press now receives an average of 5000 words per day from Europe, and sends about 8000 words per day to South America. The accuracy, speed and volume of world news is 'miraculous' The world demands to know about the London Naval Conference, the New York money market, bond investment and loans abroad, and conditions in Germany and elsewhere. Japan and the Orient have transferred their former primary interest in European affairs, to the U. S. A. Throughout the world, English and Japanese news is now second to U. S. A. news. Latin America has a wider knowledge of U. S. A. and a

greater interest than we possess regarding these southern republics. Finally, world interest in Foreign News has largely changed from ludicrous and bizarre subject matter, to a demand for objective fact.

LANGUAGE: We have seen that in the absence of ability to communicate, peoples are often deprived of the necessary understanding to permit a peaceable adjustment of disputes; even if they would cooperate, they cannot do so very effectively. In an interacting world, language, therefore, is of increasing importance for peace and cooperation. This is especially true since the advent of the international movie, radio, and telephone, and because of the growth of travel and use of foreign publications. English and French are now the recognized international languages, and many cultivated people from all nations are acquiring facility with at least one of them. But this bilingual ability is not likely to become general until, at least, the various peoples have more reason to feel a direct interest in other nations than their own. Dewey points out that interest is a great aid to effort. We do not seek contact with those who are regarded as "outside" or opposed to us, but if we become members of one family in some way, closer contacts develop. Thus if the nations were members of one international organization, the feeling of shared interests would be an impetus toward a most needed sharing of language. A common organization and common language would be mutually supporting; a saner and safer world fabric might result.

When Alsace-Lorraine was returned from Germany to France, a change from German to French was demanded of the people concerned by France, and it produced a serious disturbance as the following statement of an Alsatian shows: -

...No Alsatian should be obliged to feel strange or slighted in his own homeland when he speaks the language of his land. The use of interpreters is an unworthy presumption which one might force on a slave people, but which simply cannot be discussed in relation to a people which is being ostensibly freed from bondage. Such a policy breeds nothing but malaise. For. Pol. Assn. Alsace-Lorraine; A Border Problem; 2-19-30

Such a disturbance of the customs of a transferred people might be ameliorated through the good offices of an international organization.

An artificial language such as esperanto is theoretically desirable, but has been widely declined on the ground that it lacks background, and cannot win in comparison with English, for example, which already has the largest amount of usage, and is supported by the widening influence of the English-speaking people. The following items show the importance and trend of language:

...A Boston leather-goods firm had its catalogue translated into Spanish, for the South American market, and sent out many copies to Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, not realizing that the language spoken in Brazil is Portuguese. In this remarkable catalogue, the item harness "for single-horse buggy", was rendered "para cavallo soltero lleno de insectos", which means, literally "for lousy bachelor horse". P. 338. Mowrer, Paul S.; Our Foreign Affairs, 1924

...The extent to which the leading languages of the world is spoken is as follows:

Languages	Number of People
English	160,000,000
Russian	100,000,000
German	85,000,000
French	70,000,000
Spanish	55,000,000
Italian	40,000,000
Portuguese	30,000,000

P. 11; Buell, R. L.; Int. Relations, 1925

...The most interesting thing, particularly for us, (Institute of Pacific Relations, Kyoto), was the use of the English language, which was the official language of the conference and of all the collaboration that took place between any two delegations. English is becoming the international language of the East. The Chinese and the Japanese delegations communicated in English, almost none of them speaking the opposite language, and they almost all spoke English... P. 11.

Howland, Chas. P.; For. Pol. Assn.;
Common Speech, 12-29

A significance more than ephemeral and local is being ascribed by European observers to the recent appearance of the Berliner Tageblatt, a well-known German Liberal newspaper, in a complete attire of Roman-letter type, which to most non-Germans is the last word in legibility and simplicity beside the Old Gothic...

The step taken by the Tageblatt shows that Germans today are willing to remove an obstacle which made access to German newspapers and German literary and scientific works unnecessarily difficult to foreigners. In this respect, Germany was cut off from intimate cultural communion with the rest of civilization almost as Russia and Turkey were, along with some of the backward Balkan countries. With the Turks launched definitely upon adoption of the Latin alphabet, and with even Russia determined to relinquish its Greek-Slavonic system of writing and print, Germany could not be far behind. Detroit Free Press; 10-3-28

EDUCATION: Education has an important influence upon any people; it largely determines their attitudes and behavior throughout life. The teaching of history and allied subjects has naturally and admittedly tended to emphasize the national point of view. National political

opinion may have had some influence in this direction since education is largely a state function. To unduly magnify the nation's virtues, or to appear to do so by too limited a consideration of the other nations, may have a tendency to leave upon youth a slightly distorted picture of the true relationship between nations. In so far as this is true, it may have been unintentional, but it has doubtless contributed, along with the press, to such conditions as the following:

...Ardent French patriots feel too much time is given to German; on the other hand, ardent Alsatian "home-rulers" feel it is too little. Furthermore, the schools in the recovered provinces have the same number of classroom hours as schools of the same grade throughout France and must prepare their pupils for the same State examinations. But they must devote much more time to French instruction than the primary schools in the interior of France. In addition they must give each week three hours of instruction in German, and - a requirement which does not obtain anywhere else in France - four hours of instruction in religion. The problem is a difficult one... For. Pol. Assn.,
Alsace-Lorraine; A Border Problem; 2-19-30

...International morality is impaired, however, not only by a feeble sense of mutual obligation, but by the still more injurious assumption of conflicting interests between nations... This notion is partly the product of the false patriotic teaching of our schools and press, which seek to feed our sense of national unity more upon exclusive than inclusive sentiments. Nations are represented as rivals and competitors in some struggle for power, or greatness, or prestige, instead of cooperators in the general advance of civilization... P. 7

Hobson, J.A. Morals of Economic Internationalism,
1920

National knowledge and loyalty are highly desirable, but it would appear that it may have been over-emphasized and may have encouraged a degree of ignorance or misinformation regarding the world. Isolation, even attitudes

of opposition, might easily result from such a practice, to the detriment of both international relations and the nation itself. It would appear to be an advantage if educational authorities were to more widely recognize the present interdependence of the world. In doing so, they might inculcate information regarding conditions in other parts of the world which would come to be of direct value. Such a policy is a difficult matter, however, in the absence of the knowledge and cooperative feeling that would naturally flow from a definite international organization.

It appears that education is already beginning to expand beyond national attitudes. Many subjects are naturally world-wide; one U. S. A. citizen has given a two million dollar library to the League of Nations; text-books are being revised; research is extending throughout the world; and schools are accepting students from other countries. This seems to indicate a movement toward international organization, that is illustrated as follows:

... "Dismal science" was Carlyle's term for political economy, while he crowded his books with figures who were the leaders of armies with banners. But the authors of a new set of text-books are presenting the subject as a series of "fairy-tales", and thus seeking to bring about world peace by providing this form of history for our 25,000,000 school children. Emphasis is placed on "an economic and industrial interpretation of the world in place of the age-old story of strife and bloodshed"... Lit. Digest; 2-23-29

Yale University is to explore a new vast field of education with a plentiful purse of \$7,500,000, the aim being no less than to study man and his behavior, and to coordinate and make more practical application of the discoveries of all branches of

science to the benefit of man and society...
 Literary Digest; 3-16-29

Such research seems likely to extend beyond National boundaries, where the data and facilities of an International organization would at least save much time and expense.

Examples of Foreign Cooperation:

Geneva School of International Studies.
 Students' International Union, New York.
 Sherwood Eddy's Tour, (Group Study)
 La Federation Universelle des Associations Chretiennes
 d'Etudiants, Geneva.
 World Peace Foundation, Boston, Mass.
 Institute of International Education, New York.
 Belgium Educational Foundation.
 Educational Division of the League of Nations Association,
 New York.
 Students' International Union, Geneva
 Ecole Internationale De Geneva
 Postgraduate Inst. of Int. Studies, Geneva.
 League of Nations Int. Institute of Intellectual
 Cooperation, Paris.
 Universite de Geneve.
 Institute J. J. Rousseau, Geneve
 Int. Bureau of Education, Geneva
 Federation Universitaire Internationale, Bruxelles.
 World Union of Women for Int. Concord, Geneva.
 English-Speaking Union, New York.
 Bureau Int. Humanitaire Zoophile, Geneva.
 College Des Ecosais, Montpellier, France
 Save the Children Int. Union, Geneva
 The World's Alliance of Young Men's Christian Assns.
 Women's Int. League for Peace and Freedom, Geneva.
 The Boy Scouts Assn., London.
 Int. Convention for Prisoners.

SCIENCE, LITERATURE, ART AND PHILOSOPHY: These fields assist in developing, recording and measuring the social values and achievements of man. They mark great social changes. It appears to be possible, through them, to enrich life, and to make it more worth living. But it seems incongruous to try to confine, set off or limit these

general fields of thought and activity to any one or to any few nations; they transcend national boundaries; they encompass the world, the universe. These concepts need recognize no specific country; they apply to all countries; indeed they may disregard all divisions among men. The work of Edison, Shakespeare, Chopin, Kant and numerous others, is spread over the world regardless of national boundary.

These facts without seeming to destroy the need or convenience of separate nations, would appear to reduce the real importance of such boundaries, and to set up the necessity of a world viewpoint as more in keeping with adequate modes of thought and action. The various political subdivisions of a state or nation, however important they may once have been, tend to become a mere convenience for administration. It is entirely possible, and is worth consideration, that the nation may, in time, subside in similar manner if international organization should develop and gradually become effective. Furthermore, such a social organization would obviously permit freer cooperation in the peaceful development of all the higher systems of thought. Science, literature, art and philosophy are viewed in this broad manner by many of our best thinkers:

...On the one hand, science, commerce, and art transcend national boundaries. They are largely international in quality and method. They involve interdependencies and cooperation among the peoples inhabiting different countries. At the same time, the idea of national sovereignty has never been as accentuated in politics as it is at the

present time. Each nation lives in a state of suppressed hostility and incipient war with its neighbors. Each is supposed to be the supreme judge of its own interests, and it is assumed as a matter of course that each has interests which are exclusively its own. To question this is to question the very idea of national sovereignty which is assumed to be basic to political practice and political science. This contradiction (for it is nothing less) between the wider sphere of associated and mutually helpful social life and the narrower sphere of exclusive and hence potentially hostile pursuits and purposes, exacts of educational theory a clearer conception of the meaning of 'social' as a function and test of education than has yet been attained. P. 113.

Dewey, John; Democracy & Education, 1916

Thomas Hardy belonged essentially to his native Dorset, but Dorset could not keep him for herself. Nor could England. Nor could the Anglo Saxon races. He was part of the culture of the world.

It is not indeed the personalities of men like these, but rather the ideas they inspire and bequeath, that knit the world into oneness...

Cecil, Viscount; American Responsibilities for Peace, For. Affairs, 4-28.

The Age of Science and Humanity: The discontinuance of militarism and the diminution of exploitation setting free boundless energies, giving opportunity for the growth of knowledge and sympathy, weakening the force of authority, allow the critical and investigative impulses to work themselves out in discovery, science, invention and discussion. The scientific habit of mind gets the better of mere faith. Men wish to know; they are no longer satisfied merely to believe... P. 428. Giddings, F. H.

Descriptive & Historical Sociology 1906

...Science, Learning, Polite Literature, Art in all its forms, have nothing to do with national differences. Those who follow those pursuits owe as much to their fellow workers abroad as to those at home, and are, those especially who devote themselves to the sciences of nature, which have least of all to do with the quarrels of men, brought into profitable cooperation with one another. Might not these learned and scientific classes use their influence to mitigate the asperities of politics and help the peoples to better understand and appreciate one another? P. 135 Bryce, Jas.; International Relations, 1922

ECONOMIC FACTORS

PATENTS AND COPYRIGHTS: The adequate protection of a patent, trade-mark or copyright throughout the principal parts of the world where infringement is likely to occur, is a serious problem to the inventor or owner. This field is sometimes referred to as "The Protection of Industrial Property". All laws giving protection are national laws, and there is some indication that they may be nationally regarded as revenue producers more than as rightful protection for the patentees. Regardless of an international convention established at Berne, there is great variance in the laws enacted by the different nations. The writer has had experience in obtaining and maintaining patents in many countries. His own experience, as well as that of numerous others, has been almost uniformly unsatisfactory, - so much so that the desired end has been often defeated.

It may briefly be said that the maintenance of a patent in a foreign country frequently requires that it shall be manufactured or "worked" there under a number of definitely stipulated rules, and without regard to whether the nature of the invention or the commercial conditions will warrant or permit the required conformity. There is seldom any elasticity, and there is no international provision, say, for what may be a commercial necessity of "working" portions of the manufacture in different states. Unless the invention can be operated on a fully national footing, protection appears to be more or less denied. International trade-mark practice is even more complicated,

and the copyright protection does not appear to be adequate.

The protection of international industrial property would seem to call urgently for the supervision and harmonizing influence of an international organization. The following items only briefly illustrate the present complexity in this field.

...Patent laws are another source of difficulty. In France, for example, an article has to be manufactured in the country before it can be patented, and therefore the foreign manufacturer to protect himself, has to put up works in France.

Burns, C. D.;
Industry & Civilization 1925

In order to obtain the grant of a patent in Argentina the application must be made before the invention has been used there or before sufficient publicity has been given in books, pamphlets, or periodicals, either in Argentina or abroad, to such an extent as to enable one to put the invention into practice. P. 126

Trading under the Laws of Argentina; U. S. Dept. of Commerce.

Revocation for Nonworking. The life of a patent is subject not only to the payment of the annuities as they fall due, but also to the manufacture or working of the invention for practical purposes. A patent may be revoked completely or partially if the patentee or his attorney does not put the patent into practice in Czechoslovakia or if steps are not taken to insure the working of the invention. P. 64. U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Trade Information Bulletin #444

Compulsory Working. At any time not less than four years after the date of a patent, any person may apply to the High Court or to the Supreme Court of Victoria for an order declaring that the patented article or process is not manufactured or carried on to an adequate extent in the Australian Commonwealth. If the court is satisfied that the patented article or process is manufactured or carried on, exclusively, or mainly outside the Commonwealth, then, unless the patentee proves that the article or process is manufactured or carried on to an adequate extent in the Commonwealth, or gives satis-

factory reasons why such manufacture is not carried on, the court will make the order to take effect either immediately or at the expiration of a reasonable period... Bureau of For. & Domestic Commerce, Trade Inform. Bulletin #412

TAXESWORKINGS

AUSTRALIA
At end of 7th year \$37.

Within four years from patent date, annually thereafter.

BELGIUM
2nd to 20th years inclusive;
progressive from \$11 to \$39.

Within one year of first working in any foreign country, and annually.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA
2nd to 15th years inclusive;
progressive from \$16 to \$66

Within three years from grant, annually thereafter.

FRANCE
2nd to 15 years inclusive;
progressive from \$20 to \$29.

Three years from application date, and every two years.

GERMANY
2nd to 18th years inclusive ;
progressive from \$19 to \$302.

No working.

GREAT BRITAIN
5th to 16th years inclusive;
progressive from \$34 to \$87.

Within 3 years from grant, annually thereafter.

ITALY
2nd to 15th years inclusive;
progressive from \$15 to \$55.

Within two years from grant, and every two years.

JUGOSLAVIA
2nd to 15th years inclusive;
progressive from \$14 to \$42.

Within three years of publication of grant, annually thereafter.

Whittemore, Hulbert, Whittemore and Belknap;
Patent & Trademark Atty's., Detroit.

INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORTATION: This subject has grown from a more or less casual and intermittent trade to a condition of vital necessity for nearly all of the nations. Railroads, trucks and ships must operate continually between the nations in order to transport persons, mail, food, medicines, raw materials and other commodities, upon which the daily existence and the social and industrial

fabric of masses of human beings depend. This type of transportation is a huge international enterprise in its very nature, yet is subject to national law and control.

As a result, the enterprise, which may be called the blood system of the world, has been gradually surrounded and often handicapped by conflicting national regulations. There are detailed rules covering design, material, equipment, personnel, inspection, operation, entry and exit, cargo classification, wages, prices, hours, loading, demurrage, routes, pilotage, quarantine, war service, and many other matters. Such rules are necessary, but being made by nations, they are far from uniform; they conflict, duplicate and discriminate; a carrier must conform when in the jurisdiction of any nation which may lay along his route. Normal competition is often destroyed by national labor laws, subsidies and other wide differentiation. Some companies were forced to discontinue by the La Folette Seaman's Law.

An illustration of the increasing importance of international shipping is furnished by the following table which includes the ships from all nations which may have touched at any U. S. A. port for a period of years:

United States Passenger Movement at the principal ports from and to foreign countries. Figures for immigrants and nonimmigrant aliens cover admissions only. In addition, there are debarred aliens among the arrivals who, after being examined, are found inadmissible and returned to the countries whence they came.

	1925	1926	1927	1928
Arrivals	797,674	866,863	916,521	931,586
Departures	549,813	600,235	623,296	703,931

P. 104. Stat. Abstract of the U. S.,
1929; Dept. of Commerce.

Cargo Tonnage of Water-Borne imports and exports. In thousands of cargo tons of 2,240 pounds. This and the following tables do not include cargoes (small in aggregate) carried by ships of less than 100 tons gross capacity.

	Total	Imports	Exports
1921		33,057	48,431
1922		44,682	42,502
1923		43,296	49,080
1924		40,899	52,261
1925		43,135	49,666
1926		44,686	68,140
1927		42,183	46,935
1928		45,642	57,035

P. 445. Stat. Abstract of the U. S.;
1929; Dept. of Commerce.

International shipping is such an important factor in time of both peace and war, that for world economy and safety, the nations might well improve the conditions by cooperation under some international body. The Atlantic Ice Patrol and other efforts in this direction are already noticeable.

After seven years of negotiation, Canada and the United States have reached an agreement providing for reciprocal exemption from taxation in the two countries of the income of vessels of foreign registry operating on the Great Lakes and connecting streams.

The agreement, reached at a conference between representatives of the two governments at the treasury department involves many millions of dollars... Detroit Free Press; 9-27-28

Obstructions to Transportation - Summary -
A. Rail Transport - The Committee demands a return to pre-war facilities for international rail transport, and a general extension thereof. The principal subjects considered were the unification of regulations, the classification of goods and standardization of rolling stock and equipment, the uniform in-

production of summer time and the 24 hours time table.
 B. Sea and Waterway Transport - The Committee demands equality of treatment in international trade for all vessels of all flags on all seas and in all ports. This point is dealt with under flag discrimination. State shipping and double taxation, as also in connection with onerous regulations of various kinds,

Although to a certain extent a matter of detail, the Danube navigation problem is one presenting an opportunity for early consideration with a view to readjustment, and the Committee has annexed to its Resolution a memorandum of detailed suggestions.

C. Air Transport - The Committee is convinced that in its initial stages air transport should be freed from all barriers to its development. The chief points considered were uniformity to its development. The chief points considered were uniformity of air legislation, unification of air postal regulations, improvement in the conditions of the air postal service and the simplification and acceleration of customs passport facilities for air travel...
 P. 24.

B - 3. Subsidies - Considers the continuance of the wide-spread practice of subsidizing shipping to be undesirable as introducing an uneconomic element into business and disturbing markets. P. 25.

Int. Eco. Conf., Final Report Trade Barriers
 Com. Int. Cham. of Com., 1927, L. of N. -
 C. E. 1.51

RAW MATERIALS: The sources of a great many commodities are still determined by geographical conditions. Certain foods, and drugs, also aluminum, helium, manganese, nickel, potash, radium, tin, tungsten, oil, rubber, and numerous other needed items must be obtained where they are to be found. The present control of all raw materials is still under the various national governments, and they have authority to place any restriction upon distribution or to deny it altogether if they desire. They have, in some cases, adopted arbitrary methods of raising prices on materials which they control; they have also imposed ex-pendent peoples. These discriminations between nations

rest upon the theory of national sovereignty, but they involve potential social conflict. Under the present arrangement, the acts of one or more nations can precipitate war. The situation is a growing menace to peace, especially since some commodities are diminishing while demand is increasing. It would therefore appear that the guiding hand of some permanent and competent international body will be required, and should be available before the situation becomes acute.

President Hoover is ably competent to explain this discrimination, and his views are supplied here, together with the opinion of an international economic conference. A table is also attached showing the sources of 194 drugs upon which world health is dependent: -

The world has often enough seen attempts to set up private monopolies, but it is not until recent years that we have seen governments revive a long-forgotten relic of mediocrity and of wartime expediency by deliberately erecting official controls of trade in raw materials of which their nations produce a major portion of the world's supply, and through these controls arbitrarily fixing prices to all of the hundreds of millions of other people in the world. It is this intrusion of governments into trading operations on a vast scale that raises a host of new dangers - the inevitable aftermath of any such efforts by political agencies to interfere with the normal processes of supply and demand. Our experience of the last twelve months with these controls has developed a series of fundamental questions which we can no longer ignore and regarding which we must determine upon a national policy. These questions concern not only our own welfare but also the welfare of consumers in fifty or more nations.

We can not solve these by acquiescence or acceptance, and we will only compound and aggravate them by retaliatory action. On the other hand, if we are able to evolve, the basis for a broad

constructive solution I believe we shall also make an important practical contribution to the promotion of stable international relationships.

Extent and Character of "Controls": There are at present governmentally controlled combinations in nine raw materials - Egyptian long-staple cotton, camphor, coffee, iodine, nitrates, potash, mercury, rubber, and sisal. At present prices, if we maintain our present rate of consumption, these commodities will cost us about \$1,200,000,000 for 1926...

Deeply sensible of the necessity for good will as the foundation of all world commerce, the Department of Commerce has been extremely loath to raise these questions, and has done so only because it felt the weight of responsibility which we as a Government must have to our citizens on the one hand and to the future of wholesome world relations on the other.

For. Combinations to Control Prices of Raw Materials. Fundamental Aspects of the Situation, Hoover, Herbert, Sec. of Com.

Prohibitions of Importation and Exportation.
(Free Movement of Raw Materials - Export Duties)
Summary -

The Trade Barriers Committee recommends the conclusion at the earliest possible moment of an international Convention for the abolition of prohibitions of importation and exportation; and urges the free movement of raw materials. P. 30

b) Free movement of raw materials:

Whereas the question of raw materials is a world problem the solution of which must be sought not in the particular interest of any one country but in the general interest of mankind;

Whereas in the case of many raw materials the supply will be less and less able to meet the demand;

Whereas once its national demand has been supplied, every country producing raw materials is in duty bound to place the excess at the disposal of all other nations;

Whereas obstructions to the free movement of raw materials are barriers to the progress of human industry and calculated to produce international conflicts;

The Trade Barriers Committee is of opinion

That States should not impose export duties, nor restrict production, nor regulate prices.

That it would be better to leave any reasonable control that might be necessary to private initiative, but such measures should never by unduly raising the prices of raw materials, adversely affect the devel-

opment of the use of such raw materials by industry, and thus interfere with good international relations;

International ententes for the control of raw materials ought, in keeping with the responsibility assumed, to provide necessary supplies to consumers on terms compatible with the public interest. P. 31.

Int. Eco. Conf.; Final Report Trade Barriers
Com., Int. Cham. Com., 1927; League of
Nations, - C. E. 1.51

RAW MATERIALS: Pharmaceutical supplies only:

DRUG	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN
Aconite Lvs)	(France, Switz. Germany &
Aconite Root)	cultivated in Europe)
Adonis Vernalis Herb	Russia/Siberia
Alkanet Root	SE Europe-Western Asia, Dutch West Indies.
Almond	Western Asia, Morocco
Aloes Curacao	Curacao - Arabia
Angelica Seed	North. Europe/Lapland
Anise Seed, German	Cultivated in Germany
Areca Nut	India
Arnica Flowers	Russia/Siberia
Arnica Root	Russia/Siberia
Asparagus Root)	(Germany, cultivated
Asparagus Seed)	everywhere.)
Balsam Copaiba Para	Bolivia
Barberry Bark of Root	Europe / Asia Minor
Bay Laurel Leaves	Mediterranean Region
Belladonna Leaves)	(Central & Southern Europe
Belladonna Root)	" " " "
Bitter Sweet Leaves	Throughout Europe
Bitter Sweet Cut Twigs	" "
Bladderwrack Plant	Scotland / France
Blessed Thistle Herb	Mediterranean Region
Blue Centaury Flowers	Cultivated in Europe
Borage Leaves	Italy/Asia Minor
Broom Tops	Great Britain/Russia
Buchu Leaves	South Africa
Buckbean Leaves	Germany / France
Buckthorn Bark	Europe / Asia
Burdock Root	" "
Cajaput	Isle Boors, Malay Archip.
Calabar Beans	West Africa
Calendula Flowers	Italy/Asia Minor
Camphor	Japan
Cannabis Indica	India
Cantharides, Chinese	China
Cantharides, Russian	Russia
Caraway Seed	Europe/Siberia
Cardamon Seed, Decorticated	India
Cardamon Seed Whole	India
Cascarilla Bark	Brhamas

DRUG	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN
Cassia Bark	China
Celery Seed	Europe/Cult. everywhere
Chamomiles, German	" " "
Chamomiles, Roman	" " "
Chirita Plant	Northern India
Cinchona Calisaya)	Peru/Ecuador
Cinchona Loxa Pale)	" "
Cinchona Red	" "
Cinnamon, Ceylon	Ceylon
Cinnamon, Saigon	Annam
Cloves	Molucca Islands
Coca Leaves (Cult. & gathered as soon as mature)	Bolivia/Peru
Coculus Indica	India
Colchicum Root	Central So. Europe
Colocynth Apples	Italy/Asia Minor
Colocynth Pulp	Italy/Asia Minor
Colombo Root	East Africa/Mozambique
Coltsfoot Leaves	Russia/Siberia
Comfrey Root	Europe/Asia
Condurango Bark	Colombia
Conium Seed	Europe/Asia
Coriander Seed	Asia
Couch Grass (Dog Grass)	Europe/Siberia
Cubeb Berries	Java/Sumatra
Dandelion Root	Europe
Digitalis Leaves	Europe/Wild & Cult.
Ergot	" " "
Eucalyptus Leaves	Australia (Cult. Calif.)
Euphorbia Pilulifera	Australia/Europe & Africa
European Centaury	Europe
Eyebright Herb	"
Fennel Seed	"
Foenugreek Seed	"
Frostwort Herb	U.S./Canada
Galangal	China
Galega	Europe
Garden Celandine	"
Gentian Root	"
Ginger, African	Sierra Leone, Africa
Guarana	Brazil
Gum Arabic	Egypt
Gum Asafoetida	Turkestan Afganistan
Gum Benzoin, Sumatra	East India (Cult. Sumatra)
Gum Catechu	East Indies/Ceylon
Gum Gamboge	Indo China
Bum Guaiac	West Indies/Northern S. America.
Gum Mvrrh	Arabia/East Africa (Aden)
Gum Senegal Oct. to Dec.	Senegal, Africa
Gum Shellac - Orange, White	India

DRUG	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN
Gum Tragacanth	Asia Minor
Hellebore Black	Europe
Henbane Leaves	"
Henna Leaves	Africa/Asia
Horehound	Europe
Hyssop Herb	"
Ignatia Beans	Phillippines, Cochin, China
Insect Flowers	Dalmatia, Persia
Ipecac, Carthagena	Colombia
Ipecac, Rio	Brazil
Jaborandi Leaves	Northern Brazil
Jalap	Mexico
Jamaica Dogwood Bark of Root	West Indies
Johnswort Herb	Europe
Juniper Berries	"
Kino	E. & W. Indies
Kola Nuts	West Africa/Cult. W. Indies
Lactucarium	Scotland/Germany
Larkspur Seed	Europe
Lavender Flowers	Southern Europe/Cult. in England
Lemon Balm Leaves & Tops	" " " " "
Licorice Root, Russian	Russia
Licorice Root, Spanish	Spain
Lily of the Valley	Northern Europe
Linden Flowers	Europe
Liverwort Leaves	Northern Europe
Lovage Leaves	Southern "
Low Mallow	Europe
Logwood	Central America
Lungwort Leaves	Europe
Lycopodium	"
Malefern	"
Manaca	Brazil
Marshmallow Flowers	Europe
Do. Leaves	"
Do. Root	"
Matico Leaves	Mexico to Brazil
Menthol	Europe/Japan
Mezereum Bark	Europe
Mugwort Leaves	"
Muirapuama Root	Brazil
Musk Root	Central Asia
Nut Galls	Mediterranean Region
Nutmeg	Molucca Islands
Nux Vomica	Cochin, China/East India
Oil Olive	Mediterranean
Opium	China & India
Orange Peel Bitter	Asia/Mediterranean Region

DRUG	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN
Orange Peel Bitter Shredded	Asia/Mediterranean Region
Orris Root	Southern Europe
Pansy Herb	Europe
Parcira Brava	Brazil/Peru
Parsley Leaves	Southern Europe
Parsley Root	" "
" Seed	" "
Pellitory Root	Mediterranean Region
Pichi	Chile
Pimento Fruit	West Indies
Pomegranate Root Bark	Mediterranean Region
Poppy Leaves	Cult. England/Asia Minor
Quebracho Bark	Argentine
Rhubarb Root	China
Rosemary Leaves	Mediterranean
Rue Herb	Southern Europe
Rose Petals Red	" "
Saffron, Spanish	Asia Minor/Cult. Europe
Sage, Italian, Leaves	Europe
Sandalwood	India
Sanguinaria	Central America and New Mexico
Sarsaparilla Honduras	Honduras
" Mexican	Mexico
Savin, Leafy Tops	Europe
Saxifrage Root	"
Scammony Root, Levant	Southern Europe & Asia Minor
Quassia	Jamaica
Sebadilla Seed	Southern Europe & Asia Minor, Mexico to Venezuela
Senna Pods	Egypt/India
Alexandria Senna Siftings	" "
Senna Tinnev. Leaves	India
Simaruba Bark of Root	Guiana, Brazil
Soap Bark Cut	Chile/Peru
Southernwood Herb	Southern Europe
Spermaceti	
Squills	Mediterranean Region
Stavesacre Seed	" "
Strophanthus Seed (Strophanthus Seed)	Tropical East Africa
Summer Savory Leaves	Europe
Sundew Herb	"
Sweet Basil Leaves	Asia
Sweet Flag	Europe
Sweet Marjoram	Southern Europe/Asia Minor
Thyme Leaves	Southern Europe
Tonka Beans	Guiana
Tormentilla	Europe

DRUG	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN
Uva Ursi Leaves	Northern Europe
Valerian Root	Europe
Venice Turpentine	"
Water Avens	"
White Bryony Root	Eastern Europe & Asia Minor
White Agaric	
Wood Betony Leaves	Southern Europe
Wormwood Leaves	Europe
Zedoary Root	East India

Taylor, F. O.; Chief Chemist, Parke, Davis & Co.
April 1930

194 items.

Health is of importance to the whole world, and especially where raw materials involve health as shown above, purely national control can only be a defeatist policy. This principle applies to nickel, radium, rubber and many other common items which also have their use in health measures.

WORLD MARKETS: The advent of Industrialization increased production, reduced prices and enlarged consumption. One result of this phenomena is the great expansion of world trade as revealed by the table on page 45. The wages and social status of thousands of families throughout the world are now dependent upon the continued stability of this trade. Its increasing importance to each family is shown by the table on page 46. As long as raw materials are available, this world trade depends upon markets; the ability to sell is the most uncertain factor. Markets are affected by all of the elements that enter into the cost and the price of commodities, of course, but more especially by competition.

Under present conditions, national legislation can favor the business of one country against that of another; all of the discriminatory practices which operated in U. S. A. before the advent of its Inter-state Commerce Commission and Federal Trade Commission, are still open to the various nations. Many of these methods are unfair; they naturally set up hatreds and reprisals between the nations. They are an alarming menace to peace, owing to the growth of world trade and the vital necessity of holding foreign markets. Within U. S. A., the Inter-state Commerce Commission has succeeded in keeping interstate competition upon an equitable footing for the benefit of both producers and consumers, and has doubtless forestalled actual conflicts. It would therefore seem that some international organization is urgently needed to preserve fair competition and normal social relations between the nations.

The extent to which unequitable international competition is developing, is described by Hobson - an eminent English authority, and by the United States Department of Commerce; also by a table showing the severe restrictions against the automotive industry; and by the final table which shows the relative importance of U. S. A. foreign markets. Many publications of the League, and the U. S. A. Dept. of Commerce, amplify these statements.

There stands the cluster of antagonisms that arise through the opposing interests of national groups of traders, manufacturers, and investors in foreign countries, relating to the acquisition

and enjoyment of favorable access to certain essential raw materials and a 'fair share' of the export market. The tangle of these issues, generalized as 'economic imperialism' and involving the closest union between real politics and economics in the modern world, is the gravest challenge to the art of social government. P. 23. It is based upon the principle that the settlement of a trade dispute, being a social interest, demands a method of settlement compatible with that principle. P. 31

Hobson, J. A., *The Conditions of Ind. Peace*, 1927

What complicated methods must often be used by American exporters to overcome these impediments may be seen by the following, written before the war began:

To reach Vancouver, our steel exporters were confronted by a railroad freight rate from Pittsburgh to Vancouver of \$18 per ton, while the English steel manufacturer could reach Vancouver on already established lines of steamers from Liverpool to Vancouver at \$7 per ton. When his steel reached Vancouver the English manufacturer paid one-third less of the preferential Canadian tariff than the American manufacturer. P. 45.

It is common knowledge among experts in foreign trade that certain middlemen have made it a practice to secure the distributing agency of an American manufacturer and use the knowledge gained thereby to imitate our goods and secure the secrets of manufacture and business method in order to supply goods of an inferior quality made in Europe. In certain quarters this practice has been so marked that they are known as "danger points". The plan is simply to keep the American agency alive on a fairly active basis, and use it as a cover for supplying European-made goods at lower prices. P. 239

In various markets American manufacturers and producers must deal with highly effective combinations of foreign buyers. Thus exporters of lumber find such combinations in Australia and on the continent of Europe. Cottonseed products are handled by combinations of buyers in Holland, Denmark, and Germany; and Austrian cotton-textile manufacturers have a buying combination to import their raw cotton. The cooperative Wholesale Society (ltd.), an astonishingly comprehensive wholesale buying organization maintained by 1,400 cooperative societies in Great Britain, has one buyer in New York who annually purchases millions of dollars' worth of American products. Four London firms, known as the Fixing Board, daily set the price of silver for the world, and American mining companies must sell their

silver for either the English or the great Indian market to one of these four houses. For years the copper trade of the world has been ruled by a vast German metal-buying organization centering in the Metalbank and Metallurgische Gesellschaft A. G., of Frankfort on the Main. This combination has subsidiary and affiliated companies in Germany, England, France, Spain, Switzerland, Belgium, Africa, and Australia, controls copper and lead mines and smelters in the United States, Mexico, and other countries, and works in agreement with other German metal-buying concerns. P. 367. Selling in Foreign Markets; Dept. of Commerce, 1919

Country	Motor-cars		Duty or Permit
	Trucks & Tractors		
Austria	"		Quota of only 300 per yr.
Czechoslovakia	"		" " " 1000 " "
Poland	"		Permit required.
France	"		45% and by weight.
Australia	Chassis		40%
"	Any body		\$300 each, regardless of type.

U. S. Dept of Com., Detroit Office, 4-30.

Exports of Leading Commodities (Values in millions and tenths of millions of dollars. Re-exports are not included)

Commodity	(Value - 1928)
Cotton unmanufactured...million lbs.	920.0
Petroleum and products.....	525.5
Refined oils...million bbls.	464.9
Crude Oil.....do....	26.8
Automobiles, parts & accessories..	
thousands....	500.2
Machinery.....	497.2
Industrial.....	226.6
Agricultural & implements...	116.5
Electrical & apparatus.....	89.0
Wheat, including flour...million bush..	193.7
Wheat, grain...do....	119.9
Packing-house products...million lbs...	187.2
Meat products...do...	67.7
Fats and oils...do...	119.4
Lard.....do...	98.7
Iron & steel mill products..1,000 tons..	179.7
Copper, including ore & manufactures....	
million lbs.....	169.8
Tobacco unmanufactured.....do....	154.5
Cotton manufactures, including yarns,	
etc.....	134.7
Cloth, duck tire fabric.....	
million sq. yards.....	79.3

Commodity	(Value - 1928)
Fruits and nuts.....	129.3
Sawmill products.....	108.8
Boards & timber..million be. ft.	108.0
Coal and coke.....million tons.....	99.5
Iron & steel advanced manufactures...	82.6
Chemicals (coal tar, medicinal, indus.)	75.3
Rubber and manufactures.....	60.5
Automobile casings...thousands...	31.1
Leather.....	55.2
Barley and malt...million bush.....	48.4
Furs and manufactures.....	39.5
Wood manufactures, advanced.....	37.5
Paper and manufactures.....	30.9
Oil-cake and meal...million bls.....	27.2
Naval stores, gums and resins.....	26.4
Pigments, paints and varnishes.....	25.6
Tobacco manufactures.....	24.7
Books and printed matter.....	24.2
Fish.....	20.8
Photographic goods.....	20.2
Dairy Products.....	18.5
Rye, including flour...million bush..	17.6

P. 23.

U.S.A. Dept. Com.; Trade Inf. Bul. #602, 1929

TARIFFS: In general, three explanations have been advanced to justify national tariffs:

1. It is argued that "infant industries" need protection. Where the industry is essential to a policy of economic nationalism in a disorganized world, protection may be justified, but it is often a high price to pay, and would be unnecessary if the world possessed an adequate social organization.

2. Tariffs are advocated for national revenue. It is convenient to tax goods at ports of entry, but this plan is not necessary, and it is not always equitable among the consumers whose needs and financial status are not proportionate. A luxury and income tax would appear to be a more equitable arrangement.

3. The tariff is used to restrict certain imports in order that the national employment and standards of living may be controlled. This is a sound national argument in so far as it may work. Several effects may result, however: If the foreigner cannot sell to us, he has no medium of exchange with which to buy from us. And if the tariff is sever, we may have to pay a correspondingly higher price for lower and perhaps inferior goods. In this event, the tariff has benefited a few producers at the expense of many consumers. For example, in U. S. A., the consumer pays a high price for a suit of local but inferior wool, whereas the Australian enjoys his superior wool but is deprived of a motor car from U. S. A. or obliged to pay an exorbitant price for it.

Although tariffs have a certain neutralizing effect, they also cause discrimination both within the nation and between nations. They are an outgrowth of political expediency, extreme nationalism, and a disorganized world. Above all, they menace the normal and desirable social interaction in a highly interdependent world. Sir Clive Morrison-Bell, M. P. exhibits a large model of Europe with national tariff walls which show the relative barriers between the nations, and the consequent effect of national individualism. It is impossible to include here the scores of evidence of ill-feeling which tariffs are causing between the nations, but it is surprising to any investigator. Twenty thousand lace workers in Calais,

whose employment is threatened by new tariffs, paraded in front of the American consulate; Germany has raised her wheat tariff against a foreign influx; France and other countries have almost prohibited the entry of motor cars. The whole situation disregards natural advantages, threatens every nation, and seems to call for immediate scientific study and supervision by an international organization.

The recent tariff consideration in U. S. A. has brought out the following impressive judgment: -

More than 1,000 economists representing 179 colleges throughout the country joined in a letter to President Hoover and the congress today protesting against enactment of the tariff bill and asking that it be vetoed if passed...

Dr. Clair Wilcox, associate professor of economics at Swarthmore college, presented the statement on behalf of the economists, who included Irving Fisher, Yale; Frank W. Taussig, Harvard; Frank A. Fetter, Princeton; Wesley C. Mitchell, Columbia; Henry R. Seager, Columbia; J. Laurence Laughlin, Chicago; Willford I. King, New York University; M. B. Hammond, Ohio State; E. M. Patterson, Univ. of Pennsylvania; Emory R. Johnson, dean of Wharton school, Univ. of Pennsylvania, and H. S. Person, managing director Taylor society...

Few people could hope to gain from a change, the statement said, adding that the vast majority of the farmers would lose. American export trade in general would suffer and unemployment would not be lessened.

"Finally," it concluded, "we could urge our government to consider the bitterness which a policy of higher tariffs would inevitably inject into our international relations. Det. Free Press; 5-5-30

ECONOMY AND EFFICIENCY: Within each nation economy and efficiency have received much study. Its results may be seen in the functioning of a mechanical process, a rail-

way system, and in any large and successful undertaking. But back of it is always an organization and human cooperative effort. Organization and cooperation are fundamental social processes of immeasurable value to society, and it seems strange that they have been so largely confined within national boundaries. They seem even more necessary in the complex, interdependent relationship that now exists between the nations. Each nation has developed a complete social system of its own, but when they meet, they do not harmonize; there is difference, opposition and conflict which is very costly to all of the peoples concerned.

Economically, there appears to be needed standards of quality, grade, weight, measure, and of all forms of procedure. Socially, facilities are needed for freer interaction and exchange; national cultures will broaden, expand and profit by greater contact. These ends seem unlikely to be reached, however, except through international organization for cooperation. Some effort has been made in this direction by international administrative bodies as described by Potter; the International Institute of Scientific Management has been recently established; but much irregularity still applies, and the following extracts from the report of the International Economic Conference show a sample of it in Customs matters:

There has appeared in recent years another device for use in world government, namely the Int. Administrative Bureau. We have seen that the outstanding defect of arbitrary or judicial settlement is that such a process can be applied only when a dispute has arisen between nations...An institution is needed to take care now and in the future of the normal current day by day business of international relations, the great bulk of which goes forward without contention, dispute or interruption. Simple personal diplomacy cannot perform this task...Speaking broadly the Bureau does not affect national policies or international politics, and its work is done unostentatiously and silently in the world of business and private affairs. P. 269.

Some International Administrative Bodies:

Int. Geodet Union, 1864
 Univ. Telegraph Union, 1865
 Lighthouse at Cape Spartel, 1865
 Pruth River Commission, 1866
 Int. Penitentiary Union, 1872
 Int. Metrical Union, 1875
 Fin. Commission for Turkey, 1878
 Union on Railway Frt. Trans. in Europe, 1878
 Fin. Commission for Egypt, 1880
 Union for Publication of Customs Tariffs, 1880
 Union for Protection of Indust. Property, 1880
 " " " of Lit. and Artistic " , 1880
 Sanitary Coun. for Egypt, 1881
 Coun. for Sanitation of the Danube, 1881
 Int. Maritime Conf., 1889
 Pan-American Union, 1889
 Union for suppression of African Slave Trade, 1890
 International Sanitary Union, 1892
 Fin. Commission for Greece, 1897
 Hague Arb. Convention, 1899.
 Union for Regulation of African Liquor Traffic, 1899
 Coun. for Exploration of the Sea, 1899
 Int. Labor Office, 1900
 Maritime Customs Board for China, 1901.
 Plague Surveillance in China, 1901.
 Conf. on Unification of Formulas of Potent Drugs, 1902
 Pan-American Sanitary Convention, 1902
 International Sugar Union, 1902
 International Assn. of Seismology, 1903
 International Institute of Agriculture, 1905
 Wireless Telegraphic Union, 1906
 Pan-American Scientific Congress, 1907
 International Office of Public Health, 1907
 Central American Union, 1907
 Union for Standardization of Electrical Units, 1908
 International Opium Commission, 1909

International Comm. on Map of the World, 1909
 South American Postal Union, 1911
 International American High Commission, 1915
 P. 271. Potter, P. B.;
 Intro. to Study of Int. Org. 1922

B.8. The attention of the Trade Barriers Committee has been called to the health regulations included in the customs regulations of certain countries. These health regulations apply to canned fruits, canned meats and canned vegetables, as well as many food-stuffs; they also apply to certain preparations pertaining to the chemical industry. The Trade Barriers Committee notes that the application of such regulations complicates customs formalities, delays deliveries and even leads to the rejection of goods, and in consequence hampers international trade. Moreover the Trade Barriers Committee questions whether regulations of this kind are not in some cases merely cleverly disguised protection. It records its hope that all such regulations whether applied to food-stuffs, agricultural or horticultural produce or industrial products shall become the subject of well-defined international conventions to remove their objectionable features, and agreement between the nations so as to prevent their becoming the refuge of covert protection. P. 34.

B. 9- The trade Barriers Committee subscribes to the following recommendation of the British National Committee.

"The Trade Barriers Committee recommends that the possibility should be considered of having only one international customs staff at each frontier, instead of two national staffs as at present, so as to simplify and reduce the costs of customs inspection. This might be done either by an international convention, or by bilateral agreements." P. 35

B. 10- Excessive consular fees:

a) Legalization fees should not exceed a moderate sum to be determined after inquiry, and should not be looked upon as a source of revenue. The calculation of such fees according to the value of the goods is to be condemned, as the application of such a practice is equivalent to the levying of "ad valorem" customs duties. However even with the adoption of fixed fees, it is necessary by means of a sliding scale to protect shipments of small value against excessive charges. P. 35.

...The Trade Barriers Committee recommends:

1) That at the earliest possible moment all customs administrations should receive from their Governments the necessary instructions to prevent all arbitrary acts in connection with customs regulations;

2) That an international convention should be prepared to regulate and facilitate the passage of frontiers by news photographers and motion picture men with their instruments, for instance by the creation of a distinctive emblem similar to that used by touring automobiles;

3) That a postal convention be entered into by all countries to permit the rapid transmission of documents, photographic films and plates under a distinctive emblem as above. P. 36.

V. International Industrial Ententes - Summary- The Trade Barriers Committee suggests the extension of international industrial ententes as a means of lowering costs, preventing stagnation of industry, or the formation of private monopolies which are frequently the result of improvident competition between producers, and making technically possible, commercial agreements which tend to bring the nations closer together morally. The Committee insists upon the necessity of safeguarding the interests of labor, of commerce and of the public. It feels that the present state of Europe indicates the utility of such ententes to insure security of employment, and continuity and regularity in the supply of goods. P. 37

Int. Eco. Conf., Final Report Trade Barriers
Com., Int. Cham. Com., 1927, League of
Nations, - C. E. 1.51

111. Methods of Assessment for the Application of Ad Valorem Duties - Note-

Although the information contained in the note has been very carefully collected and is derived for the most part from official sources, it is possible that it contains minor errors and that, moreover, modifications in the regulations of certain countries may have been made since the collation of the data. The aim of the note is simply to set out the different methods of application of import duties to which the system of imposing ad valorem duties has given use.

P. 20. (Attached to Tables 1 and 11.) Int. Eco. Conf., Geneva, 1927. L. of N.- C. E. 1.28.

V. Consular Charges.

...This table is not complete and, as the data which it contains are derived partly from non-official sources, it is impossible to vouch for their accuracy in every case; further, since the compilation of these data, changes may have been made in those very provisions which the table is designed to show...P. 38.

(Attached to table 111) Int. Eco. Con. Geneva, 1927, L. of N., C. E. 1.28

1. BASES ADOPTED FOR THE LEVYING OF AD VALOREM DUTIES.

Note—The table below shows in five columns the bases adopted in different countries. The mere mention of the name of a country in a column, with no further indication, means that the basis inscribed at the head of that column is the one normally used, the other bases constituting occasional exceptions to the rule.

1. Value in the country where the duty is paid.	2. Value abroad plus costs as far as frontier, or a fixed percentage to cover these costs.	3. Value officially fixed, taken as the normal rule.	4. Value officially fixed in exceptional cases.	5. Special bases.
<p>Bolivia: In cases where, for plausible reasons, consular and commercial invoices are lacking.</p> <p>Brazil: In exceptional cases; when there is no information to determine the value at the place of export 10% is added, less the import duties.</p> <p>Finland: When the goods have not been purchased or particulars of the purchase price are not available, the import duties are deducted from the value at the place of importation.</p> <p>France.</p> <p>Great Britain: Including cost of transport and insurance.</p> <p>India.</p> <p>Irish Free State: Includes cost of packing, the packing itself, freight, insurance and profit made, or to be made, by the foreign exporter.</p> <p>Japan.</p> <p>Netherlands.</p> <p>Norway: If the value cannot be determined in accordance with the normal rules (Col. 2).</p>	<p>Argentina: For the few goods for which official valuations are not fixed.</p> <p>Australia: The basis taken is the price paid for the goods f. o. b. or the price in the country of exportation according to which is the higher, plus costs, the total being increased by 10%.</p> <p>Belgium: Provided that this value is not less than the normal wholesale price of similar goods on the Belgian market, deducting the equivalent of the minimum import duties.</p> <p>Bolivia.</p> <p>Brazil.</p> <p>Canada.</p> <p>Chile: The Customs and the Consuls are entirely free to fix the value.</p> <p>Colombia.</p> <p>Cuba.</p> <p>Czechoslovakia: A few ad valorem duties only.</p> <p>Denmark.</p> <p>Finland: Purchase price.</p> <p>Germany: Should ad valorem duties be introduced.</p> <p>Haiti: Value at place of production plus 10%.</p>	<p>Argentina: Except in the case of a few goods which are dutiable on the declared value or at specific rates, as prescribed in the tariff law.</p> <p>Egypt: For certain goods. A specific tariff is the general rule.</p> <p>Hungary.</p> <p>India: Tariff valuations for many classes of goods subject to ad valorem duties are periodically fixed by the Government.</p> <p>Italy: For certain chemical products only.</p>	<p>Australia: The Customs officer fixes it himself in case of doubt as to the accuracy of the declaration, the party concerned being free to demand an expert investigation. In certain exceptional cases, it may be fixed by the Minister.</p> <p>Canada: (a) Certain cases when valuation is difficult; (4) in the case of natural products of a kind or quality produced by Canada whenever such products are imported under conditions likely to prejudice the interests of Canadian producers.</p> <p>Colombia: If the Customs have ordered an expert investigation on the grounds of suspected fraud the basic value is that fixed by the experts.</p> <p>Denmark: When it is not possible to fix the value in accordance with the ordinary rules, it will be fixed by the Customs according to the normal import price.</p> <p>Japan: The Director of Customs fixes the value if he does not consider the declared value a proper basis for the levying of duties.</p> <p>New Zealand: The Minister fixes it in cases when it seems to him unfair or impracticable to fix it in accordance with the ordinary rules.</p>	<p>Spain: In the absence of Basis (2), the Customs fix the value according to the cost of production in Spain.</p> <p>United States: Normal basis: foreign value (i.e. wholesale price in country of export) or export value (i.e. f. o. b. value for export), whichever is higher. If none of these is ascertainable, then the "United States" value (1). If this cannot be ascertained, then the cost of production.</p> <p>Finally, The American selling price in the case of goods similar to those produced in the U. S. and of which the cost of production abroad is such that the import duties of the American tariff will not allow United States nationals to compete.</p>

(1) Only for the following products: (a) essential oils and non-deterperinated, non-specified essences; (b) essential oils and deterperinated essences; (c) synthetic perfumes and constituents of non-specified essences; (d) non-specified alkaloids and their salts. p. 21. Int. Eco. Conf. Geneva 1927, L. of N. C. E. 1.28

2. DECLARATIONS AND DOCUMENTS TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE CUSTOMS

Declaration (Entry) ¹	Commercial Invoice	Consular invoice	Certified invoice	Certificate of origin (in cases when differential tariffs are applied)	Way-bill (railway, etc.)	Bill of Lading Connaissance	Insurance Policy	Other documents: Correspondence, tradebooks, etc
Argentina		Not required		Argentina (in triplicate)		Argentina (in triplicate).		Argentine (manifest).
Australia	Australia (original)		Australia (original)	Australia (origin certified in the invoice).				
Belgium				Belgium				
Bolivia		Bolivia						
Brazil	Brazil (2 copies)	Brazil (4 copies)	Brazil ² (certified signature of vendor)					Brazil (manifest)
Canada			Canada	Canada				Canada (currency certificates issued by Consuls, trade commissioners or Canadian banks are only required in the case of goods coming from countries whose currencies have depreciated or appreciated).
Chile		Chile						Chile (manifest)
Colombia		Colombia (given on sworn statement to Consul)						Colombia (manifest).
Cuba		Cuba						
Czechoslovakia	Czechoslovakia				Czechoslovakia	Czechoslovakia		

¹. For the most part the declarations mention all circumstances which may affect the imposition of the duties, and their accuracy may be checked by comparing them with one another.

². A register is kept in the Consulates of the certified signatures of the persons authorized to sign such documents. p. 23. Int. Eco. Conf. Geneva 1927, L. of N. C. E. 1.28

3. CONSULAR CHARGES LEVIED FOR THE LEGALIZATION OF DOCUMENTS
REQUIRED BY THE CUSTOMS (continued)

Country	Invoices	Certificates of Origin	B/L	Other Documents
Colombia	3% of invoice value in Colombian dollars. 1 \$ Col. = \$0.97.			Manifest: 1.50 per 1000 on total value of cargo.
Cuba	Invoices below 5 pesos gold 10 centav.; 5 to 50 pesos gold 50 centav.; 50 to 200 pesos, 2 pesos; invoices of 200 pesos or upwards, 25 centavos extra for each 100 pesos additional or fraction thereof. 1 peso gold (=1\$).		1 dollar	
Czechoslovakia		For importation of British goods (Treaty of July 1923), \$3.65; and handling fee of \$0.0811.		
Dominican Republic	\$1 for consignment of goods below 50 dollars value; \$3 for 50-200 dollars value; 0.25 dollar for every \$100 additional.			
Estonia		\$1.014 up to L10; from L10 to L100, \$2.028; over L100, ½%.		
Ecuador	Up to 100 sucres value, 2 sucres (= \$0.44); above 100 sucres, 4% of declared value. Additional charge of 1% if the invoice is presented after the ship has sailed.		40% on ¾ of the consular charges attaching to the invoice. Additional charge of 10% if the document is presented after the ship has sailed.	
Finland		\$2.028.		
France	Free of charge	20 gold francs (= \$3.859)		
Germany	Not required but if legalization is demanded the charge is \$2.4336.			
Great Britain ¹	No special fee. Should this service be required, the fee would be presumably that for affixing consular signature and seal if required to any document not otherwise provided for in the table of consular fees, i.e., 7s. 6d. (\$1.825).	And filing copy; for consignments not exceeding L20 in value 5/- (= \$1.22); exceeding L20 in value 10/- (= \$2.44)	No special fee. Should this service be required, the fee would presumably be as indicated in column 2 for invoices.	

¹. The consular fees charged by the British consular officers are the same whether they relate to trade with the United Kingdom or with the Dominions or any other part of the Empire.

As regards trade with the United Kingdom, no consular certification of documents appears to be required. If it were, the fees would be as indicated in the schedule. p. 40. Int. Eco. Conf. Geneva 1927, L. of N., C. E., 1.28.

FINANCE: J. Maynard Keynes of the British Treasury states that the gold of the world is worth only ten-thousand million dollars, which is a mere "drop in the bucket" compared to the extent of world trade. He reminds us that gold is a mere symbol of value for credit and occasional adjustment. This means that world trade must be conducted almost entirely by an exchange of goods - we cannot sell unless we buy. In early times goods were directly traded, but this is rare today, and practically all trade between nations is based upon an involved credit, sometimes called the triangle of exchange. For example, Brazil ships coffee to U. S. A.; U. S. A. may send wheat to Europe; and Europe may send fabrics to Brazil. In this way each nation is finally paid, but the sums seldom balance; they are complicated by "invisible" items, fluctuations in currency and other matters. The whole financial structure rests upon world credit, and this is such a highly sensitive form of confidence as to be subject to all international affairs. The slightest disturbance between two nations affects their credit immediately and reacts both upon their own people and upon those of other nations as well. When the world war opened, all credit was suspended instantly by a moratorium.

Another factor in world finance is the enormous amount of public and private foreign loans and investments. This

fact, as much as any other, ties the nations into a unit, and is illustrated by the following tables which show the huge sums that U. S. A. has placed in other countries.

Obligations of foreign governments to U. S. A.
All figures in thousands of dollars.

<u>Country</u>	<u>Dec. 31, 1928</u>
Armenia	17,323
Austria	35,602
Belgium	411,130
Czechoslovakia	174,571
Estonia	16,071
Finland	8,712
France	4,025,000
Great Britain	4,453,000
Greece	20,250
Hungary	1,932
Italy	2,027,000
Latvia	6,685
Lithuania	6,262
Nicaragua	302
Poland	206,187
Rumania	65,661
Russia	289,073
Yugoslavia	62,250
Total...	<u>11,927,011</u>

P. 215.

Stat. Abstract U. S., 1929; Dept. of Com.

The following is a table showing the geographical distribution of loans to Latin American governments publicly offered in the United States during 1926 and 1927

Issuer	1926	1927
Argentina	\$88,293,000	\$109,352,000
Bolivia		11,885,000
Brazil	59,973,950	62,280,000
Chile	74,330,000	23,383,300
Colombia	28,320,250	53,200,000
Costa Rica	8,000,000	1,800,000
Cuba		9,000,000
Dominican Repub.	3,300,000	5,000,000
Panama	5,800,000	1,500,000
Peru	16,000,000	57,960,000
Salvador	1,520,000	
Uruguay	31,671,000	
Total....	<u>\$517,208,200</u>	<u>\$335,360,300</u>

President Roosevelt in 1906, made the following statement:... It is doubtless true that the non-payment of public debts may be accompanied by such circumstances of fraud and wrong-doing or violation of treaties as to justify the use of force. This Government would be glad to see an international consideration of the subject which shall discriminate between such cases and the simple non-performance of a contract with a private person, and a resolution in favor of reliance upon peaceful means in cases of the latter class. P. 64 & 65. Hughes, C. E.;

Our Relations to the Nations of the Western Hemisphere, 1928

The people of Great Britain, Canada and other countries also invest large sums in other nations; it is estimated that Great Britain invests \$750,000,000 abroad annually, and has an income of \$120,000,000 each year from U. S. A. investments alone. Dr. Winkler's "Investments of U. S. capital in Latin America" shows the extensive interests of the whole world in those countries. World stability of currency and credit requires an international bank in the opinion of financial authorities, and the nucleus of such an institution has just been set up in Basle. Such organizations are increasing social interaction between the nations, and point toward a complete international organization.

BUSINESS ORGANIZATION: A curious opposition appears to be working between politicians and industrialists: The former, in several nations, are straining the tariff to higher levels for revenue and as a protection to certain classes. The latter, finding that tariffs have reduced their foreign sales, are establishing or buying factories in other nations and even relating them by

huge holding companies whose stock is owned in many nations. In this manner large industries are surmounting tariff walls, disregarding national boundaries, and becoming world-wide organizations. Instead of calling for tariff protection, they often lean toward free trade, that the product of an efficiently located foreign factory may freely enter their own and other countries.

A jute consuming plant was moved from Maine to India, and its product will be imported. An American hardware factory has been moved to Germany, and employs 600 men. It is said that there are 2000 American factories abroad. American shoe, textile, and other manufacturing machinery is being sold abroad in such large quantities that the export of manufactures is being imperiled. Ford tractors are no longer made here, but are now imported duty free from the Ford factory in Ireland. This great change is also seen in Europe and elsewhere. The price of important commodities is already determined in a world instead of a national market, and now industry itself seems to be locating in the strategic centers of the world, and becoming truly international in character.

These facts have important social implications. Bodies of executives, and workers with their families are being shifted from nation to nation. Officials rush around the world. The world traveller meets them aboard every train and ship. Their children may speak two or three languages. Objective ability and a world viewpoint

may come to replace emotional nationalism. There is already an international society, but its safety appears to need a corresponding social organization. This international interaction is briefly illustrated by the following data:

Building of a cooperative refinery in France by exclusively American interests, rather than by an association of all the companies operating in that country, was indicated by dispatches received in Wall Street yesterday to the effect that a permit had been requested of the French Government for the formation of a company by the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, the Gulf Oil Company and the Atlantic Refining Company...

New York Times; 1-15-30

When the senatorial debaters of the Hawley-Smoot tariff bill renew their controversy tomorrow, they will face a serious struggle over an administrative section which threatens to hamper foreign expansion of the American automobile industry...

The new section would prohibit the importation of any goods manufactured abroad by American industries, would withhold the use of American trademarks on such goods and would, in effect, wipe out all the protection of American patents where manufacture of the articles patented is undertaken abroad. A host of protests against the section which has only recently been uncovered, is expected within the next few weeks. Representatives of many of the industries affected already are preparing to fight the proposal's adoption... Detroit Free Press; 9-15-29

The holding of concessions in countries where the government is weak or the administration undeveloped, may create a peculiar political situation... P. 102. It is often difficult to say which nation controls a foreign enterprise; for example the Huileries de Congo Belge, founded in 1911, affecting large areas in the Congo basin is controlled by Lever Bros. (England) Again, companies change their domicile to avoid this or that taxation, for example, the Sennah Rubber Company transferred its offices to the continent by a vote of the share holders. P. 103

The Forestal Land Timber and Rys. Company controls the production of quebrocho extract and logs in Argentina, owns five million acres of land, 200 miles of railways and some river tugs. It acquired the

New York Tanning Company in 1914, and had entered some years previously into an alliance with Renner and Company who controlled nearly all of the extract factories in Germany, Austria, Russia and France. In the Forestal Company the distribution of shares in the hands of various nationalities in 1915 was: 1,325,000 England, 866,000 German, 400,000 French, 386,000 U. S. A., and 86,000 Dutch, besides about 36,000 shares in the hands of other nationalities. These are of course only slight indications of the complexity of modern investment and of the impossibility of distinguishing 'national interest'....

P. 105. Burns, C. D., Industry & Civilization.

The international cartel movement, which has made remarkable progress since the war, has recently attracted renewed attention. Not only have there been striking developments in the international match combination - evidenced by its recent loan agreement with the German government - but the League of Nations has also instituted inquiries into the coal and sugar industries. The fact that the new developments are reaching into the field of consumers' goods, such as matches, coal, sugar, rayon, margarine and soap, has emphasized the public significance of the movement.

...Their revival after the war was however, so startling in its momentum as to place the movement in the centre of the discussion which led to the calling of the World Economic Conference of 1927...

...Gustav Schmoller estimated the number of German cartels in 1908 at more than 500, while Professor Julius Hirsch places the figure at "more than 2,000" for the year 1926.

...The form of organization likely to succeed in transferring production to units operating at lowest costs is therefore a completely centralized international combination, where the national units have become subordinate to the general structure.

...The second general group of combinations referred to above (at present numerically much more significant than the first group) does not have as its central purpose an increase in efficiency or lower costs of production.. It exists primarily for the purpose of controlling the market in order to stabilize or to raise prices...

The public aspects of such combinations are worthy of serious consideration, and problems arise which legitimately attract attention of labor groups as well as of consumers"....

"As an example - which has many points of special interest - we might indicate the international copper cartel which was organized in the United States as

Copper Exporters, Inc. on October 12, 1926 under the Webb-Pomerene Act. Nearly all of the large American and foreign producers are associated with the enterprise...

The international rayon agreement is a typical post-war phenomenon - both because of the form of its structure and because of the nature of its product. Rayon (artificial silk) production increased from approximately 1,320,000 pounds in 1896 to 265,900,000 pounds in 1927. The total capitalization of the leading rayon concerns in the United States, England, Italy, Germany and France amounts at the present time to more than \$445,000,000...

...The Match Trust is another typically modern combination, which has, however, a much greater degree of centralized control than the rayon group, coupled with an ingenious scheme of organization, which in almost all of the countries has given national groups a certain participation in ownership or management. The combination grew to its present significance during the inflation period when interests all over Europe were secured. The structure has at its head the Swedish super-holding company, Kreuger and Toll, which in turn controls the following holding companies: the International Match Corp., with approximately one hundred match factories all over Europe; the Administratie Mij voor Nijverheidswaarden in Amsterdam, which after the manner of investment trusts has entered a number of other fields besides the match business; and the Sefor Company of Stockholm, which has entered the iron ore and banking business. The total resources of these concerns probably exceed \$300,000,000...

The conference did not yield to the demands of those who pressed for the establishment by the League of a variety of international cartel control. Its report points out that this would be too rapid a step in view of the stage of development of international law and the prevailing conceptions of national sovereignty...

...This higher form of concentration in management, as well as the fact that recent tendencies in the cartel movement are toward the control of the market for consumers' goods, will probably lead to greater pressure for some form of international public supervision - if not ultimately control - of the new international industrial ownership...

...List of international agreements in which French industries have participated, together with the year of the establishment of each and the object for which each was organized. The official text was given in Le Temps (Paris), December 23, 1929:

Syndicat international des ampoules electriques, 1925
 Federation internationale du chiffon, 1925
 Syndicat international de la colle, 1925
 Associa. internationale des huileries, 1925
 Entente internationale des fabricants de manchons
 a incandescence, 1925
 International Union of the office appliances trades
 association, February 1926.
 Cartel europeen des rails Erma, March 11, 1926
 Cartel international des tubes, July 30, 1926
 Accord international des pneumatiques, Sept. 1, 1926
 Cartel europeen de l'aluminium, Sept. 1926
 Cartel international des fabricants de materiaux
 de rivetage, Sept. 16, 1926
 Entente internationale de l'acier brut, Sept. 30, 1926
 Entente internationale des laminoirs, Sept. 30, 1926
 " " " du fer brut, Sept. 30
 Entente de la potasse, 1926
 Syndicat international du carbure de calcium, Feb. 1927
 Cartel international du fil-machine, June 1927.
 Federation internationale de la soie, Oct. 1927.
 Cartel international des trefileries, Nov. 1, 1927
 Entente internationale des fontes, Nov. 1, 1927
 Convention internationale du bismuth, Nov. 1927.
 " " " de la quinine, Nov. 1927.
 " " " de l'iode, Nov. 1927.
 Entente internationale de ciment, 1927
 Association internationale des teintureries de soie,
 1927.
 Federation du commerce des articles tresses, 1927.
 Cartel international de l'industrie du velours et
 de la peluche, 1927
 Cartel du zinc, May 1, 1928.
 Comite international du commerce de gros du cycle
 et des accessoires d'automobile, May 1928.
 Cartel international des boutons metalliques, July 1928
 Cartel des industries de la carbonisation des bois, 1928
 Total - 31 international agreements.
 For. Pol. Assn.; Int. Ind. Agreements; 2-5-30.

SECURITY FACTORS

SERVICES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS: The League has been in operation for ten years, and the service it has rendered during this time will be some indication of what an international organization can accomplish. Only a few illustrations can be given here, but the voluminous publications of the League are available to anyone.

1. The Council, being a small body, is able to meet on a few hours notice, and having the support of fifty-four nations, is able to exert extreme pressure in time of crisis. It prevented a Greco-Turkish war, assisted in preserving peace between Paraguay and Bolivia, and has supervised the major undertakings of the League in all of its varied activities.

2. The Assembly provides an open and public forum where any nation or people who may have a grievance can be heard, and insures a measure of equal respect, safety and opportunity among nations. It provides for the sifting of national opinions, the levelling of differences, and final cooperation, due to the great value of face-to-face contact and publicity. It permits the fundamental, social processes which are so necessary to any achievement, to function on a large scale between nations, and thereby curbs the former isolated and independent national behavior which has so often lead to conflict. Resolutions by the Assembly constitute a strong influence toward national ratification.

3. The Assembly Committees, being smaller bodies, examine the details of proposals and reach many tentative adjustments between the national delegates regarding international matters, for final action by the Assembly. There are six committees: Legal, technical, disarmament, financial, social and political. They serve as a liaison between the Assembly and the Secretariat, International Labor Office and World Court.

4. The Secretariat is a permanent executive and technical body of some six hundred persons for the scientific investigation, coordination and execution of the international matters which are under consideration by the Assembly. It is divided into ten sections, and the personnel of each is well distributed among the nations:

a. Disarmament: Nearly all of the necessary national exchange and preparation toward disarmament, together with many international conferences for this purpose have been carried out by this section.

b. Finance and economics: This section has amassed elaborate world data, brought about many international economic conferences, established the Economic Consultative Committee, is gradually reducing trade barriers, and has aided in the financial rehabilitation of several nations, notably Austria.

c. Health: Conferences and resolutions for the international restriction of injurious drugs, for the general improvement of health and sanitary conditions, and espec-

ially for the establishment of the epidemiological survey, are only a few achievements of the health section.

d. Information: Through this section, detailed information is available from every portion of the world. Unprejudiced and accurate data is necessary, and is obtained and supplied by this section.

e. Juridical: This section has dealt ably with the many legal problems involved in any effort of international cooperation.

f. Mandates: This department has rendered valuable technical assistance to the difficult administrative function of the Mandates Commission who have ably conducted the many mandated peoples since the World War.

g. Minorities: The difficult and delicate social situations in the Saar, Polish Corridor and elsewhere have been so ably conducted by this section that practically no conflicts have occurred.

h. Politics: From a personal and confidential knowledge of this section, the writer knows that it has successfully alleviated many tense situations between various national governments that were on the verge of conflict.

i. Social: The record of this section shows many achievements in cooperation for the restriction of traffic in women, children, and obscene literature, also for the social amelioration of disturbed peoples throughout the world.

j. Transit and Communication: By means of repeated

international conferences, this section has accomplished much in the way of reducing national barriers, and in facilitation standard practices for freer passage between the nations.

5. The International Labor Office is also a permanent, technical and executive body under the Assembly. It employs over four hundred persons who are well distributed nationally, and of whom about seventy-five in 1929 were technical experts in labor problems. The I. L. O. functions through the resolutions of an ingenious annual conference system. Each member-nation sends four delegates: Two represent the government, and the associations of employers and of employees, are each represented by one delegate. Many improvements in labor conditions have been brought about by resolutions, many of which have already been ratified by member-states, as follows:

Ratification	
Registered with League of Nations ..354	362
Conditional or with delayed application 8.	
Approved by competent national authority 29	
Recommended to competent national authority for approval.	127
Int. Labour Office; August 1929	

6. World Court: Eleven judges chosen from the leading jurists of the world and elected by the council and the Assembly, give their entire time to this court at the Hague, which is thus available at a moment's notice to deal with any international juridical question which may

have received jurisdiction by the states concerned. This Court may render decisions and advisory opinions. The general confidence of the world in this Court is attested by the fact that forty-two nations have already signed its "optional Clause" by which they accept its jurisdiction in all juridical disputes between nations. Up to July of 1929, it had rendered the following judgments:

Judgments:

1. SS Wimbledon, Freedom of Kiel Canal.
2. The Mavrommatis Palestine Concessions.
3. Interpretation of Reparation clause in Neuilly Treaty.
4. As above.
5. Mavrommatis Jerusalem Concessions.
6. German interests in German Upper Silesia.
7. Case concerning German interests in Polish Silesia.
8. Case concerning factories at Chorzow Poland.
9. The Lotus case.
10. The readaptation of the Mavrommatis concessions.
11. Interpretations of Judgments re Factory at Chorzow.
12. Rights of Minorities in Upper Silesia. (schools and language)
13. Factory at Chorzow, claim for indemnity.

Advisory Opinions.

1. Nomination of delegates to Int. Labor Conference.
2. Agricultural labor and the Int. Labor Org.
3. " " and the Int. Labor Org. (Agr. Production)
4. Nature of dispute about Nationality decrees.
5. Dispute between Finland and Russia.
6. Protection of German settlers in Poland.
7. Acquisition of Pol. nationality by Germ. settlers.
8. The Jaworzina Boundary question between Poland and Czechoslovakia.
9. The Monastery of St. Naoum and Albanian frontier.
10. Exchange of Greek and Turkish populations.
11. Polish postal service in free city of Danzig.
12. Nature of Councils action in respect to frontier between Turkey and Iraq.
13. Competence of Int. Labor Org. to regulate, incidentally, the work of the employer.
14. Jurisdiction of the European commission of Danube between Galatz and Braila.
15. Jurisdiction of Courts of Danzig. Claims of railway officials.
16. Interpretation of Greco-Turkish Agt. Dec. 1, 1926.
Hudson, M. O.; The World Court, 1922-29
Revised Edition.

One or two nations have resigned from the League but not upon very important grounds. It has greatly increased its membership, which now numbers fifty-four nations. It is now, but is growing in service and strength, and the general opinion of its members is undeniably in its favor. Its provision for the functioning of the normal social processes of man under favorable conditions seems to be the primary reason for its success. Taken altogether, the services rendered by the League are good evidence that such an organization is needed. This is supported by the following opinions:

Wars are precipitated by motives which the statesmen responsible for them dare not publicly avow. A public discussion would drag these motives in their nudity into the open where they would die of exposure to the withering contempt of humanity. The League by developing the habit amongst nations of debating their differences in the presence of the world, and of courting the judgment of the world upon the merits of their case, is gradually edging out war as a settler of quarrels. This is the greatest service it can render mankind...P. 80
Lloyd-George; Whither Are We Going?

The most valuable feature of the League of Nations as organized in 1919 is felt to be its provision for a continuous series of international conferences. P. 317. Potter, P. B.;
Intro. to Study of Int. Org. 1922

The League stands for a synthesis instead of a conflict of civilization, for tolerance and cooperation, for an international society of inter-related rather than of warring parts, and for the adjustment of relations and the settlement of international disputes by discussion, compromise and adjudication... P. 180. Woolf,
Imperialism and Civilization. 1928

The advantages of the League system over the old conference system are manifold. While under

the old system a prolonged diplomatic correspondence was necessary before holding a conference, any power at present may present a proposal to the Council or the Assembly whereupon it will be discussed. Indeed, in some cases, the initiative comes from the standing commissions. Moreover, while the old conference system was embarrassed by the difficulty of getting preliminary agreement upon the main principles of the desired convention, this work is now undertaken by experts, who submit preliminary drafts to their governments. Conferences are now called, not by a single state, but by the Council and are paid for out of the League budget. The pressure of the Council, the Assembly and the Secretariat in securing the signature and ratification of agreements also explains the remarkable success of the "legislative" activities of the League during the last five years. P. 658. Buell, R. L.;

International Relations, 1925

...It is a well-known fact, universally admitted, that the successes which have attended so many of the efforts of the League of Nations have been due to the scientific preparation of the problems themselves by the highly qualified Secretariat, which shapes up its projects solely with reference to the points at issue and not for the sake of furthering any one nation's case. P. 155.

Shotwell, J. T.; War as an Instrument of National Policy, 1929

Only a great organization like the League could inspire the necessary confidence and make the necessary demands on sensitive national authority. And it is here that it has scored some of its signal successes. What is more, through the general economic and financial policy for European reconstruction which it recommended at the Genoa Conference and elsewhere, it laid the foundation for the rehabilitation of Europe and pointed the way out of the chaos of currencies which threatened many countries...

Smuts, Jan Christian; N. Y. Times Mag; 10-28-28

...Almost always before or outside the League, international conferences have come together with very little preparation; have rushed hastily through their work; and adjourned without any kind of follow-up. The whole atmosphere has been one of haste and superficiality...

All that was seen, even in the early days of the League, to be ending. No longer is it necessary to have a result, any kind of result, in a

minute's time. Instead, the most difficult subject may be taken up and followed through, stage by stage, until at last it is ripe for final settlement... P. 20. Sweetser, A.; (An American in the Inf. Section, L. of N.); The Approach to World Unity, 1930

"Our office is in no sense an agent of coercion over nations. But in every part of the world it has provided a healthy stimulus to legislative reform through an aroused public opinion. Through its scientific equipment, its means of information and its impartial spirit, it has won confidence everywhere."...Dr. Thelin, I. L. O.; Det. News; 2-3-30

...May we sum up the League's development by saying that it has made Geneva a great international center without creating a centralized international authority in this Swiss city. Steering a difficult course between the dangers of the superstate on the one hand and those of the international anarchy on the other, the League has, I think, introduced methods of reasonable international collaboration which no true patriot would now wish to see abandoned.

While it is impossible to predict, and unwise to prophesy, I am inclined to expect that the League's next decade will be mainly occupied with a careful development along lines which are already laid down or projected. He who expects sensational movements is likely to be disappointed. He who recognized that vast labor must be expended to change trails now scarcely blazed into travelled highways of international intercourse, is viewing the future of the League with sober realism... P. 3. Drummond, Sir Eric; Sec. Gen.; L. of N. News; Jan. 1930

To produce this world-wide result the Governments, employers and workers of 50 countries have cooperated. They are served by the International Labor Office with its 400 officials drawn from 36 different nations, who have learnt to work together to a common end. The necessity of international action, if the status and fortunes of the worker are to be raised to a higher level, has now been so thoroughly proved that what seemed to many an idealistic fantasy ten years ago has today become a solid and indispensable reality. P. 4.

Butler, H. B.; Dep. Dir., Int. Labor Office.
L. of N. News, Jan. 1930

CONFORMITY It is seldom desirable and rarely possible for a very few members in a group to ignore or depart from the general policy and behavior of the group as a body. To try to do so will often incur antipathy and even serious opposition. Society enforces a certain degree of conformity to its edicts and established customs. Furthermore, the recalcitrant is likely to suffer much inconvenience in pursuing an isolated or individualistic policy.

Fifty-four nations, through their League, are accumulating a set of standards of procedure in every phase of international life, and every nation which expects to have pleasant relations with others, must obviously accept and conform to this growing body of regulations. It is widely believed that U. S. A. can contribute materially to the formation of international procedure, and her persistent refusal to openly cooperate with this large and widely accepted organization has not increased her standing among the nations. Since she must conform, it would seem to be advantageous to participate in the work. Perhaps the necessity of conformity is not yet adequately appreciated in U. S. A. but the necessity exists:

A year ago, for the first time, too, the American government almost asked for a particular invitation. The question was a technical one, an effort of a League Committee to work out a uniform system for measuring the tonnage of ships;

but certain government officials, who cared very little for domestic politics but a great deal for American interests abroad, recognized immediately that, if the other nations agreed on a uniform system, the American captain might be politely invited to tie up till the authorities could get around to studying what his system actually meant. Consequently, as a mere act of self-protection, information was conveyed that, if formally invited, the United States would attend the Committee...The precedent of spontaneous advance welcome of a League invitation points, however, the evolution of the times. P. 39. Sweetser, Arthur; (An American in the Inf. Section, L. of N.); The Approach to World Unity, 1930.

...We have none of the initiative, we do not have a part in shaping the agenda, and our representatives arrive at a League conference to find a chairman already chosen by the Council of the League and preparations advanced to a great extent by League committees over which our Government has no control. And yet we must take part in the conferences, for the simple reason that our own interests demand our representation when certain subjects of international importance are under consideration... We simply cannot afford to sit out when fifty other governments are sitting in...

P. 18. Hudson, Manley, O., Bemis Prof. of Int. Law, Harvard Law School; Am. Pol. Sci. Rev., Feb., 1929.

KELLOGG PACT Although the treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium was dubbed "a scrap of paper", the calm excuse of Germany for her transgression, is "national defense". The Kellogg Pact permits war for "national defense", and there are those who argue that this nullifies its value since each nation still decides what constitutes cause for defense. This is a serious defect, and while definitions might be attempted, the only ultimate solution would appear to be adequate protection for each nation by an international body.

The Belgian Treaty and the World War were a severe lesson, and the world has since gained some experience in the possibility and value of conference and cooperation, hence the Kellogg Pact has a better chance of success. It has fifty-five signers, most of whom are also members of the League, and it is being widely regarded not as a mere declaration, but as a legal contract carrying obligations. If one or more signers commence war, it is felt that they will have endangered general security, broken faith with the others, and that a general obligation follows to restrain the transgressors. But as yet, there is no agreement or provision for exercising restraint. There is no leadership or organization charged with this duty. In the light of all social theory and experience, the Kellogg Pact is incomplete. The Covenant of the League permits war as a last resort, and a Commission is now closing this gap to harmonize the two instruments, but there is no connection between them.

If, therefore, the Kellogg Pact or any agreement between nations is to succeed, it would appear advisable to have a permanent international organization equipped to give effect to the intentions. The following authorities seem to concur in this statement:

...By that pact with 55 other nations, we solemnly pledged ourselves not only to renounce war but to seek means for pacific settlement of all international differences. We were sincere when we signed that pact. We engaged our national honor when we ratified it. And in sincerity and honor

two obligations flow from that covenant.

First, the conceptions of military strength of nations are reduced by that covenant solely to such strength as is required for defense. And second, we must cultivate methodical procedure by which controversies between nations can be settled by pacific means... Hoover, Herbert, Det. Free Press, 4-15-30

...Speaking at Oxford on Nov. 10, General Smuts, former Premier of South Africa, said that if the United States would take the next logical step to supplement the Kellogg pact, by acting with the League against an aggressor, the Whole problem would be eliminated... News Bulletin, For. Pol. Assn.; 11-15-29

...Hitherto League Members feared that the United States would interfere with an economic boycott imposed by League Members against an aggressor state. But as a result of the anti-w r pact, it will be difficult for the United States to oppose such a boycott in the case of a state which is a universally recognized aggressor. And if this country really takes the pact seriously the American people will come to realize that war can be genuinely outlawed only after the establishment of institutions to guarantee the world against armed marauders and, still more, to establish processes whereby justice may be progressively realized and all pretext for the use of violence removed. P. 10. Buell, R. L.; For. Pol. Assn.; Jan. 1930

...Several times in the course of our study we have emphasized the fact that mere renunciation of war is not enough to rid the world of it. There must be substitutes for it worked out beforehand in times of peace, so that when the crises come with their pressure for rapid action and their unescapable demand for decisive measures, there will be alternatives to which both parties already have agreed as being the suitable method for dealing with them. Without this provision, as has been said above, more than once, the act of renunciation is incomplete...

P. 254. Shotwell, Jas. T.; War as an Instrument of Nat. Pol.; 1929.

NEUTRALITY: When two or more parties are engaged in settling a difference, and in the absence of any constituted authority, police power, agreement or permission,

it has long been customary for third parties to maintain a neutral position. This has been especially applicable among nations, but it does not now appear to be an altogether practical or advisable procedure in international disputes. The world has become so interdependent that what appears to be a local conflict immediately involves the rights and safety of others.

Furthermore, to signers of the Kellogg Pact, for reasons outlined, and to members of the League, the position of neutrality is incompatible with their obligations. Neutrality is therefore disappearing as a practical concept. The right of national intervention for the sake of humanity, is even being questioned. National unity is being supplemented by World unity to such an extent that the national organizations seem to require the service of a world organization. Such authorities as Hughes, Madariaga and Shotwell recognize this condition:

Treating intervention "as the attempt of one or more States, even by use of force, to coerce another State in its purely State action", it is evident that there must be special grounds to justify it. Such grounds can be found in the requirements of self-defense and in the interest of humanity... Professor Borchard observes that the giving of armed protection in such cases of emergency "has by some writers been denominated as intervention and has given rise to much confusion...

P. 81. Hughes, Chas. E.; Our Relations to the Nations of the Western Hemisphere, 1928

There are people, particularly in England, who advocate that the United States should be given certain guarantees of non-interference with their trade in time of war. We have already dealt with this, in our opinion, dangerous proposition. It

means that League Members would go back on the present stage of the world which tends towards the abolition of neutrality. P. 343.

De Madariaga, Sal.; Disarmament, 1929

...But the time has come to recognize that the concept of neutrality must now be changed to fit the conditions of modern warfare... If the nation whose forces are supplied with arms is in our opinion an aggressor nation, we become morally, if not legally, the accomplices in its aggression by the support rendered through finance and industry, upon which its chance of victory may depend. No one has seen this more clearly than Congressman Burton whose experience in the International Commission on the Export of Armament gives added authority to his proposal, which calls for a purely American pronouncement that it is an established policy of the United States not to supply with arms a nation which goes to war in violation of its specific pledges... P. 222. Shotwell, J. T.;

War as an Instrument of Nat. Pol.; 1929.

WAR AND SECURITY: History seems to offer a lesson: On any frontier before a social organization is established, men carry guns for "self defense", and sometimes use them for selfish reasons. There is no cool and impersonal judge, so the possession of guns always means more or less shooting, for the parties to a dispute are also the judges. The weapons are the only "security". As a matter of fact, the guns are not a security, and this important point should be noted. Even if a man carries two revolvers, while each of the others has only one, he may be hit first; perhaps in the back; his guns may fail, or the others may secretly combine and overpower him. No real measure of safety will exist until all combine in a social organization for the benefit of each, and not until then will the individuals lay down their guns.

The above illustration has always applied to dis-organized communities, and naturally seems to apply to the international community. Armament has failed to bring security, and real disarmament has failed for the admitted lack of security. The reduction of armament reduces expense, but only reduces or alters the relative danger of war, and may not accomplish this since complexity is increasing the pressure among nations. It therefore seems obvious that the security of international organization offers the only relief from armament. The preparation for war, and the judgment of several students of the whole problem are outlined in the following data:

The navy, army and air estimates for 1928-1929 of the five powers represented at the London Naval Conference are as follows:

<u>Country</u>	<u>Total arms Expenditures</u>	<u>Increase or Decrease Since 1925-6</u>
U. S. A.	\$772,984,000	+24%
Great Brit.	550,080,000	- 8%
France	357,556,000	+50%
Italy	221,096,000	+ 1%
Japan	215,876,136	+27%
Russia	-----	+84%
	\$2,117,592,136	

For. Pol. Assn.; Limitation of Land Arm., 4-2-30

...Let friction arise between two states, let war appear to be in the offing, and great sections of Public opinion will always favor war. P. 39.
Dickinson, G. L.; International Anarchy

America may conceivably hold her own against any old world power, either now or later, but she can never do so against a combination of European powers. P. 199. Powers, H. H.
America Among the Nations. 1921

...Since, in the absence of a well-organized World-Community, armaments remain indispensable as instruments of policy, disarmament conferences can

never hope to succeed substantially, even though they may succeed in appearance - and particularly in the manufactured appearance which is made for them by the press. For in effect every delegation goes to the conference determined to secure an increase in the relative armaments of its own nation, even though the conference may lead to an all-around reduction of absolute armaments. P. 61

De Madariaga, Sal.; Disarmament, 1929

In short, war which was once a directable instrument of policy has now changed its nature with the nature of modern society and ceases to be controllable and directable in the hands of statesmen...

P. 36. Shotwell, J. T.; War as an Instrument of Nat. Pol., 1929

...We have previously seen that there is no instinct to fight merely for the sake of fighting, but that the sole cause of struggle is the thwarting of the drives of one individual by the behavior of another. The only way to eliminate war is therefore to eliminate aggression... The only power which can abolish warfare is a concerted control, or super-government having the power to coerce each national government to abstain from violating the rights of other nations... P. 401

Allport, Floyd, H.; Social Psychology. 1924

...So long as France and Germany desired security and sought it each by a way which made the other insecure, their interests were set in conflict. But when each seeks safety through the League and the agreements of Locarno, their methods are reversed; they now seek something in common, and their desires for safety no longer have the old degree of clash... P. 212. Stratton, G. M.;

Social Psych. of Int. Conduct, 1929

...Peace can be had only by the organization and operation of an international governmental system for the definition and enforcement of international rights such as will render unnecessary the self-help of individual nations with which we are familiar at the present time. P. 190.

Potter & West; International Civics, 1927

MODERN WAR: Science cannot predict future social movements, but it has shown that change is inevitable. Another war is possible, and some believe it to be "reas-

onably certain". Nationalism is still dominant, and exhaustion is offered as the reason for the present peace. U. S. A. foreign trade, prosperity, and individualism may cause her to be the victim of a combination between Europe and Japan; rivalry in the Pacific may precipitate a world conflict in the opinion of Sir Frank Fox; the countries of Europe and of South America may form federations leading to some conflict between continents; or great combinations may struggle to dominate great areas in Africa or South America.

Any war is quite sure to involve the world, and the will to continued existence may be expected to justify every extreme. In this machine age, populations and industries are essential aids to the combatants, and their wholesale destruction can now be accomplished by bombs and gas from the air. In his recent book "Zeppelins", the German pilot Lehman describes bombing operation from silent airships secreted high in the clouds, which have an almost invisible operator suspended at the lower end of a half-mile of cable. With a telephone, he directs the hidden ship to the desired position, then with a few small bombs, he destroys a large objective.

Sir Frank Fox in "Mastery of the Pacific", proposes subterranean houses, and fungi or other food to be grown underground as the only safety against the modern war.

The facts and the following quotations seem to indi-

cate that social means are dangerous in the absence of designed social ends which in this case would appear to be obtainable only through international organization.

...The frightfulness of modern weapons breeds that fear of each other which is today the most fruitful cause of war between arming nations...

P. 25. Kenworthy & Young; Freedom of the Seas.

...Henceforth progress in the destructiveness of the apparatus of war has been, and will continue to be so rapid that a conflict tomorrow would spread ten times the desolation caused by the Great War of 1914-18.... P. 111. Lloyd-George;

Whither Are We Going, 1923.

Silent, almost invisible airplanes, capable of wiping out unsuspecting populations, with sudden showers of gas and bombs, are being experimented upon by British, French, German and Russian governments...

The recent rapid development in the striking-power of air forces and the possibilities for the use of gas against civilian populations, are causing anxiety throughout Europe...

Detroit News; 8-8-28

GENERAL FACTORS

LEADERSHIP: It can be said that no important social movement, whether small or great, has ever materialized without adequate leadership. It can likewise be said that the consummation and subsequent success of a social reform is good evidence that a situation existed which called for leadership. The fact, therefore, that such a leader as Woodrow Wilson succeeded, in the face of much opposition, in creating the League of Nations, and that it still has the support of nearly every country, appears to indicate that an international organization was needed, and may have been needed for some time before its arrival.

Furthermore, the many international problems which have issued from an interdependent world, may be adjusted by separate conferences and individually managed by separate bodies, but they are bound to be related, and they therefore appear to require the leadership of a permanent international, and impersonal body. For example, the Assembly of the League is not only an arm of the nations, but it is also a check upon all international work, and provides a central leadership for synthetic purposes. Some opinions are expressed by the following leaders:

...Efforts at compromise change and reconciliation would sometimes be more acceptable if they came from a body which is detached from the executive governments of the States represented, because any States asked to yield and accept a compromise might be more disposed to do so if the request came from a body which is not directly controlled by the governments of the other states. P. 233.

Bryce, Jas.; Int. Relations, 1922

'Ours is a country of open frontiers, and we are eager for general disarmament, in accordance with the protocol of the Geneva conference of the League of Nations.' P. 34. Premier Grabski, Poland

'No politicians will dare raise an unpopular issue, however good they believe it to be. For instance, the Japanese question cannot be handled honestly and conscientiously by a politician on the Coast!...P. 36. Young, Owen D.

'...I may not agree with your politics, and you may not agree with ours. But America is in a position to promote the organization of mankind instead of remaining isolated'...P. 40. Masaryk, T. G.

'...The world's peace is in the hands of the great powers, and in the organization of peace the League of Nations has not the participation of such powers as the United States and Russia.'

P. 41. Benes, Dr. Eduard.

'It seems to me the first step to be taken in establishing permanent peace is to separate the present so-called World Court from the League of Nations. If this can be accomplished, we will then have laid the foundation for the creation of an independent, judicial tribunal operating under an established body of international law...'

P. 104. Senator Borah.

'The Dawes Plan was worked out by a non-political, non-partisan group. That is why it dared to go to the root of the matter, to face the truth, without fear or favor...'

P. 37. Mr. Lloyd-George.

'Without the participation of some of the great Powers, and especially the United States, the League is maimed, and yet it is doing most useful, most important work which no other agency would have done... P. 142. Lord Balfour.

'The ultimate international object to strive for, through whatever difficulties, remains still-exactly as it was before the war - a World Court with a League of Nations, a real League behind it...'

P. 27. Ellis, Havelock.

'I believe that Europe will have real rest and peace only when there will be formed a kind of Federation among European countries. Such a Federation, should leave to each nation its individuality, but it could establish, if not a customs union which would take a long time to organize, very extensive arrangements and agreements for the proper distribution of raw materials among the various industries....'

P. 28. Painleve, M. Paul.

'I believe that the war has not taught the governments anything, and unless a miracle occurs, which we cannot expect, we are marching with great strides toward a new war that will surpass in duration and intensity that of 1914-1918.'

P. 29. Rolland, M. Romain.

'...It is necessary for all the exploited - that is, the mass of humanity - to make common cause throughout the world and to reorganize society on international lines for the interests of humanity...'

P. 30. Barbusse, M. Henri.

Bernstein, Herman; Road to Peace, 1926

...When the secrecy of diplomacy gives place to public discussion, questions must be argued on their merits rather than according to the dictates of a single will. To be sure, when a powerful nation speaks it may force its way in Conference against the opposition of the rest, but it is not likely to do so unless it can state its case in terms of a common interest.... P. 261. Shotwell, Jas. T.;

War as an Instrument of Nat. Policy; 1929

COMPLEXITY: Society is dynamic phenomena because man is an investigator, and an adventurer; he seeks new worlds to conquer. As a result, the environment in which he lives and functions, expands and grows more and more complex. We have seen that this expansion now surrounds the world, but it is difficult for a single mind to comprehend the number and complexity of resulting world problems. They appear to go on with time to infinity. Nearly everything we use and every price we pay, are now affected by world conditions.

National problems have long been systematized under national organizations, and no sane person would abandon this arrangement. But the national systems do not harmonize, and are not designed to deal with a mass of complex and inter-related world problems. The nation and the

world are separate concepts; they require separate viewpoints, methods and organizations. Furthermore, the nation has no guarantee of security, or of fair treatment from other nations, and in case of trouble it has no civilized appeal or remedy unless an impersonal international organization exists for this purpose. Judge Hughes and Prof. Zimmern, both experienced in World affairs, are among those who recognize that national methods are inadequate to the present complexity:

The tendency is strikingly shown in the endeavor at the present time, in view of the complexities of international relations, to increase the opportunity for personal contacts through the medium of international conferences. That is the whole significance of conferences - that diplomatic notes will not suffice... P. 258. Hughes, Chas. E. The Pathway of Peace, 1925

The enlargement of the scale of public affairs has been accompanied by another phenomenon which at first sight might seem incompatible with it - an increase of complexity... One symptom of this is the increase in the number of European States since the war. Another is the remarkable increase in the number of literary languages. Still another is the reinforcement of the citizen body by the widespread granting of the suffrage to women. P. 21. Looking broadly over the history of the years since the Armistice it may be said that virtually every important new international development, calling for measures of practical statesmanship, has been unsatisfactorily dealt with because public opinion was not given enough time to understand what was happening or what was required... P. 25.

Zimmern, Alfred; Learning & Leadership, 1928

MUTUAL INTEREST: A mutual interest is anything in which, or because of which, persons or peoples share their thoughts, ideas or activities; it may arise out of any common purpose, or out of any exchange in which all parties

are interested and from which all derive some benefit. Between nations, the improvement of a joint river, questions of health, and facilities for fair and stable trade, are all mutual interests. Unfortunately, however, such interests are often hidden and thwarted, by social distance, individualism and opposition which emanate largely from exaggerated nationalism. It would appear to facilitate and stabilize the multitude of world activities if some method could be devised to uncover and emphasize their mutual nature and importance. Whenever any collection of common activities are organized into a group or system, their relationship and mutual dependence becomes more evident, and a very high degree of cooperation and efficiency often results. It would seem therefore that an international social organization would improve world conditions by tying together the many activities which have a mutual value but which have had to function on a somewhat loose and national basis.

To the many mutual interests already cited, a few others may be added: The mutual development of the St. Lawrence River by U. S. A. and Canada, in connection with which the following quotation shows an influence of Nationalism:

...Dealing with what he described as the "bogey of American aggression" raised by opponents of the waterways plan, he branded as false and misleading one argument that the United States cannot be trusted to keep a treaty.

"There is no case in history of the U. S. breaking a treaty obligation that has been ratified by congress", he said... Goforth, W. W.; McGill Univ.; Det. Free Press; 10-12-28

The automobile industry's plan to expand American world trade by the fostering of better highway transportation throughout the globe was presented to President Hoover and four members of the cabinet today... Det. Free Press; 5-3-29

In the same connection, Herbert Hoover, in an address on October 3, 1919, said:

...Without order in Europe, we will at best have business depression, unemployment, and all their train of trouble. We are forced to interest ourselves in the affairs of the world if we are to thrive. Secretary Mellon has also recently remarked that the entire war debt which Europe owes us "is not worth as much to the American people in dollars and cents as a prosperous Europe as a customer."
P. 44. Garner, J. W.; Am. For. Policies, 1928

In January 1930, the card catalog of the Detroit Public Library contained 1633 listings, and the United States catalog contained 757 books, all under the caption "International". The League of Nations Association and the English-speaking Union in U. S. A. alone, have grown to a membership of 20,000 and 19,000 respectively in about eight years. The Foreign Policy Association is technical rather than social, yet its rapid growth is shown by the attached graph; it reached 11,600 in 1930. The graph by Potter and West shows the exceptional growth of world intercourse.

Private international financial, scientific, and commercial organizations date back to the early days of modern Europe, not to mention for the moment the great religious orders and trading companies of a still earlier period. P. 289. To inspect a list of the private international organizations now covering the globe is a revelation.

Table of Meetings of Private Int. Organizations

Since 1840:

1840-49.....10

1850-59.....18

1860-69.....64

1870-79....139

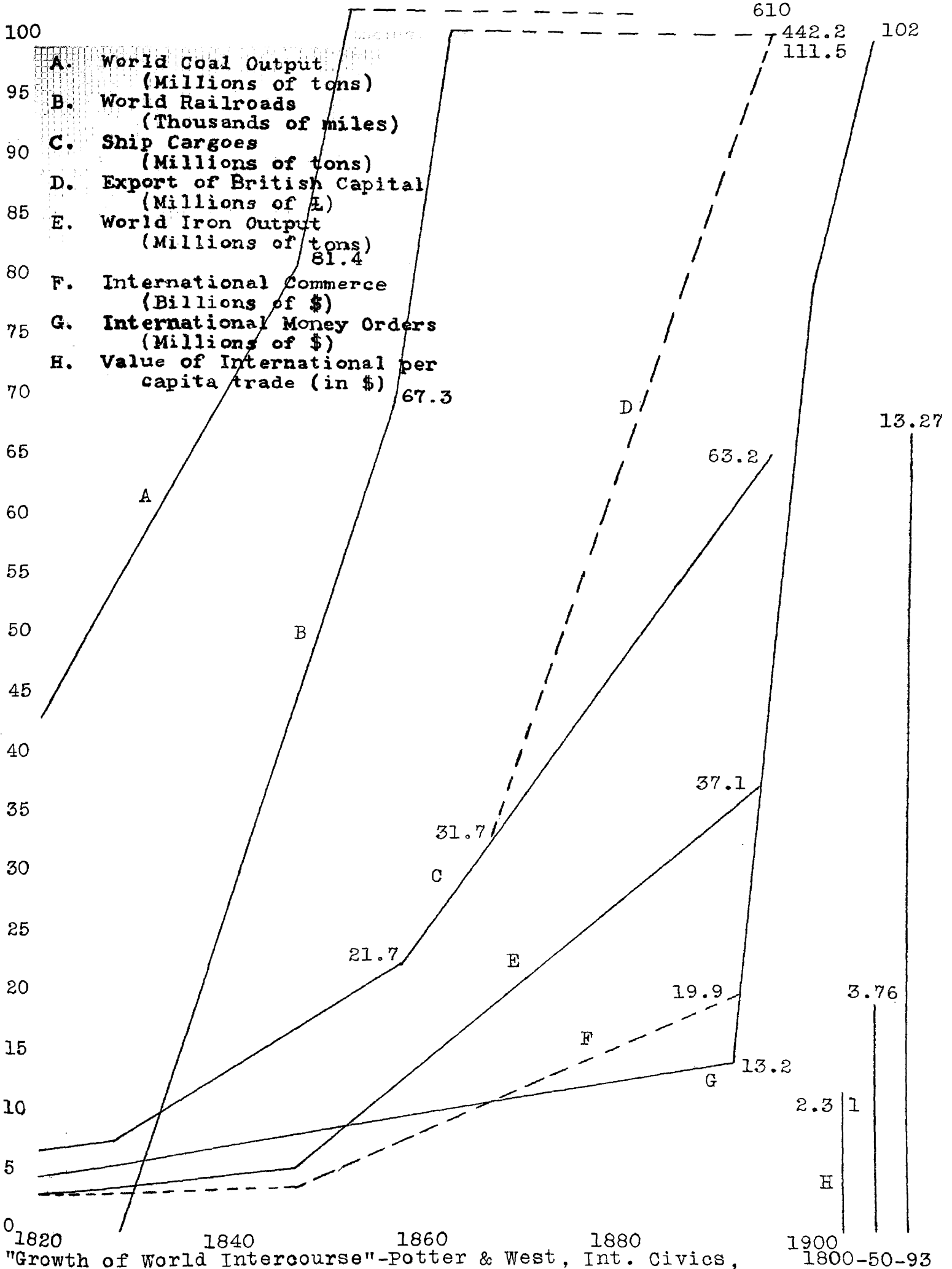
1880-89....272

1890-99....475

1900-09....985

1910-14....485 (less than 4 years)

P. 291. Potter, P. B.; Intro. to Study of Int. Org.



"Growth of World Intercourse"-Potter & West, Int. Civics, 1800-50-93

Growth of Foreign Policy Association Membership in past 7 years.



SOCIAL ENDS: Science and invention have developed an enormous aggregate of social means which may be used for either the benefit or the detriment of mankind. For example, fire is a social means, and the fact that it may be used for either good or bad social ends is universally recognized. We now have social means for international communication, transportation, trade and war but the social ends for which these means are used, do not appear to have received corresponding consideration, especially in world affairs, yet attention to social ends is necessary for any advancement or progress.

It is fundamental to sociology that social interaction and group life are normal and necessary to the growth of society. Every act, however, between persons or peoples, has a social significance; it may invite a favorable response and encourage further contact, or it may create opposition and provoke conflict. Conference, mediation and cooperation are social processes which lead to understanding and united effort. They are necessary toward desirable social ends, and they are common practice within all organized groups, but group solidarity tends to restrict their use between distinct groups. Organization seems to be necessary if these essential processes are to function efficiently; they do not work well in a disorganized setting. These processes are in daily use within each nation; they have also been tried between nations with encouraging results, but they have not yet

become the universal practice, perhaps because the nations have not been members of one organization.

It would appear, therefore, that an international social organization would facilitate the normal social processes between peoples, which are so essential to the attainment of desirable social ends. Mumford, Dewey, Bryce and Hobson contribute to the views which are here expressed:

...Deliberation and discussion are among the most important functions in social life in the controlling of societary phenomena, and the level of social development is determined by the extent to which these reflective processes prevail in regulating the nature of response to stimuli... P. 81. Mumford, E.;
Origins of Leadership, 1909.

In the broadest sense, social efficiency is nothing less than that socialization of mind which is actively concerned in making experiences more communicable; in breaching down the barriers of social stratification which make individuals impervious to the interests of others. When social efficiency is confined to the service rendered by overt acts, its chief constituent (because its only guarantee) is omitted, - intelligent sympathy or good will. For sympathy as a desirable quality is something more than mere feeling; it is a cultivated imagination for what men have in common and a rebellion at whatever unnecessarily divides them...
P. 141. Dewey, John; Democracy & Education, 1916

...A State which seeks its own aims merely, disregarding the rights of others, disowns the obligations morality imposes, and in wronging others it wrongs mankind at large, for it hinders that ethical advance from which, as a branch of mankind, it would itself ultimately profit. P. 201. Bryce, Jas.;
International Relations, 1922

A social problem requires a social solution, in the sense that there must be common consciousness, and agreed cooperative action in dealing with it. P. 116. This social right must always override the individual power to fix a price, for a price is a

thing with a social import; it affects not only the two parties bargaining, but others. An equitable tribunal has, therefore the right to overrule a price, even though the two parties may have agreed on it, if it be held injuriously to affect other parties.

P. 121. Hobson, J. A.; Conditions of Industrial Peace, 1927

SUMMARY: The purpose of this chapter has been to discover whether there is a real need for some form of international social organization between the nations. Over fifty subjects which may have a bearing on the question have been examined, and a great many writings on world affairs have been studied, with the following results:

Social theory shows that social organization has not only been regarded as essential to society, but also that its forms and methods have been studied as far back as records take us. We find, in fact, that organization has always been the basis of civilization.

Analogous situations seem to show a consistent tendency for states to overcome their conflicts and to finally combine under one organization wherever their common interest and welfare promote it. Even among widely differentiated peoples, these enlarged states or nations have become efficiently cooperating units, and have enhanced the status of the participating peoples.

The considerations of world geography, population, territory, communication and transportation, together with social, economic and political problems, security and social ends, appear to reveal an interdependent world fabric of common interests. And it will be apparent that

these interests bear upon each other; that they are sources of dispute; and that they should neither remain disorganized, nor subject to the entire will of single nations.

Each nation is seen to enjoy the benefit and security of a social organization, but its vital relations with, and dependence upon, other nations, are found to be disorganized and subject to serious conflict. It is known that the fundamental social processes of conference, mediation and cooperation are necessary to the peace and progress of any interacting society, and that they require a social organization in which to function efficiently. It seems to follow, therefore, and to be the judgment of experienced world authorities, that some form of international social organization is needed, and is possible of attainment; it has been seen, in fact, that one form - the League of Nations - has existed and rendered good service for ten years. As much evidence has been offered, the chapter will be closed with a statement from Ambassador Morrow, and Potter and West:

...It is idle to think that any force in the world is strong enough to put the various peoples of the world permanently back into separate watertight compartments. One might as well attempt to undo the scientific developments which have multiplied the relationships of mankind. The question is no longer open as to whether we shall have relationships with other States. Each State necessarily belongs to a society of States. The only question is, what kind of rules shall it make to determine its relationships to the other members of that Society? P. 97. Morrow, Dwight W.;
The Society of Free States, 1919

The day of simple and rigid remedies for the difficulties among the nations has gone by. No single specific cure will do. What the community of nations needs is a long and gradual development of international organization made up of all the elements already existing such as arbitration, conferences, and bureaus, and culminating in the application of the federal system as a permanent way of getting along. To this final stage all previous developments have led as logically as preliminary stages ever lead to higher results in social or political life. The history of international relations shows many partial steps to international federation and points to world federation just as unmistakably as the history of Europe prior to 1914 pointed to the events that took place in that year. P. 150 Potter & West; International Civics, 1927

CHAPTER IV
FORMS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

THE NATION: The nation has long been the dominant form of social organization. A nation may divide or combine with others, but the new units will find their place in the family of nations. Any international plan, therefore, must first consider the existing nations, regardless of whether they are to be continued or ultimately abandoned. They are too strongly entrenched to be disregarded. Two other primary facts must be kept in mind:

1. Each nation has its own attitude and interest in world affairs. As a result it may endeavor to gain its own ends through its diplomatic system, and in competition with other nations. It has a tendency to want and to take all it can get. This is an old and narrow policy; it fails to recognize the fact of dependence upon other nations, and the consequent importance of their welfare. This short-sighted policy promotes opposition and can have no genuine place in any form of international organization.

2. There is a class of world problems in which the nations can share a mutual interest, and it is these matters that constitute the basis of any contemplated organization. The role of the nations is, therefore, to act as collaborators, and to contribute toward the solution of such mutual problems for their mutual benefit. This rather new attitude is fundamental to any plan under the present dominance of nations.

There is a general view that the nation is necessary as a social unit, but that in the presence of international organization, all nations may gradually lose enough of their emotional content to permit more objective government and more efficient boundary lines. It is also apparent that the nations should constitute the immediate factors in any larger organization, and that their intrinsic strength and loyal support would be necessary to success. Chief Justice Hughes voices this view:

The independence and equality of states is the postulate of international relations. There is no path to peace except as the will of peoples may open it. The way to peace is through agreement, not through force. P. 7. Hughes, C. E.;
The Pathway of Peace, 1925

REGIONAL ORGANIZATION: Although the older plan of forming ententes and alliances to create "Balance of Power" situations among groups of nations is regional, these organizations have nearly always precipitated serious wars, and do not appear to lead to any solution. They have been loose organizations, and for military purposes chiefly. At present, the "Regional" concept rather implies a geographical or continental grouping for social convenience and economic efficiency. A military value may be included, but it is seldom emphasized. The British Empire was, and to a lesser extent is, such a group although not geographically contiguous. Cooperation between the Baltic states, the Balkans, and the Central American Republics have been small regional efforts, but the best examples are the Pan-American Union and the pro-

posed United States of Europe.

In the Pan-American Union, there is a grouping of the nations of the Western Hemisphere, except for Canada. The Latin states are small and subject to European influence; their constitutions are patterned after that of U. S. A.; and they have received the protection of the Monroe Doctrine, while helping to preserve democracy in this hemisphere. The Union has been a sectionizing political process as a warning to outsiders, rather than a social and economic measure. Although useful in these respects, and in promoting local peace and arbitration, the Union itself has not contributed directly to international life. It might even be said that its existence has been something of a barrier to world comity. Its degree of organization is also a problem:

Should there be an American league of nations? Such a league was in substance proposed at the Santiago Conference of 1923. But the proposal has not been viewed with favor. The determination of the Havana Conference that the Pan American Union should not exercise political functions would seem to indicate strong opposition...

P. 112. Hughes, Chas., E.; Our Relations to the Nations of the Western Hemisphere, 1928

The proposal of a United States of Europe is a regional plan which seems to be based principally upon social and economic grounds, and to be highly justified to this extent. It might bring to European nations an economic efficiency and a social unity similar to that among the states of U. S. A. If successful, it would doubtless contribute to peace among the member states, and therefore

to world peace, but as a social unit it might be too large and powerful to be a safe factor in any international organization. The proposed program follows:

Le programme officiel paneuropeen est ainsi conçu:

1. Le mouvement paneuropeen est un mouvement de masses, au-dessus des partis, dont le but est l'unification de l'Europe.

L'Union Paneuropeenne est l'organe actif du mouvement.

2. Le but du mouvement paneuropeen est l'union de tous les etats europeens qui le veulent et le peuvent, en une confederation politique et economique, basee sur la paix et l'egalite de droits.

3. Le programme mondial de la Panurope est la collaboration amicale avec les autres continents, dans le cadre de la Societe des Nations.

4. L'Union Paneuropeenne s'interdit toute im-mixtion dans les questions de politique interieure.

5. L'Union Paneuropeenne est organisee par sections nationales. Chaque etat a son Comite national, avec budget autonome.

Le bureau central de l'Union paneuropeenne, qui centralise les activites des Comites nationaux, se trouve a Vienne.

6. L'insigne paneuropeen est une croix rouge, sur soleil d'or.

Coudenhove-Kalergi, R. N.; Organe officiel de l'Union Paneuropeenne.

In so far as regional organizations may be based upon sound social, geographic and economic grounds, they are likely to benefit the members, and if not too powerful, they might broaden and compose local attitudes in a way that would facilitate international organization. But they could never be a substitute for a world body. In fact their comparatively large size and power would appear to set up a dangerous polarity between them, and to greatly retard or prevent any world understanding. Furthermore, the range of social and economic needs of all peoples embrace the whole world; they are not grouped

in regional areas. An examination of the views of authorities, shows that regional organizations are of limited value, and are even regarded with suspicion in an interdependent world. Two typical views are submitted:

Premier Baldwin announced in the house of commons today that the Anglo-French naval agreement had been scrapped and that limitation negotiations "must begin all over again." The prime minister's announcement followed a bitter attack upon the agreement by David Lloyd George, Liberal party leader, in a speech introducing the party's amendment to the king's speech.

Lloyd George said the United States' suspicion of the negotiations between France and England had been indicated clearly in President Coolidge's Armistice day address...

Det. Free Press; 11-14-28

In the round table discussions the spokesmen of Japan, of Great Britain, and of all the British dominions represented in the Conference, stated that public opinion in their countries would be opposed to new regional organizations in the Pacific of an official character and would favor depending wholly upon the League of Nations for the settlement of International disputes. They recognized, however, the value of an occasional conference, such as the Washington Conference of 1921-22, to deal with a particular situation... P. 22. Blakeslee, Geo., H.;

Oriental Affairs in the Light of the Kyoto Conference; For. Pol. Assn., 1929

WORLD STATE: A world state would necessarily be a unified world empire in which the ruling authority possessed full and final power. The procedure would resemble that of the Roman Empire; it would be a reversion to the authoritarian form of government; and even if attainable, it could never stand in the present complex world of highly differentiated peoples. The advanced peoples would not undertake it, nor remain under such arbitrary control. It is a visionary concept, and well disposed of by Bryce:

These and many other difficulties that stand in the way of creating a World State with any prospect of success would present themselves in slightly different forms and degree according to the particular scheme adopted... Any such scheme must assume a virtue, an intelligence, a civic spirit, a flexibility and adaptability and capacity for steady moral and intellectual progress of which few signs are now discernible. Adding these considerations to the patent fact, already mentioned, that the most advanced nations would not sacrifice their present independence in order to try any such experiment, the notion must be regarded as a dazzling vision of the far-off possible future rather than as a remedy for the present troubles of the world. P. 245. Bryce, Jas.; International Relations, 1922

WORLD FEDERATION: In a federal organization, the member states definitely transfer their individual control of certain matters, usually those of a joint nature, to the central body, while retaining control of all local matters. Delegates will be sent by the states to constitute a central body which will possess authority over the transferred matters, and will decide ("legislate") upon all action regarding them. It is a step toward a closer organization than a confederation, yet is far removed from a world state. A delicate adjustment is sought between local and federal affairs. U. S. A. is an example of a federation of states. The creation of a federation usually calls for a somewhat homogeneous people and for a gradual growth of their association.

The great value of federation rests on the fact that it removes common and contentious problems from individual control, and places them under the federal control. For example, no single nation can be sure of its security;

protection from attack can only be obtained through the united power of all nations. Hence a nation must decide whether to retain control and accept its risks, or whether to exchange its control for the federal protection; it cannot have both. Federation is considered to be the only genuine protection, and the ultimate form of international organization. Minor in his "Republic of Nations" proposes a world federation and submits a draft constitution alongside the U. S. A. constitution for convenient comparison. There is a marked resemblance.

The differentiation and the principle of nationalism are clearly too strong among the present nations to permit an agreement to federate, at least until they can have had some years of experience in general cooperation. Their peoples are not sufficiently world minded at present to relinquish the final right of decision upon international questions. Recent attempts at cooperation are very encouraging, however, and many authorities believe that they may lead to international federation. The acceptance of the definite jurisdiction of the World Court by forty-two nations is an important step in this direction.

The establishment of the perfect civil constitution of a single State is dependent upon the proper regulation of the external relations between States, and without the solution of the external problem the internal problem cannot be solved... Through wars, and the never relaxed preparations for wars, and the burden of debt and devastation left by war, separate States will be driven into unions... But nature, by differences of language and religion, works to keep men from forming the Universal State too soon. As civilization increases, as men become more and more alike in principles and

get more and more of an understanding of one another and of their differences, the final Federation of States will be developed. P. 144 Morrow, Dwight, W.; The Society of Free States, 1919

LEAGUES: When nations find that their activities are crossing the paths of each other, or when it is discovered that they are more or less interdependent and have many interests in common, some of their leaders may propose joint effort toward adjustment. The social processes required are conference, mediation or arbitration and cooperation. These processes may function through commissions, but when continuous effort is contemplated, a league may be formed. A league is a loose organization for the purposes mentioned; the delegates may negotiate, but they cannot bind their nations; final consent remains with the home authorities through ratification. Under a league, therefore, each nation retains final control of its actions, and cannot be otherwise obligated by the league. It is, however, a step which may lead to federation.

Until overpowered by Rome, the ancient Greeks utilized the league system with a measure of success, as described by Hughan and by Potter:

The Peloponnesian League flourished during the 4th Century B. C., and constituted a defensive and to some extent an offensive alliance. All the cities in the League bound themselves to submit disputes to arbitration where negotiation failed, but war was not prohibited as a final resort. Each state had one vote regardless of differences in size, but this nominal equality did not prevent the acknowledged leadership of Sparta, whose power was still further increased when the custom arose of commuting the military service of the smaller states for money payments...As in other Leagues however,

legal equality proved no match for concrete inequality. P. 24. Hughan, Jesse W.;
International Government, 1923

The Aetolian and Achaean Leagues succeeded the earlier efforts at interstate federation, and the latter reached such a point of development that it remained until the end of the Mediaeval Period the highest form of political organization known in the history of Europe. A federal foreign policy was evolved by this League, a federal military organization was created, and a federal executive and administrative system, including a federal budget, was instituted. A common scale of weights and measures was adopted and likewise a common currency. There were present also the elements of a federal judiciary. P. 442. Potter, P. B.;
Intro. to Strdy of Int. Org., 1922

Authoritarian governments do not yield to the cooperative principle of leagues; democracy is more favorable to their formation and success because they rest on the higher plane of mutual respect and interest. If a league can be established between differentiated nations, it is a tremendous step toward adjustment and achievement because it brings peoples into face-to face interaction. When separated, foreign ministers are likely to be suspicious and scheming, but when brought together for discussion, courtesy and the desire for approbation tend to create attitudes of conciliation and contribution toward common purposes. Differences are submerged or eased, while understanding, confidence and friendship grow. Continuity of cooperation brings better results and gives the league a great advantage over the temporary commission.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS: The structure and the services rendered by this existing interantional organization

have been described in the previous chapter. It is now desired to explain its salient features: President Wilson did well to give the League its birth; the world may never know the obstacles he surmounted. The Covenant has weaknesses; it had to be a compromise, but the instrument provides a remedy by amendment, and it has now stood for ten years as a basis for true international cooperation.

The League is not a super-state; on the contrary it is simply a servant of the nations, and as such its existence and procedure are subject to the unanimous consent and support of all member states. Without this support, it will die, hence it must go as slowly as the slowest member nation may wish. Everywhere, except in U. S. A., the League is called the "Society of Nations", and it is merely a society or club which nations may join or not as they desire; while members, they conform to the rules and pay their dues; they can be expelled for just cause, and they may also resign. There are no arbitrary impositions whatever; each nation retains its independence.

The primary value of the League is in its provision for many meetings between the officials, delegates and citizens of many nations, for open publicity, and for permanent cooperation by means of conference. This conforms to the most fundamental principles of social science.

The League is not legislative - it passes no laws, but merely resolutions, and even these are not subject to the customary majority vote, but they must be unanimous

or they fail. Each of the fifty-four member states is regarded as sovereign, and each has one vote, hence one veto from even the smallest nation will over-rule the fifty-three ayes. There is no voting by majority save on accepted minor house rules. Furthermore, all resolutions are subject to the ratification of home governments before they can become effective.

Another value of the League lies in its several impersonal bodies which are kept impersonal by requiring an internationally mixed personnel, with freedom from political activity. They represent no nation, and they advocate nothing. Except for clerical assistance, the permanent personnel are scientists and research experts who deal with facts and not with policy. Thus for the first time, world problems are reduced to objective facts. On this basis compromise and adjustment almost invariably follow. The Assembly initiates a study, and the resulting data become the subject-matter for discussion and resolution at its next annual meeting. The Council deals with special matters and emergencies. It can recommend, but it cannot impose, any national action; its final sanction rests upon the light of publicity and the ensuing public opinion. No authority has been able to discredit the League upon any ground.

The annual cost of the League does not exceed \$5,000,000, and this is apportioned among the nations according to their wealth. With the exception of China

who has apologized for an internal condition causing arrears, the "dues" of all member states are being promptly paid, which is good testimony of the League's success. Many existing international bodies have been brought into the League structure for coordination. There is highly organized procedure for promptly restraining war; the examination and adjustment of those political disputes which lead to conflict is ably arranged for; and the World Court is continually available to hear juridical cases.

Each year the League is smoothing the many roads that join the nations; yet it remains ready to deal with any crisis, and has become strong enough to erect great buildings in which to carry on its service to society. The delegates to the Assembly number 162 prominent persons from fifty-four nations. They are of different type, manner and dress, yet they work together in one room under the presidency of one of their number for several weeks each year. It is an inspiring sight, and is good evidence of the sincere desire and ability of the nations to cooperate for the highest social ends. Buell and Bryce describe and comment upon the nature of the membership:

At the time of its organization the League was composed of only 24 states, but the number grew rapidly until the obligations of the Covenant were finally accepted by a total of 56 states. Two countries later withdrew from membership - namely Brazil and Costa Rica. The latter country, however, has indicated a desire to return. When this happens the League will embrace 55 states. The states which do not belong to the League are the United States, Soviet Russia, Turkey, Mexico, Afghanistan, Brazil, Ec-

uador, Egypt, Yemen, Muscat, the Hedjaz and the Nejd. It is a mistake to believe that the League is a purely European concern since 27 members belong to the Western hemisphere, the Near East and the Orient. P. 3. Buell, R. L;

For. Pol. Assn.; Jan., 1930

First of all, such a Combination ought to consist of a large number of States, so large that the special interests of each would be overruled by that which is the general interest of all, i. e., the maintenance of world peace. It should include States so important that they would possess not only material strength but also a volume of educated opinion sufficient to constitute a moral force. The larger the number of such States entering the Combination, the stronger would it be. Some few independent States have lagged so far behind in the path of civilized and responsible government as to seem hardly fit for admission, but perhaps it would be better to admit them and let them profit by their intercourse with their elder brothers... P. 247 Bryce, James;

International Relations, 1922

ANGLO-AMERICA: If war should break out among the highly interdependent nations, the whole world would doubtless be involved in a terrible crisis. Peace is, therefore of extreme importance, and if the League should fail to maintain it, there is another feasible plan of control. It has long been suggested that the British nations and U. S. A. together would be able to police the world by pooling their combined power. Their background, language and customs are much the same, and they would work well together.

Britain controls important territory and enormous resources in all parts of the world. With the exception of the Panama canal, she controls all of the sea routes of the world, and owns strategic bases such as Gibraltar, Suez, and Singapore. Her wealth and trained fighting power exceeds that of any other nation, and she is thor-

oughly experienced in all international situations.

U. S. A. is somewhat lacking in foreign experience and facilities, but she possesses enormous agricultural and industrial resources at home and a highly organized manpower. By uniting their efforts, these two peoples should be able to preserve order and to constitute a sufficiently stable nucleus for an ultimate world federation if advisable. The more advanced nations might be admitted gradually as they qualified and sought an entry. Many authorities believe that the formation of such an organization would encounter less resistance, and would progress more rapidly than the League, once it had been initiated. Britain and U. S. A. seem to be the only two nations with the necessary strength and cooperative ability to create such an organization. The opinions of several prominent men are submitted:

...Britain and America have the more important minerals and the metallurgical plants. Sir Thomas Holland declares that they are "the only two nations which can fight for long on their own natural resources"... Bell, E. P.;

Detroit News; 1-7-30

The whole position of both countries (Britain and U. S. A.) in respect of sea power in war has now changed in almost every conceivable circumstance; and their future interests lie not in efforts to claim or compete for a command of the seas in war but in the opposite policy of combining in command of the seas to secure a new freedom of the seas as complete in war as in peace.

P. 25. Kenworthy & Young, Freedom of the Seas.

... It is the glory of the Anglo-Saxon that he has discovered the secret of Unity without uniformity, and that secret consists largely in the avoidance of mechanism. P. 346.

Powers, H.H.; America Among the Nations, 1921

It may sound hyperbole to say that the future of the world hinges on Anglo-American relations. It is true none the less. Every thinker in Europe and Asia knows it and is talking about it...

Kerr, Philip- Sec. to Lloyd George, 1916-21;
 "Eng. and America"- Sat. Review, 1-26-29.

Another development among the "light-skinned" peoples is the Pan-Angle movement, which would draw more closely together the English-speaking peoples of the world. Such an association, if carried out, would be of supreme political importance. It would embrace a combined population of 180,000,000 people and such important nations as Great Britain, the Dominions, and the United States. An association of this nature could absolutely command the Seven Seas, and because of its great economic resources, it could dominate the western world... P. 80. Lord Balfour recently said, "I am moved by a feeling, especially patriotic in its character, for the subgroup (of nations) which speaks the English language, and whose laws and institutions are rooted in British history..." Despite past misunderstandings between the different branches of the English-speaking peoples, "they are capable, when they like, of a mutual comprehension which neither can attain to the same degree in their relations with other great nations of the European continent."

...In May, 1898, Joseph Chamberlain, the British statesman, made a striking speech, advocating an Anglo-American alliance...

...The late George Louis Beer advocated a definite alliance between England and the United States, which, in his opinion, would save China from disintegration, hasten self-government in India, and keep the peace in Central and South America. On his American tour in 1923, Lloyd George advocated an "understanding" that the United States and England "will stand together for a rational peace." P. 81. Buell, R. L.;
 International Relations, 1925

IMPLICATIONS FOR U. S. A.: It will now be clear that if U. S. A. should contemplate any new policy toward international organization, it would probably be in relation to the existing League of Nations, since the other possibilities are too distant for present consideration. In discussing relationship to the League, a brief sketch of the

events which lead to abstention from membership may be helpful: During the war, on May 26, 1916, the late Senator Lodge, speaking before the League to Enforce Peace, said: -

The limit of voluntary arbitration has, I think, been reached. It has done much. It has taken out of the range of arms a large mass of questions which once were causes, frequently of war, constantly of reprisals, and by the general consent of civilized mankind has put them before a tribunal and had them there decided.

If we have reached the limit of voluntary arbitration, what is the next step? I think the next step is that which this League proposes and that is to put force behind international peace, an international league or agreement, or tribunal, for peace. We may not solve it in that way, but if we cannot solve it in that way it can be solved in no other... P. 130 Lodhe, Henry C., The

Senate and the League of Nations, 1925

When the fourteen points were accepted as a basis for peace, and President Wilson went to Paris, U. S. A. felt a pride in leadership, and generally shared the enthusiasm and hope of the world. Garner and Bernstein write as follows:

Apart from Wilson the proposal to organize a League or Association of Nations, primarily for the maintenance of the general peace, had the warm support of the two living ex-Presidents, Roosevelt and Taft, and of most of the more eminent leaders of the Republican party such as Messrs. Lodge, Root, Kellogg, Harding, Hughes, Hoover, and others... P. 184. Garner, J. W.; American Foreign Policies, 1928

I saw President Wilson in the Hotel Crillon, in Paris, on the day before he returned to America. I heard him speak to a group of American correspondents about the peace treaty. He was still inspired. He defended his acts and his concessions on that occasion much more effectively than at any time after his return to America. He realized that the Peace Treaty was not a perfect document, but that it

was the best that could have been secured under the circumstances... P. 19. Bernstein, Herman;
Road to Peace, 1926

Lodge and other leaders, therefore, favored the idea of the League, but Wilson was a democrat with such an individualistic and unsocialized personality, that republican senators felt themselves affronted. Politics took the reins, and the League was defeated by the senate under the leadership of Lodge who then became widely branded as inconsistent. This and other facts, notably a public debate between President Lowell of Harvard and Senator Lodge, indicate that a large public opinion favored the League in principle. Lodge gives his version of the inconsistency charge, the debate, and the Senate procedure in his book: "The Senate and the League of Nations", 1925. Among other things, he writes:

...The records of the peace conference and of the conferences of the representatives of the five great powers were asked for by the Committee and refused by the Executive... P. 167.

...There was another object which I had very much at heart, and that was that if we were successful in putting on reservations we should create a situation where, if the acceptance of the treaty was defeated, the Democratic party, and especially Mr. Wilson's friends, should be responsible for its defeat, and not the opponents of the treaty who were trying to pass it in a form safe for the United States. P. 164.

In some way the draft of the reservation, (under Art. X) agreed to by Senator McCumber and by me reached President Wilson who read it at a meeting at Salt Lake City on September 23, 1919. He then said:

"That is a rejection of the covenant. That is an absolute refusal to carry any part of the same responsibility that the other members of the League carry. This "Article 10) is the heart of the covenant." P. 184

...Mr. Wilson was devoured by the desire for power...P. 212. ...But the Treaty would have been accepted by the Senate on the 19th of March, 1920, if it had not been for Mr. Wilson, and the defeat of the Treaty with the reservations was owing entirely to his determination to have his own way, and to dominate the situation... P. 214.

Lodge, Henry C.; The Senate and the League of Nations; 1925.

The whole book indicates that although the Covenant needed amendment, the Lodge group loaded it with reservations until no one wanted it, and politics therefore defeated the League. A great deal of criticism has resulted, and the following items are merely a few samples:

Judge John Bassett Moore has pointed out that the changed attitude of the Senate in late years has proved an obstacle to the progress of arbitration and has caused the United States to lag behind its earlier practice... P. 162

Garner, J. W.; Am. For. Policies, 1928

The opinion of Viscount Cecil is that America is more unpopular in Europe than Americans realize. President Wilson began the League of Nations, but America now stands aloof. The same with the World Court, she was instrumental in the beginning of this, but then gracefully walked out.

Cecil, Viscount; American Responsibilities for Peace, Foreign Affairs, April, 1928

The first and most formidable adversity with which it (the League) met was the American Senate. The defection of America was a disaster the ultimate responsibility for which must be borne by the American nation. A free, honest, impartial opinion is rarely heard on the matter... P. 78.

De Madariaga, Sal.; Disarmament, 1929

Are the new rules of the Society of States preferable to the present chaotic rules? Might it not be well for men to avoid doing anything now which would make it difficult for them to act with unbiased minds upon the alternative that then presents itself? On this we may learn something from Benjamin Franklin, the oldest and perhaps the wisest member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787. At the end of that historic meeting in Philadelphia he

said: "I confess that there are several parts of this constitution which I do not at present approve, but I am not sure I shall never approve them: For having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged by better information or fuller consideration, to change opinions even on important subjects, which I once thought right, but found to be otherwise..." In the New York State Convention called to ratify the Federal Constitution, Alexander Hamilton said: "Let a convention be called tomorrow; let them meet twenty times, nay, twenty thousand times; they will have the same difficulties to encounter, the same clashing interests to reconcile." It will be even so in this case! P. 194

Morrow, Dwight W.; The Society of Free States, 1919

There is still a divided opinion within the country, and in the absence of actual measurement, it can only be generally stated that the negatives appear to include those persons who have a strong republican party attitude toward public questions, and an element in whom Nationalism exceeds their knowledge of the world. The affirmatives include the scholars in international affairs, travelled persons, and many who have had direct experience with foreign problems. There are indications that the affirmatives are rapidly multiplying. This is observed in the character and increase of foreign interest, travel, news, lectures, and in the growth of various organizations dealing with international matters. Three thousand persons from U. S. A. inspected the League in Geneva last year.

Although recent republican party platforms have declared against membership in the League, these declarations have been softened by assertions for international peace and cooperation. The League has never been a real issue,

and has never received a full consideration; it has rather been allowed to rest in abeyance. And the U. S. A. government has pursued no definite policy regarding it. The records show that many communications from the League concerning our cooperation in matters that concern us have been ignored. In some cases replies have been sent through other nations who were members of the League. In a few instances, where matters of serious consequence to us have arisen, we have sent an unofficial observer to be present in an international conference, but we have seldom contributed to the general cost or participated in the cooperative effort. The effect of this attitude cannot benefit our own interest, and it is only necessary to question any intelligent foreigner to discover that it has reduced our prestige abroad. Chief Justice Hughes has pointed out that cooperation in specific cases does not obligate the nation on other matters. Manley O. Hudson, Professor of International Law at Harvard, describes and condemns this wavering policy in "America's Role in the League of Nations", American Political Science Review, February 1929. "Unofficial cooperation" cannot be accepted, therefore, as a satisfactory relationship.

In remaining outside the League, U. S. A. may avoid a few of the obligations of membership but she will also lose many of the advantages. She cannot retain full independence, due to the practical necessity of conforming to new international procedure which the League is con-

tinually establishing. Conformity without the right of representation, may become a serious matter. Her enormous foreign interests may suffer unfair discrimination or even confiscation. In such an event, she is helpless against the nations grouped within the league; they can probably exert economic pressure to force her entry if they desire. If, in case of trouble with one or two nations, she should seek assistance from others, they might embarrassing refer her to the League, on the ground that the League is now the official international organ. Aloofness is also contrary to social laws, and can only deprive her of valuable international experience, good will, friendship, and probably considerable commerce. In her absence, the League is weakened, and the danger of war is increased. If war comes, U. S. A. would doubtless be drawn in through protection of her interests or through obligations implied in the Kellogg Pact. If she had no foreign contacts, possibly she would do well to remain outside, but with vital world interests, and since the League is the only existing world institution for adjustment, it is difficult to find valid reasons for declining membership.

Constitutional objections have been suggested, but no statement on this ground has been found, and the U. S. A. Supreme Court has rendered no opinion. The President and Senate, however, clearly have the power to make treaties with other nations; every treaty is also acknowledged to

be an infringement or a limit upon sovereignty. The Kellogg Pact limits the right, if not the power, to declare war - an authority vested in Congress by the Constitution. This Pact and the covenant of the League are both treaties. Amendment of the Covenant, of the U. S. A. Constitution, and the method of reservations are all available if found necessary. But in the Senate debate, reservations were proposed as safeguards rather than upon constitutional grounds. Legal authorities consulted mention a "twilight zone" in which the constitutional powers of Congress disappear gradually, but they were unable to place the Covenant in this zone. Without attempting a full legal analysis, it may be said that an imposing array of Counsel including Root, Coolidge, Taft, Hughes, Hudson and others find it possible to adhere to the World Court, and none have denied our right to accept the Covenant, hence it would appear that it may be inferred that no insurmountable difficulty exists. This inference is supported by a long opinion of the late Chief Justice Taft, in which he raises no constitutional objection, but thoroughly discusses the disputed article X of the Covenant, and highly endorses it as both safe and effective. He concludes with the words:

...Article X is one of the great steps forward provided in the League for the securing of general peace. P. 133. Taft, Wm. H., World Peace Foundation; L. of N. Vol II, 1919

Chief Justice Taft further sweeps aside constitutional objections by the following legal opinion:

But it is said that it is unconstitutional for our treaty-making power to agree to a limit of armament. The Supreme Court in many cases has decided that the treaty-making power conferred in the Constitution is a very broad one, and that it includes the making of contracts with other nations on any subject matter usually within the scope of treaty-making between nations, and that there are no limitations on it except that a treaty cannot change our form of government or cede land of one of our states without its consent. Now the limitation of armament has been a very frequent subject matter dealt with in treaties. Indeed, every one recognizes that it is a most appropriate subject in this very treaty of which the League is a part in respect to the fixing of the armament of Germany. More than this, we have had a treaty with Great Britain for one hundred years in which we agreed to limit our armament, and we have religiously kept it - in 1817 we mutually agreed with Great Britain not to put a naval armament on the Great Lakes between us and Canada, and that treaty is still in force. It would be difficult to imagine a more convincing precedent than this. In the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1859, concerning the construction of a canal in Central America from one ocean to the other, we mutually stipulated not to fortify the canal when built. Our power to limit armament in a treaty is thus indisputable in view of precedent and judicial authority. Our duty by joining with the family of civilized nations in such an agreement, to put a stop to the awful race in armament, if unrestrained, sure to involve the world again in all its evils, is equally clear. P. 126-127.

Taft, Wm. Howard; World Peace Foundation;
League of Nations, Vol. II, 1919

Admitting the possible desirability of some reservations, it is nevertheless a practical matter for U. S. A. to join the League outright if she wishes. If she should join, the social values would appear to be of great benefit. It would immediately sweep away the criticism of other nations, and enhance her world prestige. "Uncle Shylock" would disappear and "Uncle Sam" would return. Membership would bring much needed international experience to our statesmen, soften our extreme nationalism, and broaden our people by enabling them to participate on more

equal terms in the social and economic life of the world. Our industrial and economic leadership would contribute toward a more efficient world economy, and might increase foreign standards of living and consequent buying power. In return, this crossing of cultures would doubtless lift the obvious provincialism and "dollar diplomacy" of our new country which is now typified by the low values of divorce, lawlessness, jazz and the *neuvo-riche*; it might raise our social values and expand our philosophy. We would gain in the respect, consideration, cooperation and friendship of the other nations for our foreign interests and general welfare. Above all, our seat in the Council and our share in the work of the Assembly, Secretariat, Labor Office and World Court, would give the League a much needed final strength and stability that would not only increase its value, but would bring us a sense of security which is now seriously needed. The principle of unanimity and the privilege of withdrawal would leave us full control of our action in case of military or other crisis. With conference, mediation and cooperation so ably provided for; with U. S. A. a powerful participant; and with the sanction of world public opinion, Chief Justice Taft and many others have found that a crisis is most unlikely to arise. These facts, together with the following excellent description of our present awkward position, seem to urge our full membership in the League.

...An American representative at Geneva often feels a certain hesitancy which, if in fact unneces-

sary, is nevertheless understandable. At the outset, he is attending a conference wherein his government has had no voice either in the primary question as to whether there should be such a meeting or in the very substantial details as to what should and what should not be discussed. During its course, he recognizes that he is a guest, not a full member, at a meeting-place sustained by the governments of the other delegates rather than his own and that already a certain community spirit and atmosphere has grown up amongst them to which, naturally, he is a stranger. He feels a certain hesitancy, for political reasons, in voting for projects which would add to the strength or prestige of an agency of which his government is not a member, and sometimes, as with Congressman Porter at the Opium Conference or Senator Burton at the Arms Traffic Conference, he finds himself in the still more difficult position of having to wage a bitter fight against entrusting future work to that common agency of the other nations which had convened the very meeting he is attending.

Again he is often loath, as at the World Economic Conference, to participate in any suggestion involving a further burden to a budget to which his own government, usually, is not contributing. Throughout he hesitates to announce future policy, for he realizes his present attendance may be but a single act without organic connection and that, once the President's gavel has fallen, the United States will disappear and the execution be left to other hands, with the possibility that all he has fought for and won may be altered or postponed, as indeed was threatened in the case of the World Economic Conference when there was no American representative on hand when the necessary credits were opposed in the Assembly or proposals of indefinite postponement made in the Council. Finally, he has no assurance of support at home, for, while American representatives have induced the other nations considerably to alter certain conventions with the definite thought of securing American ratification, no single treaty drafted through the League had been ratified by the Senate until, amongst half a dozen before that body in the Spring of 1929, the Slavery Convention slipped through. Little doubt there would seem that, irrespective of party lines, American opinion will not wish this situation to continue but will demand that it be regularized in order to make American cooperation fully effective wherever it takes place.

If the present actual cooperation is not and cannot in the present state of things be complete, there is the still more important fact that, by its own action, the United States has excluded it-

self from the world's two greatest conference chambers, the Assembly and the Council of the League on Nations...

That the United States, with all its world-wide interests, should be wholly unrepresented in meetings where the most important statesmen are coming together from all four corners of the globe, that it has not yet worked out a way at least to interpose its voice when its own interests are involved, is one of the surprising facts of this new international center. P. 41 & on. Sweetser, Arthur; (An American

In the Information Section, L. of N.) The Approach to World Unity, 1930.

The facts seem to show that a position of indifference to the League is impossible, also that a feeble, intermittent and unofficial attempt to "listen in" and cooperate when we choose, is unsatisfactory, undignified and unfair to the other nations. There is a growing opinion that our country should arrange to either get in or get out.

In this connection, our proposed adherence to the World Court, and the necessary completion of the Kellogg Pact may constitute steps toward our full participation in the international organization of the League, but a stronger and broader national leadership in our senate would appear to be required, since President Hoover and leading counsel clearly appreciate the need:

Such a court - the world court - has been established at The Hague with the aid of American jurists. It has been accepted by ninety per cent of the civilized people of the earth. It is established and no other court is practicable. It has demonstrated the highest integrity and capacity, and the continuance of these qualities is assured.

It has already settled a great number of controversies. It is only one, but an important one of the six or seven methods of securing pacific settlements, and thus a contribution to the prevention of war. Adherence to that court by the United States has been earnestly recommended by every one

self from the world's two greatest conference chambers, the Assembly and the Council of the League on Nations...

That the United States, with all its world-wide interests, should be wholly unrepresented in meetings where the most important statesmen are coming together from all four corners of the globe, that it has not yet worked out a way at least to interpose its voice when its own interests are involved, is one of the surprising facts of this new international center. P. 41 & on. Sweetser, Arthur; (An American

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of our presidents and every one of our secretaries of state living since its inception.

No one can challenge the patriotism of these ten men, nor the ripe wisdom which is theirs from having borne the actual burden of responsibility for our foreign relations. They have found no entanglement or limitation of the independence of the United States by safeguarded membership in it...

Hoover, Herbert; Det. Free Press, 4-15-30

A Few Leaders who favor American Adherence to the World Court:

Herbert Hoover	John Grier Hibben
Calvin Coolidge	Silas H. Strawn
William H. Taft	Edward Bok
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt	S. O. Levinson
Newton D. Baker	Charles Evans Hughes
Nicholas Murray Butler	Henry L. Stimson
James R. Angell	Bishop McConnell
Glenn Frank	Judge Florence Allen
Thomas W. Lamont	General Tasker H. Bliss
Elihu Root	A. Lawrence Lowell
Frank B. Kellogg	Robert A. Millikan
Owen D. Young	John Bassett Moore
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt	Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip
John W. Davis	George W. Wickersham
	Henry P. Fletcher

P. 4. League of Nations News; 12-29

...International Conference has meant for us hardly more than an opportunity to express our views and ask the rest of the world to agree with us... P. 265. Shotwell, Jas. T.; War as an Instrument of National Policy, 1929

...Why has not some arrangement of this character been worded out before? Let us be honest with ourselves. The reason is not because of any fundamental objection to the structure of the League. The reason is because of an unfortunate political controversy which occurred in this country ten years ago. The historian of the future will say, I believe, that President Wilson's greatest success was when he forced the statesmen at Versailles to accept the covenant of the League of Nations (applause), but his greatest failure was when he refused to accept the reservations to that covenant made by the Senate of the United States. (Applause) If those reservations had been accepted, this country would be at Geneva today. Those reservations were not accepted and the marks of that controversy are still upon the face of

the land. Those marks cannot be removed except by a reinvigorated public opinion...P. 22. Buell, R. L.; For. Pol. Assn.; 1-4-30

...The efforts which the nations must make in this direction are too elaborate to be made except through a general international federation such as the League. The present League will probably be retained and modified according to need, rather than abandoned for the creation of an entirely new league. The nations of Europe and of the rest of the world, at all events, seem now disposed to attempt to solve all these problems chiefly or wholly through the League.

That means that if the United States has any interests to protect in these matters we must act either in competition with the League, in cooperation with it, or as a partial or complete member thereof... P. 267. Potter & West; International Civics, 1927

CHAPTER V
METHODS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Several admirable methods are being tried, but no complete study of the matter has been discovered. An effort has been made, therefore, to investigate the present conditions, and to devise a complete plan of procedure which it is hoped may prove to be a contribution in method. In as much as the League of Nations is an established and commendable type of international organization, and since U. S. A. is a large and important non-member, the methods to be suggested will be directly applicable to a connection between these two institutions. It is believed, however, that these methods are readily adaptable to similar nations in relation to a similar international organization.

In the first place, the rapid development of international life has given importance to some twenty concepts, and apparently altered their status or meaning from the understanding of the average citizen. If the true meaning and importance of a term which may be used by a competent writer or lecturer is not fully understood by his audience no progress can be made. There is evidence that the comparative indifference of many citizens is due to this condition, hence these will be examined and corrected. It is suggested that the new meanings be explained by writers, lecturers and teachers as a necessary basis for understanding international relations. There are also a number of technical terms, but they do not cause as much difficulty

as do these changed concepts, which it is now proposed to discuss:

SCIENCE AND RESEARCH: These terms seem to be understood as confined chiefly to laboratory practice with inorganic and organic phenomena. They are not quickly recognized as equally applicable to the immediate problems of society, and they are scarcely yet active factors in state or national government. Much less is it known that they are being used exclusively by all departments of the League, and that international problems are so large, distant and involved that any less exact method is hopeless. It needs to be known that science and research have been extended to social problems, and that they are being used by hundreds of experts in the League organization, even though local problems may still be dominated by politics. It is largely the earlier sciences that have brought about the present complex world; it is now the social sciences that are expected to make it an orderly and safe place in which to live. Science knows no country. It is available to all mankind, and since it deals only with objective fact, it needs to be looked upon as the proper basis for agreement and cooperation between all nations. Science, in fact, is the only footing upon which they can fully agree. (See Bernard: "Introduction to Social Psychology" under the subject of "Publics".) Comte, Bryce and Shotwell are among those who recognize the international social value of science:

The Positive Philosophy (Sociology) offers

the only solid basis for that Social Reorganization which must succeed the critical condition in which the most civilized nations are now living.

P. 36. Comte, A.; Positive Philosophy, 1923

...And it is to be hoped that the learned scientific men in the recently belligerent countries will henceforth do their best to re-create those ties which formerly bound men of learning and science together all over the civilized world.

P. 137. Bryce, Jas.; Int. Relations, 1922

The scientific attitude of mind may, after all, turn out to be a much more humanizing element than any one would suppose who thought of it only in terms of the battle with the forces of nature...

P. 21. Shotwell, J. T.; War as an Instrument of National Policy, 1929

SOCIAL CHANGE: To the average man, this term probably has little more than a local and hazy meaning. It is not a factor in his usual vocabulary. When asked, one person cited the death of a social "dowager", another mentioned womens dress, and a third got as far as the increase of divorce. None of them recognized this concept as a permanent and powerful social force which may work slowly yet effectively, and in international as well as in local affairs. The advent of democracy, nationalism and the World War are not likely to enter the average mind, as great social changes that affect the life of every member in a world society. Only those versed in the social sciences will comprehend the true meaning, range and importance of this term. But if the general public did understand it, they would be prepared to expect change as an inevitable phenomenon; they might even anticipate or detect it in advance, and be better equipped to meet the new condition. As it is, many broad social changes, as in international re-

lations, may arrive and produce serious consequence long before the situation is grasped. The World War is an example in so far as the lack of social organization was responsible. Partridge and Hoover are among those who sense social change:

Our culture is an experimental culture, and represents an experimental civilization. P. 222.
Partridge, Geo. E. Psychology of Nations, '19

President Hoover has appointed a Committee to study significant social changes in American life...The study will include a description and measurement of the trends of social changes in a fairly wide variety of social fields such as population, inventions, communication, the family, the church, and so forth. The purpose of the work is largely fact-finding, with the idea of uncovering problems that it is feasible to deal with practically at the present time. The committee will be known as the President's Research Committee on Social Trends and will be expected to furnish information which may be of guidance in policy-making to the president. P. 826

American Journal Sociology,; Mar. 1930

INTERDEPENDENCE: Commerce between nations is generally regarded as a simple matter of export and import, in which an excess of exports by value represents our profit. This is looked upon as an endless possibility, but it is really a utopian fancy. It is not realized that all of the gold in the world is a minute quantity compared to the total foreign trade, and that a people must buy in proportion roughly as they would sell. Much less is it recognized that a nation is actually dependent upon others for many of its daily necessities, such as food, medicine and raw materials. Forty-seven percent of U. S. A. imports are raw materials; the people in Great Britain would quickly starve if deprived

of their foreign food supply; other nations are equally dependent. Thus interdependence is a primary and vital condition which needs to be fully and widely explained. Above all, there is the more important fact, that while the government of a nation can prevent any disruption in the supply of local commodities, there is no organization to safeguard the supplies needed from abroad. Other nations can deprive us if they wish; they threatened to do so with rubber; and they nearly starved the German people during the World War. Reprisals do not supply needs; they only increase the conflict. This vital fact of interdependence will remain the core of international difficulty until it is understood by all people, and provided for. Normal trade can be a force for peace as well as a mutual benefit, but only when kept under social control. This applies equally to foreign investments:

British and foreign capital invested in Canada on Jan. 1, 1929, totalled \$5,904,169,000, said an estimate made public today by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

Of this sum \$2,197,682,000 was British, \$3,470,087,000 was from the United States and \$236,400,000 was from other countries.

"Since our national wealth can be estimated for the same date as between \$28,000,000,000 and \$30,000,000,000 it will be seen that outside capital comprises about one-fifth of this total," said the report.

Moreover, it is estimated that Canadians own from 55 percent to 65 percent of the securities of all enterprises located on Canadian soil, and in addition have invested abroad the sum of \$1,745,815,977. Of these Canadian investments abroad, \$95,916,848 is estimated to be in Britain, \$991,651,727 in the United States and \$658,247,401 in other countries.

Detroit Free Press, 4-17-30

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: The people within a nation are accustomed to living under the control of "government" which enacts laws that must be obeyed. These agencies of social control are found in all towns, counties, states and nations. It is natural, therefore, to assume that similar authority would extend to any international organization, and a degree of fear over this supposition is one reason for the objection of many persons to international organization. It may not occur to them that the thousands of associations, churches, clubs, lodges and societies, both local and world-wide, are social organizations, and that the nations can be brought together by a similar social structure for mutual advantage without the odium of "government". There is no arbitrary force to hold the members of such a society to any specific action, yet its affairs are systematized and properly controlled to permit cooperation and to insure fair play. Any member may resign if he wishes. When the interdependence of the nations is understood, the need of social organization will be more apparent. But the broad meaning, value and possible use of this term, compared to the narrower concept of government, needs to be widely explained, before a portion of the public will feel that an institution like the League, for example, can be a benefit without endangering national rights. All social processes require an organization in which to function effectively.

LAW AND POLITICS: Within the nation, the principles of common law and equity seem to have been pushed from general view by a mounting and confusing body of statute law upon which our courts largely depend. And politics within the nation is often characterized more by a division of party groups seeking office than by a discussion of public problems. In world affairs, however, there is no statute law as such. International law rests upon basic principles, custom and precedent, the latter arising out of such matters as arbitration settlements and treaty interpretation. This law is now being codified by a commission. And international politics, as witnessed at the League, centers on world problems; there is no political party organization, but law and politics touch each other. For example a boundary question requires a political adjustment, but it probably also involves various treaties which call for judicial interpretation. Law and politics have a different meaning and a higher standard, therefore, in the League and the World Court than the customary viewpoint held by the average citizen. The social conditions in a world of interdependent nations call for this new concept of law and politics, and the fact needs wide dissemination. Bryce presents an elementary question in this field:

What is the State? What limits are to be fixed to its control of individual freedom? Is it a law unto itself, bound by no moral rules? And if it owes duties to its subjects, does it owe any to other States? or is the preservation of its own existence a duty overriding honor, justice and good faith? P. 27. Bryce, Jas.

The Next Thirty Years, 1917

IMPERIALISM: There has existed always an urge on the part of nations to enlarge their territory and expand their influence. Although occasionally accomplished by purchase or other rightful means, the method of conquest by force, seizure or occupation has been practiced for centuries; conquest was generally regarded as a worthy achievement, and possession was accepted as a mark of ownership. This spirit of imperialism was a fixed policy with many nations. With the growth of interdependence, however, this attitude has involved an increasing danger of conflict, and has been reduced to such methods as would permit some alleged justification, especially since the World War. And under a social organization such as the League, imperialism is completely repudiated and replaced by the normal process of competition. International rules and controls are being established which will prevent conquest, and which seem likely to prevent competition from rising to the level of conflict. Hence the concept of imperialism seems to be dead or in the process of dying. If adequate social organization arrives, the rights of persons and the rights of property will be respected among nations as they are within nations. Hughes and Partridge express the status of imperialism:

'Imperialism,' a phrase which serves as a substitute for thought and suggests the moral indignation which is so often used to cover a multitude of delinquencies in argument. P. 4.

Hughes, C, E.; Our Relations to the Nations of the Western Hemisphere, 1928

Not to conquer but to participate in the
life of the world. P. 223. Partridge, G. E.,
Psychology of Nations, 1919

DIPLOMACY: The primary excuse for national diplomacy was national drive, and the fact that in the absence of a sound international organization, each nation has had to negotiate separately with every other nation. The diplomat often served a ruler rather than a people. In the absence of security, his negotiations were with potential enemies; they were secret, tentative and uncertain. He could know a great deal about his own country and one or two others but he could not know or understand the situation and relationships of all nations. With the growth of interdependence, the coming of international organization, and the need of science and research, the center of action shifts from a direct relationship between states, to a relationship between each state and the international body. The national type of diplomat may even tend to disrupt the new order. His office may continue, but it seems probable that it will be of minor importance, and that it will be eclipsed by the office of the international delegate and the scientific expert. It needs to be recognized, therefore, that the old-time diplomacy between nations cannot be expected to cope with present needs. Specialists in international problems are needed. Burns and Potter concur in this view:

...The truth is that diplomacy which deals traditionally with 'foreign' policy, cannot effectively deal with 'international policy' so long as the danger of war overshadows the whole situation...
P. 131. Burns, C. D., Int. Politics.

If international organization develops very far, so that international assemblies or councils for the regulation of international relations are created, in which the nations are represented by persons who are sent there to debate and vote rather than to negotiate, then only routine administrative details will be left to the resident diplomat. In that case he might well be merely a legal clerk or agent. Furthermore if and in so far as the development of telegraphic communication narrows the discretion of the foreign representative and gives the home office control over him, the same result will follow... P. 106. Potter, P. B.

Intro. to Study of Int. Organization. 1922

MILITARISM: This term is not yet in common use, but it will serve to include and represent what is generally understood by such words as war, preparedness, defense and military action of any kind. Militarism has been a national practice always, and has carried a measure of honor. When nations were comparatively small and self-sufficient, an armed conflict was usually confined to two or three of them. If preparedness served as a successful defense, or if it brought a satisfactory settlement to the victor, it was considered to be highly justified. The use of warfare, the right to engage in it, and a belief that it is a national security, are still widely accepted. The arrival of interdependence and the case of the World War are, however, rapidly repudiating this doctrine. The prospect of a war between nations being localized is very remote - the interests and treaty obligations of others would draw them in. This fact and the frightfulness of modern warfare would undoubtedly raise the cost to both victors and vanquished far beyond any possible gain. No one could predict the combinations or foretell the end. Both local and foreign inter-

ests of every nation would ultimately suffer, and civilization would receive a set-back. Consequently, national militarism cannot now be depended upon as real protection; beyond police power it arouses fear, hinders normal interaction and often reacts as a menace. This concept calls for a new understanding, therefore, as a preliminary step toward the acceptance of international organization as a new form of security. The order of procedure appears to be organization - security - disarmament. All three methods are being pursued, but nations are not likely to abandon their arms until they have acquired security.

GEOGRAPHY: The view has been held that geographic factors divide and safeguard, or endanger, nations. There was a time when a bordering ocean or mountain range provided considerable protection to a nation from its possible enemies. There may still be a measure of safety in such factors but only to a very limited and decreasing degree. San Martin's army crossed the Andes and Napoleon crossed the Alps, with limited equipment. On the other hand it is comparatively easy to pass from Belgium to France or from U. S. A. to Canada, yet these facts have not brought war. Whether nations engage in peace or war, has now come to be a matter of their human relationships largely; the factor of geographical terrain is rapidly assuming a minor position. In another respect, geography is of increasing importance: Nature determined the location of many minerals and other commodities which all nations must draw upon.

To cultivate certain products and carry on particular activities under favorable conditions, man is selecting definite areas. In these respects, geography tends to increase the interdependence of the nations. Thus the world significance of geography consists of at least two important concepts, both of which are rapidly changing. When this is widely understood, international organization will be easier to achieve.

ECONOMICS: When the nations had relatively little contact with each other, economic questions rested largely upon local or national conditions. Considerations of wealth, exchange or trade, and the laws of supply and demand were principally confined to, and treated from the standpoint of, the nation. The determinants of costs, labor and selling prices rarely extended beyond the national boundary. Today, professional economists and the industrial leaders appear to recognize the interdependence of the nations. The great industries are achieving international organizations, while the people and their legislative representatives are still laboring with economic nationalism. The higher tariffs and foreign reprisals reveal this fact. It would be helpful to inform the public that the supply and the price of many staples such as coffee, coal, cotton, sugar, wheat, wool and many others are now determined in a world market, and not in any national setting. Knowledge is needed of the mutual necessity of reciprocity in trade, also of the importance of cooperat-

ing with foreign nations toward their stability, credit, social welfare and buying power. This is now unique to many minds, but if translated to the local principle of desiring a "good neighborhood", it may lead more quickly to international organization and stability. Excellent work is being done by the Economic Consultative Committee of the World Economic Conference under the League of Nations, and their publications are available. The attached comments are typical among international scholars.

A nation orders its economic life best when it applies its energies to the producing of these things in which it enjoys the greatest advantage, whether comparative or absolute. P. 4.

Fraser, H. F., For. Trade & World Politics, 1926

International Relations in economic affairs for the next four years seem likely to be dominated by the controversy between those who believe in the nationalistic or protectionistic and subsidizing policy and those who see far greater prosperity for everybody in international cooperation for all round reduction of tariffs, subsidies and other restrictions to normal commercial intercourse all over the globe...

Kerr, Philip- Sec. to Lloyd-George, 1916-21,
"England & America" - Saturday Rev., 1-26-29.

RACE AND COLOR: This is a difficult and serious problem. The public have a tendency to regard the populations of many nations, and color differences, as distinct racial groups. It seldom matters whether the supposed difference is in physique or in behavior, or in both, it is usually attributed to "race". Thus what may be called national and color types are believed to be separate groups biologically. As a result, the peoples of the world are rather arbitrarily placed in classes and made to stand upon different levels in relation to each other. This sets up

opposition; each class attributes all manner of weaknesses to the people in the other classes, and the danger of conflict is increased. This is racial prejudice, and it is a barrier to international organization. It is a purely subjective attitude, however, resulting from a misconception of race and culture, and the confusion of both. It is very important, therefore, to disseminate the knowledge that the fact of race refers to structure only; that races are not pure; that the theory of differentiation on racial grounds is largely exploded, as the races are about equal in potential capacity; and that the distinctive behavior of each national group represents an acquired culture pattern. If an infant born in any nation, were to be immersed immediately into the environment of any other country, he would acquire the language and other habits of his adopted land. When these facts are widely understood, some of the unjust "racial" antipathy may be expected to subside. Ross illustrates the fallacy of differentiation on racial grounds:

More and more the time honored appeal to Race is looked upon as the resource of ignorance or indolence. To the scholar, the attributing of mental and moral traits of a population to heredity is a confession of defeat, not to be thought of until he has wrung from every factor of life its last drop of explanation. 'Blood' is not a solvent of every problem in national psychology, and 'race' is no longer a jugglers hat from which to draw explanations for all manner of moral contrasts and peculiarities. Nowadays no one charges to inborn differences the characteristic contrasts between Englishmen and Russians, between Jews and Christians, between Javanese and Japanese. The marvellous transformation, today of Japan, tomorrow perhaps of China and Siam and the Phillipines, make one

doubt if even the impassive Oriental is held fast in the net of race... P. 309.

Ross, E. A.; Foundations of Sociology.

LANGUAGE: The ability to communicate is fundamental to understanding. Rudimentary communication can be accomplished by signs, pictures and translations, but the full meaning is rarely transmitted by these methods. It requires spoken or written language to properly convey ideas and feelings, and to arouse genuine interest, appreciation and sympathy. Of all great nations, U. S. A. is the most deficient in language ability. Few of her people can speak or read any tongue except English. Her communication with other peoples is, therefore, often confined to their knowledge and willingness to use her language. This important fact limits the range of action and the standing of her people. Her travellers to other countries are numbered in thousands, yet the knowledge that they gain is largely limited to the eye, the guide-book and the interpreter. They rarely meet the better foreigner; they seldom participate in his life, and do not comprehend his situation. Consequently, they remain "outside" the facts, judge by the standards of their own country, and often return with erroneous opinions. They also, frequently leave a bad impression abroad. With the arrival of the international radio, movie and telephone; with an enlarging exchange of publications; and with a world-wide expansion of industry, the mono-linguist is handicapped. Artificial language has a poor chance in competition with living

languages. English and French are now recognized throughout the world as the international tongues. It is suggested, therefore that the new importance of this subject should be known, and that all educated persons, at least, should possess one of the above languages and one other tongue.

ISOLATION: There is a difference between the principle of isolation and the willingness or desire to maintain it. As a principle, it is fallacious; as a fact, it rarely exists unless under abnormal and more or less injurious conditions. Furthermore, the growth and development of human beings is dependent upon their interaction; this is the only way in which the transmission and diffusion of knowledge can occur. Hence the idea of isolation is contrary to nature, and the desire to maintain it is an impractical concept. U. S. A. has an enormous economic contact with other nations, and her people travel extensively. An element in her population, however, while fostering this trade, desire to maintain a degree of isolation. They would continue to hold this foreign trade and large investments abroad without participating with the other nations, or sharing any responsibility for the social stability and welfare of this world community. This position is not unlike that of the peddler who would utilize the facilities of a town and compete with its merchants while refusing to cooperate and declining to pay any taxes. When it is known that this isolationist policy is impractical and unsafe, international organization will

be more hopeful. There is a point at which cooperation is useful and not inconsistent with independence. Barnes is one of many who support the value of contact between cultures.

It has long been recognized by anthropologists and cultural historians that the contact of cultures is far the most effective force in breaking down stagnation, repetition, localism and provincialism in the civilization of any people...

P. 16. Barnes, H. E.; Hist. & Prospects
of the Social Sciences.

DEMOCRACY: There are many stages or degrees, and many views, of democracy. In general it is an ideal of associated living based upon a recognition of common rights and Mutual interests as implied in the principle of "equality of opportunity". There are those who view democracy as complete freedom from restraint, and a large element do not understand that its benefits carry a responsibility. True democracy requires that each shall give up a certain freedom to the common will, that each in consequence may enjoy a certain security, but this entails a voluntary support of the general will - a responsibility. The growth of democracy within nations and the growing interdependence between them, calls for new emphasis on the obligations of both citizen and nation. It is suggested that the citizen be taught that there is no guarantee of democracy, and that its privileges, together with the stability of the nation are entirely dependent on the degree to which he fulfills his responsibility in their defense. This might well be translated to concrete illustration. Likewise, interdependence, and the protection of

national rights calls for an extension of this knowledge to an application of democracy between the nations. If equality of opportunity is desired, it must be granted. Full freedom of the national will is inconsistent. A portion must be given up to the international will in order to be enjoyed by the nation. This can be gradual as circumstances warrant, but the principle is sound, and when widely understood, and followed, a democratic type of international organization will be nearer. Garner quotes Lord Curzon in this connection:

...Lord Curzon has not incorrectly observed, "foreign affairs, if you examine the matter, are really domestic affairs, for this reason: they touch the life, the interest, and the pocket of every member of the community."

P. 14 Garner, J. W.; Am. For. Policies, 1928

SOVEREIGNTY: It is worth while to note how man is gradually dropping unsound theories. For a long time, and until quite recently, some rulers considered themselves to be absolute sovereigns. They even possessed the power of life and death over their subjects; their will was absolute. There were also limited monarchies in which the rulers claimed sovereignty but actually divided its exercise with their people through a parliamentary power. Finally, modern democracy arrived and vested sovereignty ostensibly in the people, especially in U. S. A. In this country, the exercise of this sovereignty is deputized between local, state and national authorities who are often regarded as possessing the real sovereign powers since they are the only persons in actual control. In a prac-

tical sense, sovereignty is therefore divided between - say three separate groups of authorities. No one of them can usurp the specific authority of another, and the citizen cannot recover his powers. Thus sovereignty is divided for convenience within the nation, and the plan works well. The average citizen does not object to this, but he believes that his country is and should be absolutely sovereign in relation to other nations, and he is inclined to resent any implication to the contrary. This attitude is naturally a barrier to any form of international organization. It might be helpful, therefore, to explain this division of sovereignty in the nation, and to show also that every treaty between nations is really a reduction of national sovereignty. This might lead to a general understanding that some of the powers of a nation can be, and often are, transferred or deputized for convenience and without harm. This new concept of sovereignty is in keeping with democracy, and seems necessary to an improved international attitude. Buell is one of many who recognize this position:•

...Under this postal convention, virtually every state has surrendered its "sovereignty" over foreign postage rates; but nobody has worried about it, simply because this method of cooperation has advanced the interests of every country in the world. P. 138. Buell, R. L.;
International Relations, 1925

NATION AND NATIONALISM: These terms are distinct, but many citizens seem inclined to confuse them, and to regard either one as just cause for a more or less pompous or

subjective attitude which can be quite harmful to international friendships. Any particular display, especially in the presence of foreigners, is not only uncalled for, but it arouses ire, is bad form and decidedly provincial. The words Ohio or Indiana may mean much to those who live there, but they have long ceased to exhibit undue emotion over the fact. It is equally possible to feel deeply for all that the nation may mean, and yet exercise a commendable restraint. It may clear this situation to explain that the term nation is coming to mean merely a geographical area with its population and government,-a purely objective concept, and this appears to be the most desirable viewpoint. It provides a sound basis from which to calmly approach any relevant facts, whether national or international. On the other hand, all subjective and emotional phenomena within nations are being confined to the term "nationalism". This helps to separate objective facts from feelings. The facts then become suitable subject-matter for international discussion, cooperation and agreement. It is recognized that the content of nationalism exists, but that agreement is unlikely, and that if left to itself, it may gradually subside or merge in a cosmopolitan or international feeling as the world peoples advance in a mutual organization. In so far as nationalism can be set over by itself, its unfavorable influence tends to be reduced. Nothing desirable can result from a surplus of nationalism. All authorities agree on this

point, but only two are quoted:

Let the best side of every nation be better known. Each nation has made its contribution to the sum of human greatness. Dwell on that, and not on the failings. P. 43. Lloyd-George;
Where are We Going?

...In the United States, each one of us is subject to city, State, and national officials, and we do not feel that this situation involves any practical difficulty. In principle, however, this double allegiance is a significant step towards international or interstate federation.

P. 142 Potter & West; Int. Civics, 1927

GOVERNMENT: The theory of government in a democracy like U. S. A. is almost ideal; the faults lie in its practice, and they trace directly to the citizen who often neglects his duty to himself. Instead of organizing and selecting the best leaders and statesmen, he usually accepts the "ticket" which the well-organized office-seekers present to him. Occasionally, he gets a good government, but the method is weakened by the fact that the office-seeker must become such a specialist in politics, to win, that he may have neither aptitude nor time to become a statesman. Hence the voter needs to be reminded that his interests, both at home and abroad, will be advanced little further than the ability of the leadership, which he has authorized, permits. Furthermore, the voter should remember that his own knowledge, desires and support limit the acts of his representatives. Another fact for the citizen to know, is that the increasing complexity of national and foreign affairs, and their inter-relationship, calls for a technical knowledge and scientific treatment

which transcend the ability of the many politicians. Government is coming to be regarded as an objective and scientific function, as a service which the citizen buys and must pay for, and must therefore diligently examine to avoid deception. When efficient service is soberly demanded from government, there will be a better foundation for international organization, and the expert will replace the amateur, as described by Barnes:

...Bureaus of research will be much more generally used and their influence much more definitely felt. The expert will supersede the amateur. The well trained student of politics will find a ready place in the administrative and legislative branches of government, as we already recognize his importance in the judiciary. P. 442.

Barnes, H. E.; Hist. & Prospects of the
Social Sciences, 1925

PUBLIC OPINION: In the days of autocratic government, there was almost no united or influential public opinion; people merely obeyed the commands of their rulers. But under modern democracy and rapid communication, public opinion is becoming such a powerful force that it is now regarded as the final arbiter and sanction of the laws and of all public questions. It influences national and international policies, and guides officials. Comparatively little is known as to how it forms and functions but its subtle importance and value are unquestioned. The accuracy and soundness of public opinion are dependent upon the degree of propaganda and especially upon the knowledge and judgment with which the public interpret the available data. This is particularly true of international matters

since in this wide field, the public lean largely upon indirect information. For these reasons, public opinion is a comparatively new and very important concept, and it is suggested, therefore, that its nature and use be widely explained, in the hope that the citizen will objectively select and value the material which enters into his opinions. If this can be accomplished, it will supply a fundamental influence and sanction for a safe and sound international organization. Bryce and Hoover are among the statesmen who emphasize the new value of public opinion.

When the ministers of a country have to submit their negotiations and their treaties to the public judgment before the nation is committed to a certain course there may be a better chance of avoiding ignoble or harsh and aggressive action... P. 205. Bryce, Jas.;
Int. Relations, 1922

The difficulties in the instance of the Chinese-Russian dispute show the clear need of some method of mobilization of public opinion against the violation of the Kellogg pact. By international conference on specific questions, such as disarmament, we have advanced the method of cooperation in settlement of old standing dangers... Hoover, Herbert; Det. F. P., 4-15-30

EDUCATION: In the average mind, the concept of education is probably confined largely to the teaching of youth in school and college, whereas "formal education" is a more correct term for this specific period and function. Broadly speaking, education is a continuous process throughout the greater portion of the life of the individual. Whether in play, at work, or in any form of contact with environment, education occurs, whenever active consciousness exists, and some of the most important facts and

principles are learned outside of the school room. However obtained, education - knowledge - is the only method by which man can meet the problems of life. Some of this knowledge is acquired by what are known as primary or face-to-face contacts, but with the expansion of activity and interest to national and now to international horizons, an increasing amount of knowledge must be gained through such indirect means as books, reports and the press. Furthermore, the acquisition of this newer knowledge and the ability to intelligently interpret it has a new importance to the citizen who would live under a democracy which must be maintained by a competent public opinion. Education through indirect channels has a broader meaning and value to every person, therefore, and should be widely explained. The psycho-social and pedagogic implication of increasing contacts are also suggested by such authorities as Partridge and Dewey:

It is through participation in activities that are International in scope that in our opinion, the best education in the idea of Internationalism will be obtained. P. 192. Partridge, Geo. E.

Psychology of Nations, 1919

...It is not enough to teach the horrors of war and to avoid everything which would stimulate international jealousy and animosity. The emphasis must be put upon whatever binds people together in cooperative human pursuits and results, apart from geographical limitations. The secondary and provisional character of national sovereignty in respect to the fuller, freer, and more fruitful association and intercourse of all human beings with one another must be instilled as a working disposition of mind. P. 114. Dewey, John;

Democracy & Education, 1916

LEADERSHIP: Individuals are factors in groups, and

group life is therefore the unit of society. Every group, whether large or small, has a leader; it cannot otherwise function successfully or retain its coherence. The behavior and achievement of every group is limited by the capacity of its leader and the degree of his support. Adequate leadership is therefore a necessary and most important factor in every undertaking. With the growth of indirect contacts, especially on national and international levels, many citizens are unable to obtain a close view or a detailed knowledge; they may be obliged to rely largely upon their chosen leaders. In such large matters, the average man must accept and carry out whatever action is taken whether wise or not. All of the twenty concepts which are being discussed call for unusually alert leadership, and the fullest measure of cooperation both within and between nations. No interaction between peoples is more complex and sensitive than international relations, and since grave consequences are in the balance, it is suggested that the need and serious importance of present-day leadership be widely described and emphasized. The catastrophe of the World War was at least partly the result of the lack of international leadership. If democracy rests upon education, both are dependent upon a recognition of the need of competent leaders, and this view is shared by Zimmern and Partridge among many others:

Knowledge is power. Authority without knowledge is powerless. Power disassociated from authority is a revolutionary force. Unless the modern world works out a satisfactory

relationship between expert knowledge and popular control, the days of democracy are numbered. P. 62. Zimmern, A.

Learning & Leadership

To increase sensitiveness to Leadership but also to make that sensitiveness selective of true values, is one of the great educational problems of a democracy. P. 234.

Partridge, G. E.; Psychology of Nations, 1919

The twenty concepts have now been examined and it is suggested that the wide dissemination of their true meaning and importance will provide a sound basis upon which to carry out the following methods toward international organization:

WORLD COURT: Since provision under reservations, for the adherence of U. S. A. to the World Court has been arranged and signed, it only remains for the Senate to ratify the act, to make it effective. It is recommended that this be done quickly for it will strengthen the standing of the Court, place its services at the disposal of this government on a proper footing, and especially because it is an immediate method of gaining a much-needed good-will abroad. All the leading jurists urge this procedure, but it needs the whole-hearted support of public opinion to overcome some prejudice and procrastination in the Senate.

COOPERATE WITH THE LEAGUE: The country does not appear to be sufficiently informed regarding the nature of present international problems and the organization or services of the League, to warrant immediate membership, and since indifference or unofficial cooperation leads to

awkward situations, immediate open and official cooperation is proposed. This may temporarily arouse opposition from a few persons, but there is no valid point upon which they can stand, and there is likely to be a large majority who will applaud and support this advance in policy.

Other nations will welcome this action with an enthusiasm which will relieve the present tensivity over the tariff, clear the way for an adjustment of this and similar difficulties, and win back much of our prestige abroad. As for us, we should immediately benefit from the closer contact, and gain an international experience which will permeate the country and qualify public opinion on many international issues, including the question of League membership. Our country is already officially cooperating in a very few matters, but a general declaration of intention to do so seems necessary to put us en rapport with other peoples. Such action might take the following forms:

1. Official recognition of the League.
2. Proposal to officially cooperate in every practical way.
3. Offer to contribute proportionately toward certain activities.
4. Set up a League division within the State Dept.
5. Establish an office in Geneva to facilitate cooperation.

KELLOGG PACT: The implications of this Pact and its whole-hearted acceptance by some sixty-one of a possible sixty-four nations, offer a unique opportunity to U. S. A. to render a great service to a willing and waiting world. The Pact outlaws war, except for defense, but it provides

no definition of this elastic term, and no definite machinery for peaceable adjustment of disputes. A committee under the League, which met last March to close the "gap" in the Covenant caused by the Pact, have prepared an amendment for the next Assembly, which may thus harmonize the two instruments, whereupon the League will provide the needed peace machinery. But since U. S. A. is not a member at Geneva, yet is bound by the Pact, her only recourse in an emergency is the League or the delay incidental to arranging for outside arbitration. Even should she have adhered to the Court, the dispute might not be justiciable. Obligations to defend the Pact seem implied but are not clear, and as mentioned - defense is left open. U. S. A. might clarify and strengthen the whole matter therefore, by some action such as proposing the League facilities as a complement to the Pact, and volunteering to cooperate with the League for this purpose. The League, thus strengthened, and supported by World public opinion, could not be defied by any small group of nations bent upon war. Defense and aggression might then be more narrowly defined. Some such action as here suggested, seems necessary to complete the Kellogg Pact. It may be added that the Pact and the fact that practically all commodities may have an indirect war use, appear to eliminate neutrality, yet the meaning of this term might well be settled by international declaration. These steps would supplement general cooperation with the League. Potter and West comment on the

Kellogg Pact:

...Outlawry of war is a legal attack on the legal side of war; it must be bought by providing a legal substitute in community legal protection. This brings us back to our old problem and our old method of attack - the establishment and operation of an international federal government with power to enforce its rules and decisions. P. 194.
Potter & West, International Civics, 1927

REPARATIONS: This subject is so complex that only a general suggestion can be made. The fact that U. S. A. is the principle creditor exposes her to the danger of much ill-feeling which might take form in some retaliatory effort. In the opinion of some expert economists, notably J. Maynard Keynes of the British Treasury, it is impossible for Germany to lower wages and readjust her internal life sufficiently to create the enormous surplus sums necessary to pay the reparations. Some authorities also find that if she were able to do so, the transfer would dump such a quantity of goods into the markets of the Allies as to demoralize their own production, employment and market conditions. In the meantime, Germany would be unable to buy abroad, and would be practically off the list as a customer. As a consequence, many believe that attempts to collect will cause much harm and that cancellation is the best policy. The Young Committee struggled with these problems for months, and their seriousness is complicated by the fact that Germany has been obliged to continue to borrow more than she has been able to pay. A reckoning day or a crash appears to be ahead, and incidentally, U. S. A. has loaned most of the money. For all these reasons, it is suggested

that the situation be closely watched and adjusted. Reparations is outside the League, but it could severely shake any international organization. In a lecture last July in Geneva, Mr. Keynes said:

...If the United States really advanced their loans as an investment, then the things said in the United States at the time of the War were some of the greatest hypocracies in history! If, however, the U. S. decide to make concessions to Europe, let them ask, as a high price, the freeing of Germany from her Reparation obligations, and thus pass on their action as a real foundation for the peace of the world!

INTERNATIONAL BANK: In consequence of the Reparations problem "The Bank of International Settlements" has just been established in Basle for the principle purpose of smoothing the conditions in international exchange arising from the attempted transfer of Reparations. This bank can perform some other functions but its present ownership is distributed among the leading banks in a few important nations, and there appears to be no public supervision. In the opinion of prominent financiers, however, the stability of national currency, credit and exchange are now so important to the welfare of any international organization, as to call for a truly international bank whose transactions shall be subject to the final check and review of the League. It is suggested that such a bank might well be established. The supervision of the League would prevent it from falling under the control of any nation or regional group, and would permit the denial of credit to an aggressor nation in time of crises. This would add

strength to the League's policy of peacefully preventing war in order that a dispute may be rationally adjusted. It has been proposed that one-third of the profits of such a bank go to its reserves, one-third to its member banks as dividends, and that the remaining third would soon be sufficient to meet the total budget of the League. Such a bank would be an actual factor in an international organization. The U. S. A. Reserve System indicates the international need:

There must be control over credit expansion somewhere or the resources of the Reserve banks will contribute to inflation when the spirit of inflation is rife, with the result that they will be exhausted and unavailable when they are really needed. The purpose of the Reserve act was to create reserves which would not be exhausted in times of general expansion... P. 90. Monthly Survey; Nat. City Bk. N. Y., 1928

TARIFF STUDY: Decision regarding a tariff is still regarded as a purely national prerogative, but in the light of interdependence and other facts previously developed, it would appear that there is neither justice nor wisdom in this position. It is rather an attitude of individualism, supported by undue nationalism, expediency or politics and perhaps a paucity of world knowledge. It is not in keeping with the times. The proposed general increase in U. S. A. tariffs has been officially protested by thirty-three nations, and a number of them have just enacted severe reprisals which have already contributed to a severe trade depression. The fundamental principle is simple - if we would sell abroad, we must permit a reasonable entry of foreign goods in return. Too arbitrary a

position will prevent international organization by provoking enmity. It is suggested, therefore, that competent national economists meet in international conference, consider national sources, capacities and needs and arrive at a policy of exchange of commodities and tariffs consistent with standards of living as far as possible. Results will be difficult, and schedules will be found below or above which a nation will not "trade", but a compromise will develop on many items. This method might reduce the friction caused by the arbitrary and independent action of each nation, and lead a little closer to international organization. A Geneva Tariff Conference in 1930 resulted as follows:

...Three main lines of difficulties were apparent, some countries exhibiting both of the first two cited below:

(1) The new nations in Eastern Europe, such as Poland and Czechoslovakia, while not opposed to the idea of a tariff holiday, are inclined to view it reluctantly during the period of industrial upbuilding which they are seeking to promote.

(2) The definitely agricultural countries, such as Rumania and Finland, are dubious as to the political consequences of any agreement which would tend to make them permanently dependent on the industrialized nations for certain manufactured goods.

(3) The strongly nationalist governments of Italy and France are definitely opposed to stabilizing certain customs duties at a time when they are anxious to forward consolidation and expansion of large-scale industries by keeping out such competitive imports as American automobiles... P. 7

..There has been fruitful consideration of the future of the most-favored nation clause in the event of development of multilateral commercial treaty arrangements. And for the first time since the war the vital element of stability has been introduced into the European tariff situation, viewed as a whole. This good start will be followed up by the League. (17 nations signed the final act.) P. 8. Morley, Felix, Geneva Correspondent; League of Nations News; April 1930

REDUCE ARMAMENT: It is first necessary to realize that national disarmament is a utopian fancy in the absence of the security offered by international organization. Even a reduction of armament is more difficult to obtain than any other form of cooperation, as recent efforts to accomplish it have shown. Nevertheless, the imposing armies and navies of the world arouse fear and maintain a tension between all nations. Continuous effort to reduce fighting power should be made, therefore, as any method of reducing tension will be an aid to the consummation of international organization. There is no other road to security, and security must actually exist before the great danger and immense cost of armament can be eliminated.

NATIONAL OFFICIALS: It is hardly possible to overestimate the value of the goodwill established by such visits as that of Premier MacDonald to the United States and by President elect Hoover to Latin America. It puts the public in good humor, increases the support that they give to the efforts of their leaders, and permits face to face contacts from which come good understanding and important treaties, as well as good business. This feeling is attested by the following headings in the New York Times, 11-11-28:

1. Hoover is planning to leave this week for South America.
2. Hoover Trip pleases Borah.
3. Argentina plans Greeting.
4. Peru Expects Gain in Relations.
5. Virgin Islands invite Hoover.
6. Cuban Officials are pleased.
7. Mexico Ready to invite him.

8. Canal Zone awaits Hoover.
9. British Interested in Hoover's Mission.
10. Rome calls trip "Master Stroke."

A change in foreign affairs now brings an immediate effect in local affairs. Much national legislation touches the lives of other peoples. If national officials could have a first hand knowledge of the world and a personal acquaintance with some of the officials of other countries, it would broaden their viewpoint and tend to reduce friction. A great many high officials of other nations spend a few days in Geneva during the summer session of the Assembly; they discover unsuspected good qualities in foreigners; they are amazed at the success of cooperative effort; and they return home with new inspiration and many friendships. The writer speaks from personal experience in suggesting that our government officers combine business with pleasure if necessary, and increase their foreign acquaintance.

INSTITUTE OF INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION: The League has a division of Intellectual Cooperation. Its committee consists of many world-renowned scholars who work for international cooperation and organization on the intellectual plane. The Committee has the aid of a section of the Secretariat, and its resolutions are given effect through the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation which is located in Paris. They have already established national institutes in thirty-four nations (1929), and it is suggested that these organizations provide an excellent channel through

which every branch of local study and intellectual life can be expanded to include international knowledge and contacts, especially in all educational fields.

INTERNATIONAL DIRECTORY: Many persons engaged in some occupation or line of work, desire to keep in touch with the progress of the activity abroad, and foreign travellers may desire to attend the meeting of various foreign societies, but the exchange of adequate information is too meagre. The national Institutes of Intellectual Cooperation might publish and distribute quarterly to the libraries and colleges of the world, an international directory of the national meetings and events which may be of interest to foreigners. The directory could state the name, location, dates, outline of subject-matter, conditions of attendance and the address of the secretary. This plan would be of especial value to travellers who often miss important meetings because there is no recognized and reliable source of information.

PRESS: The press has a great responsibility to supply complete, reliable, and useful international information as the foundation for the public opinion and consequent action of every nation. The writer has investigated the methods of the leading press agencies, and believes that, on the whole, they make every effort to maintain accuracy and integrity of fact. The quantity of foreign data is increasing, but is still too limited. The public can improve the foreign news situation by calling upon the

press for more data, and by requesting that it include social, economic and political matter of a useful and factual nature. The press will gladly conform, but various associations, societies and individuals must let their desires be known. There are papers whose desire for circulation leads them into a low sensationalism. They stretch or warp the truth and supply ready-made opinions rather than facts. It is believed that the self-respecting reader desires facts and prefers to form his own opinions. Viscount Bryce points out that some papers hastily publish unjustified attacks and sneers against other nations, which of course "reach home", are long remembered, and instill much ill-feeling.

Although American papers have rapidly increased their content of foreign news since the World War, the volume is still much below that found in leading European papers. An average daily issue of the London Times devotes two pages to objective foreign news. The actual headings in the issue of Sept. 20, 1929 number 32 and are listed below; 17 small notices are also in this issue, making 49 in all:

1. Failure of Penal Ordinance, Hong-Kong.
2. Pretoria Statue to Botha, Pretoria.
3. Native Policy in South Africa, Bloemfontein.
4. Hungarian Army Manoeuvres, Budapest.
5. Canadian Pacific and Welsh Coal, Ottawa.
6. Mr. MacDonald's Visit to Canada, Ottawa.
7. Latvians Condemned to Death by Soviet, Riga.
8. Labour Policy, Melbourne.
9. Training of Students, Rome.
10. Reparations in Eastern Europe, Budapest.
11. Bihar and the Simon Commission, Calcutta.
12. Italian Shot near Cannes, Cannes.

13. Stranded Immigrants in Montreal, Ottawa.
 14. Iraq Under the Mandate.
 15. Question of Tax Reduction, Paris.
 16. Late Tsar's "Fortune" in U. S., Paris.
 17. French Mail Aeroplane Feared Lost, Paris.
 18. Canadian Vessel Fired on, Halifax.
 19. U. S. and Foreign Trade, New York.
 20. Case of Canada and Australia, Geneva.
 21. Lord Cecil's Plea for Advance, Geneva.
 22. Labour Attitude, Wellington
 23. Australian Government's Position, Canberra
 24. Anglo-Polish Telephone, Warsaw.
 25. Profits of Big Corporations, Washington.
 26. Tailless Aeroplane, Berlin.
 27. Iraq and the League, Bagdad.
 28. Sir Cecil Hurst Elected, Geneva.
 29. Tension in Vienna, Vienna.
 30. Mr. Whitley's Departure for India, Bombay.
 31. Mawson Antarctic Expedition, Adelaide.
 32. The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, Alexandria.
- Telegrams in Brief: 17 items, totaling 49.
London Times: 9-20-29.

RADIO: Radio, and all that it may mean, is a tremendous influence for international understanding and organization. International hook-ups do much to annihilate distance, to stimulate interest in other countries, and to establish ties. The words "King of Great Britain" may only have called up a picture of some impersonal and sidtant potentate, but when his voice is heard over the radio, he becomes a human being even to those who have never seen him. It seems only necessary for foreign peoples to become real by some form of contact, to create interest and sympathy, and to learn that human nature is the same there as here. Radio has wide possibilities for the cultivation and retention of a second language; even local hook-ups with schools at certain hours - say for a French speaker, can be developed. The British secondary schools are already using radio. It can be widely expanded throughout the

world.

MOVIE: Another great force toward international organization is the movie, but its wonderful possibilities in this field have scarcely been touched. \$30,000 has been expended upon a film showing the League in operation, and it is available for distribution through the League of Nations Association of New York City. Such travel talks as are given by Holmes and by Newman together with views of African animals are useful, but they lean toward tourist interest. It would be more desirable to circulate films showing the actual production of important commodities - say rubber - which this country imports. The process could be shown progressively, and would be of particular value if given a social setting by weaving in scenes of the home, school and community life of the people. Conversely, foreign views showing the arrival and use of American exported products would catch the eye and tell the story of national interdependence. The writer, arriving in Japan, experienced a strange feeling of distance, but the sight of a Singer sewing machine, although operated by a Japanese, quickly dispelled this strangeness. The machine was a connecting medium which transmitted and revealed a common interest. From that moment, the Japanese were no longer strangers. A descendant of the ancient Incas in Cuzco became a friend through a common experience with an old Ford car. The movie, assisted by the new application of sound, can bring the world's peoples together if its possibilities are utilized.

ADVERTISING: It will probably always be easier to sell the people what they think they want, than to raise their standards, yet history reveals that standards have often been raised when a useful principle has been supported by a courageous effort. The final success of the electric light, dentistry and vaccination are illustrations. In comparison, it would appear to be easier to stimulate the sale of olives or silk or any foreign product by cleverly uncovering and describing relevant facts regarding the foreign sources which may be little known. For example, the historical significance of the olive tree, a picture or story of silk culture in Japan, or how we pay the South Africans for the diamonds, gold and rubber which they send to us, are all possible methods of lifting advertising to a double use, and thus contributing to the social welfare of the world. New sources and new markets, along with an expansion of interest, knowledge, and understanding can often be developed in this way by the subtle use of advertising. The advertising agencies can render a valuable service to the world in this manner. The photographers' Association are developing a service for obtaining authentic photographs of events and scenes that may occur in any nation.

AUTHORS: With the increase of foreign travel and interdependence, there is an increase in the demand and need for world knowledge. The scholar, banker, manufacturer, professional man, statesman, farmer and even the worker,

want to know how this or that foreign situation may affect their local problems. At least they will more and more need to know. This opens a comparatively new field in U. S. A. for the serious author. Even the fiction writer can locate his story in a foreign setting, utilize the romantic period, or weave in the social and historical factors, that bear upon the international situation. The cultivated writer who visions the ideal of world democracy, can render a great educational service, whatever his special field may be. The author can exert a wide influence, and prepare the ground for international organization.

LIBRARIES: Following the author, the publisher, bookseller and especially the librarian, can suggest, encourage and stimulate the production and distribution of books and periodicals which will cultivate and expand the public interest and knowledge of the world, its peoples, and their relationships. By circular, bulletin, display and newspaper notice they can assist in qualifying the public to meet the expansion of national problems in the new world setting. Practically every subject has an international connection or implication which will often be of importance to the student. But in U. S. A., the public does not yet appear to be sufficiently acquainted with the recent works on foreign subjects, hence some assistance is suggested. The League offers an information service to libraries or others upon various plans.

CHURCHES: How to maintain the membership is a growing

problem in many churches. Almost every method, even gymnastics, has been tried. But since the church is founded upon the teachings of Christ, it would appear that its activities are naturally confined to the spiritual and moral issues between men. And in this connection, the tension and conflict between nations offers an enormous field in which the effort of the church could be well expanded. The growing need for better international understanding, and the difficulties involved, make it a timely, worthy, and appropriate subject for a united and objective effort on the part of the churches. They may achieve some results, especially if they will connect their moral teachings to the concrete facts and relations between the nations.

ASSOCIATIONS AND SOCIETIES: Regardless of the object or the area embraced by any specific group, it will probably have some international interest or connection, or some occasion on which world affairs can be considered. The membership will often include someone who has had a foreign contact which can be utilized, or persons with such knowledge can be brought in. Foreign matters can be made to be both informing and entertaining. Where the conditions permit, it is suggested that questions and discussion be encouraged, since general participation provokes thought, stimulates investigation, adds to the interest and develops the subject. International relations is a broad field; it concerns every one, and is therefore a good subject for frequent discussion. If continued, it is

likely to lead to the problem of international organization. The Bibliography will provide necessary reference matter, and if possible, the information service of the Foreign Policy Association should be available for reliable current data.

ADULT EDUCATION: Plato urged people to continue their studies after the formal education period, and Spencer in his essay on Education, pointed out that the average person was compelled to learn much about life after leaving school. The great scholars and the most successful men continue to be good students. Adult education is expanding, and while university guidance is an advantage, it is not necessary. Any adult may turn his spare time to profitable enjoyment by the pursuit of any definite branch of learning. A daily schedule will enable him to overcome any desultory effort, until he is well into his subject, when interest and an arranged contact with others in the same field, will yield a keen satisfaction and raise his whole level of life and service. Many adults will find the international field to be especially absorbing; it will tie in with almost any subject or occupation, and important daily events keep it a live and interesting topic when handled by an informed person. It will prove worthy the intelligence and spare time of any true student. Institutes for the study of political science and allied subjects are held in Williamstown, Mass., the Universities of Chicago, California and elsewhere. Having first educated himself by

wide reading, deliberation, and worth-while contacts, the adult can acquire some leadership in his community. The appended bibliography, and the service rendered by the Foreign Policy Ass'n. of New York, also the World Peace Foundation of Boston, are recommended.

"International Book News" is published by the World Peace Foundation for the purpose of keeping the American public advised of the great variety of serviceable material made available by official and semi-official international cooperative agencies, - as well as by the World Peace Foundation itself. The News will also contain announcements of new publications on subjects of current or special interest. The News is an integral part of the service of the World Peace Foundation in making facts on international relations and international cooperation available to the public in authoritative pamphlet and book form and in the official publications of the League, the International Labor Office, the Permanent Court of International Justice, and other international cooperative bodies.

International Book News will be sent to interested readers, without charge, on request. P. 2.

World Peace Foundation 1929.

FOREIGN TRAVEL AGENCIES: After considerable experience with various agencies, the writer believes that they can render a more valuable service, and increase their business, by ascertaining the occupation, special interest or purpose of voyagers, and arranging to supply them with foreign data of a more useful and extensive nature. The employment of one or two widely travelled persons would supply each customer with more specific information for his particular purpose. Special directories to each nation, covering institutions, locations, meetings and important events should be available, as suggested above, and should be kept up-to-date. Present printed matter is

largely designed to induce journeys and tours over routes which may have been previously covered, or which may not be worth while. If an effort is made to induce contact with foreign persons and events, rather than aimless wanderings, many customers will be better satisfied; they can go abroad at less expense, and will have reason to repeat their journeys more often, since they will have made friends and established useful contacts. An agent with direct foreign experience can assist associations and societies in group travel, and can facilitate their contact with similar groups abroad, through foreign correspondents. Reciprocal travel will thus be encouraged. International understanding will thus be advanced.

FOREIGN TRAVELLERS: No method will put a person in tune with any other nation unless supplemented by direct contact. Living among another people gathers innumerable scenes and incidents into a cumulative and visual configuration, and clothes it with meaning. It also sweeps away many of the myths of the homeland, and broadens the understanding and sympathy. But the uninformed traveller, especially the mere "tourist" sees only the exterior, does not recognize a difference in tradition and custom, and is likely to judge by his own standards; he learns little. Preparation is necessary; the geography, history, social-economic and political life, distances, money system, and if possible the language and cards of introduction should all enter into the equipment. Above all,

the stay in each nation should be long enough to permit living with the people. Participation in business or some activity will then add a fulness of meaning and color the whole picture with feeling. Only then will that nation be really understood. It is this inner knowledge and feeling which should be gained, but it all depends upon the degree of preparation, tolerance, contact and insight. It cannot be pushed or directly sought; it is rather a by-product of time and participation, but it will foster international organization. It is equally desirable to utilize every opportunity to invite foreign individuals and groups to visit this country, and to assist them in forming correct impressions. Exaggeration should be especially avoided, since it is likely to react to our disadvantage. The wide-spread belief abroad, that U. S. A. is rolling in wealth has been partly caused by the well-known American exuberance of spirit and careless use of money. In other and older nations, money is not the measure of social position. Professor Zimmern's views will help to orient the traveller:

'Travellers tales'...are now too often synonymous with ill-natured gossip based on an experience with a hoted bill or a dispute over a window in a carriage...Great journeys and little minds go ill together. P. 48. The final stage of the ordinary citizens education will consist in a first hand experience of foreign countries acquired under conditions which promote true international understanding... This may be described as the School of International Contacts. P. 49.

Zimmern, A.; Learning & Leadership.

EDUCATIONAL OFFICIALS: On the whole, educational officials are highly respected, and their work is appreciated. In the present stage of democracy, however, their scholastic ideals are often subjected to political control. The necessity of being responsive to political power, may divide their efforts and reduce their opportunity to keep abreast of educational method. A leader in any field is responsible for the welfare of his followers; they look to him for the solution of problems and for improvement in method. Education is fundamental and far-reaching influence, and since new experiments and new methods are constantly being tried, it is believed that the educational official should maintain the broadest possible contacts with other leaders in his field. It is suggested, therefore, that they form an international organization for the comparative study of the methods used in all of the nations, and that they give special attention to the ways and means of expanding or altering present curricula to include the international implications which interdependence now calls for. An exchange of official viewpoints upon this subject would be most helpful to every nation, both internally and externally.

EXCHANGE OF TEACHERS: There are those who, on gaining experience with the world, are inclined to regard the teaching profession as a theoretical, academic and cloistered group. It would be equally subjective and unsound to say that the man of the world lacks ideals and educa-

tion. It is sound to say, however, that an exchange of views and of environment is often beneficial. An international exchange of teachers will give their efforts a different response and bring them new ideas and fresh inspiration. It will bring a new presentation to students. Moreover, it will correct some errors, multiply contacts, lead to valuable friendships, and broaden international understanding. It is suggested that when possible, the valuable seminar method should be adopted. Funds for this purpose are urgently needed. Dr. Duggan, director of the Institute of International Education in New York, makes the following statement in his annual report for 1929:

...But the United States is known in Latin America chiefly by its movies, its jazz and other aspects of its life which do not add to its prestige. Personal contacts are made chiefly by salesmen who frequently leave a bad impression as to our education and ideals. The Latin Americans resent the fact that apparently we are interested solely in commercial intercourse with them and not interested in cultural contacts as is the case with some of the most advanced European countries which send some of their finest scholars, publicists, and educators to lecture in the Latin American universities. P. 7.

Seven teachers from England were entertained by the English-speaking Union of New York for several months in 1929, and their work was very well received. It is believed that an exchange of language teachers would be especially beneficial and that it might be arranged on a large scale.

SABBATICAL PERIODS: In a democratic world, the development of international peace and security depends so

largely upon education, that regular sabbatical periods for foreign contact and study seem to be necessary. Those charged with the duty of educating youth must have an international experience and outlook, and be able to handle their subject in its application to world problems. Cecil Rhodes provided a fund from which qualified members of the Oxford staff may enjoy periods of foreign travel and study. The foreign interests and investments of U. S. A. have become so important to the nation and therefore to every citizen, that the national government would seem to be justified in contributing to an educational fund for the national expansion of world knowledge. Such an appropriation would effect a tremendous saving if it ultimately assisted in accomplishing international organization and thereby reduced the colossal expense of armament. A first use for such a fund would be to acquaint educators with international facts through sabbatical leave and foreign study.

FOREIGN STUDY: It is not only necessary for educational officials and teachers to be well grounded in international matters, but it is also important that students - especially during the formative period - receive a thorough preparation and then be immersed in a foreign environment whenever possible. A face-to-face contact with foreign students and teachers is suggested. For example, in two summers, the schools of two countries could be experienced, or in some cases a year could be spent abroad

between the high-school and college periods. The Institute of International Education of New York City is already working in this field but its funds are limited. The national fund proposed above might contribute toward such foreign study for especially qualified students. It is also recommended that more adults take advantage of the many opportunities for study abroad. The Geneva School of International Studies, under the leadership of Professor Alfred Zimmermann who is Deputy Director of the League's Division of Intellectual Cooperation, is one of the best institutions. It received 450 students from 33 nations in 1929. An increase of world knowledge and of direct foreign contact are fundamental to a national readiness for international organization.

The Permanent Center of Int. Information of Geneva listed approximately 50 congresses, lectures, courses, conferences, etc. in Geneva from April 5 to Nov. 11, 1929, and published the following list of Int. organizations having their Headquarters or their representative in Geneva:

I. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

1. Sec.-Gen's. Office of the League of Nations.
2. Interparliamentary Union.
3. Int. Bureau for the Defence of Native Populations.
4. Int. Philarmenian League.
5. Int. Committee for Georgia.
6. Int. Alliance against the IIIrd Int.
7. Int. Peace Bureau.
8. Int. Alliance of Women for Suffrage & Equal Citizenship.
9. Council for the Rights of Jewish Minorities.
10. Permanent Agency of the Zionist Org. to the L. of N.
11. Geneva L. of N. Union.
12. L. of N. Association of America.
13. Int. Union of Assns. for the L. of N.

II. ECONOMIC INSTITUTION

14. Int. League of Economic Entente.

III. SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

15. Int. Labour Office.
 16. Int. Management Institute.
 17. Int. Inst. of Social Christianity.
 18. Central European Bureau of Mutual Church Assistance.
 19. Women's Int. League for Peace and Freedom.
 20. Int. Council of Women.
 21. World Union of Women for Int. Concord.
 22. Int. Masonic Assn.
 23. League of Jewish Women.
 24. American Com. of the Geneva Inst. of Int. Relations.
 25. Permanent Sec. Office of the Int. Conference of Nat. Unions of Benefit Societies & Mutual Insurance Funds in case of illness.
 26. Int. Assn. of Journalists accredited to the L. of N.

IV. HUMANITARIAN WORK

27. Int. Red Cross Committee.
 28. Int. Institute for the Study of Sanitary Working-Stock.
 29. Save the Children Int. Union.
 30. Int. Migration Service.
 31. Int. Conference of Private Orgs. for the Protection of Migrants.
 32. Int. Council of Nurses.
 33. Permanent Sec. Office of the Int. Conference of the Assns. of Mutilated Soldiers, & ex-service Men.
 34. Int. Humanitarian and Philozoic Bureau.
 35. The Howard League for Penal Reform.
 36. The Anti-Opium Information Bureau.
 37. Int. Theosophical Order of Service.

V. SCIENTIFIC & EDUC. INSTS.

38. Postgraduate Inst. of Int. Studies.
 39. Int. Committee of Psychotechnics applied to Vocational Guidance & to the Org. of Work.
 40. Int. Inst. Psychology and Psychotherapeutics.
 41. Permanent Int. Centre of Conferences & Congresses of Psychical Research.
 42. Int. Commission for the Teaching of Mathematics.
 43. Students Int. Union.
 44. Int. Student Service.
 45. Int. League of the Young.
 46. Int. Bureau of Education.
 47. New Education Fellowship.
 48. Int. Assn. of Blind Students.
 49. Int. Radio Union.
 50. Int. Esperanto Bureau.
 51. World Work for Teaching by Pictures.
 52. Int. Union of Teachers of the Jaques-Dalcroze Method.
 53. Int. Federation of Univ. Women.
 54. I.S.H.A. (Int. Student Hospitality Assn.)
 55. Int. Assn. for the World Theosophical Univ.

VI. INSTITUTIONS OCCUPIED WITH MORAL WORK.

- 56. Int. Federation of the Blue Cross Temperance Soc.
- 57. Int. Abolitionist Federation.

VII. RELIGIOUS WORK.

- 58. Int. Service of the Society of Friends (Quakers)
- 59. World Alliance for Promoting Int. Friendship thru the churches.
- 60. World's Alliance of Young Men's Christian Assns.
- 61. Foreign Com. of the Nat. Council of Young Men's Christian Assns. of the U. S. and Canada.
- 62. The World's Student Christian Federation
- 63. Universal League for the Observation of the Sabbath.
- 64. Int. Bureau of the "Bahai" Religious & Social Movement.
- 65. Int. Headquarters of the "Soufi" Movement.

VIII. MISCELLANEOUS INSTITUTIONS.

- 66. Int. Normal School of Physical Education of the Y. M. C. Assns.
- 67. Int. Group of Young Women's Christian Assns.
- 68. Swiss Univ. Group for the L. of N.
- 69. Assn of ex-Students of the Univ. of Geneva.
- 70. Geneva School of Int. Studies.
- 71. Swiss Theosophical Society (Swiss section of the Int. Theosophical Society).
- 72. Russian Section of the Int. Theosophical Society.
- 73. Special service of Int. Motor-car Touring.
- 74. Federation of Int. Institutions (semi-official & private).
- 75. Int. Club.
- 76. Anglo-Genevese Society.
- 77. Press Club.
- 78. Int. Catholic Club.
- 79. Permanent Centre of Int. Information.
Permanent Centre of Int. Infm. Geneva, 1929.

INTERNATIONAL PHILANTHROPY: A large number of experienced and world-minded citizens of U. S. A. have given enormous sums toward the cause of international life and understanding, and have thereby directly advanced the welfare of human society, besides winning the gratitude of mankind. Public-spirited citizens of other nations have also contributed within their means. A complete list is not available, but the magnificent gift of two millions of dollars by Mr. John D. Rockefeller Jr. to provide a library for the League of Nations may be mentioned as indicative

of his judgment of a great future for the League and for international organization. It is worth noting that the great gifts for international benefit, have come from persons whose world travel, contacts and interests, have equipped them with a knowledge of world needs, which the average legislator and citizen do not possess. Philanthropists can render a great service toward the success of international organization.

FORMAL EDUCATION: Almost every method which has been devised and proposed for achieving international organization, rests finally upon formal education. The educational system supports democracy; it shapes public opinion; it has been a leading factor in creating an interdependent world, and is now called upon to clothe it with a social organization. Education is a social function, and it can help the individual and the nation to recognize and to participate with other peoples in this new international environment which now holds so much of mutual interest. The degree of participation will return a proportionate benefit. Dewey says:

By doing his share in the associated activity, the individual appropriates the purpose which actuates it, becomes familiar with its methods and subject matters, acquires needed skill, and is saturated with its emotional spirit.

By Education, almost every subject taught can be expanded to a world plane; its international implications can be stressed; and the student will thus become able to recognize the need of international organization. No

doubt some teachers are already treating their subjects on this broader plane, but they may be able to amplify it. Without presuming to give specific directions, the following suggestions are submitted:

Agriculture: Social and world significance of its history, quantities produced, grades, markets and prices; International Institute of Agriculture at Rome.

Architecture: World schools, designs, materials and construction methods.

Art: National social psychology and history revealed by art.

Bacteriology: National status, and credit for discoveries.

Botany: World distribution of flora, and its social significance.

Business Administration: Interdependence. World sources, markets, prices, organization.

Chemistry: Social Significance of natural chemical deposits and processes. War.

Economics: New international factors and effects.

Education: Foreign contacts, exchanges, methods.

Engineering: National practices, conditions. Need of standards.

English: Origin. World use. Foreign difficulties. New meanings of words and terms.

Entomology: World social importance. Yellow-fever. Mediterranean fly.

Forestry: World supply, distribution, prices, reforestation cooperation.

Geography: Social influence and changed conditions.

Geology: World dependence on certain natural geological deposits.

History: Rise of the nation. Cause and effect of World-War. Social situations.

Home Economics: National methods. Sources of foreign materials.

Journalism: World importance, subjects, public opinion.

Languages: New importance of world communication.

Law: National difference, harmony, international law, world court.

Literature: Touch Literature of all nations. International significance. Social value.

Mathematics: Universal "language". Serves all nations.

Medicine: International Conference Advance by international cooperation and comparison.

Meteorology: Climate of various nations and social meaning.

Music: Reveals history and temper of people. International social value.

Philosophy: Individualism. Cosmopolitanism. Internationalism.

Physics: Historical development. National applications. Great physicists.

Political Science: International needs, institutions, leaders. National differences.

Psychology: Social psychology of race, nationality, climatic effects.

Sociology: Fundamental importance in world social problems.

Zoology: World distribution of general social effects.

Each subject will offer some evidence favoring continuous international cooperation and organization for higher social values which can be stressed by discussion. It will be observed that these suggestions call for no additional equipment, although maps, globes, pictures, specimens, films and persons with foreign experience can be used to good advantage.

SUMMARY

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From a general consideration of the methods outlined, it is clear that the actions of a democratic nation depend finally upon its public opinion. There will be no expansion of the educational system, no increase of foreign news, no extended cooperation with the League, and no particular advance toward international organization until the public believe that they want these things. A little knowledge of the international situation will automatically filter through, but it will be slow, incomplete, and often subject to narrow interpretation or some local expediency. Public opinion is the controlling factor, and another great war may come before this opinion is ready to insist

upon a definite organization to prevent it.

The formation of public opinion is not under control or adequately understood. Until more knowledge of it is available, it is recommended that every known influence be used. Informed leaders in the fields of sociology, economics, political science, law and education can devote their efforts to a scientific study of world facts and needs, and can disseminate the results through writing, speaking and discussion. Such leaders in international affairs as Professor Zimmern, Sir Arthur Salter, Sir John Wilson, Viscount Cecil, M. Briand, Sr. Scialoja, Sr. Madariaga, Mr. J. Maynard Keynes, Pres. Hoover, Chief Justice Hughes, Prof. Shotwell, Dr. Buell, Dr. Duggan and others deserve great credit for their effort to advance public opinion. The leaders of many associations and societies can utilize the work of these and other leaders for lectures and discussions. Leaders of the press can do a great deal, but above all, leaders in education must lay a foundation of world knowledge as a basis for an enlightened public opinion. Persistent effort with all of the methods outlined is necessary to the realization of international organization.

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CONCLUSIONS

The great force of Social Change has brought about a succession of institutions for the purpose of controlling human society throughout the period of history. These institutions range from the semi-organized tribal system, through various stages of religious control, authoritarian government, and democracy. Social Change and other forces have finally resulted in the present solidarity and dominance of the nation as a powerful social, economic and political unit, and in democracy as the most modern form of associated living. The nation is an objective geographical and political concept, but its development has been accompanied by a collection of traditional and subjective values among its population, known as nationalism. This attribute unites a people and strengthens the nation up to a point, but it may carry too far, especially in the absence of knowledge regarding necessary relations with other nations, and thereby become a barrier or even a menace to international interaction.

The arrival of modern democracy has fostered the rapid growth of science, invention, industrialization and communication, until the former national sufficiency has now been replaced by a condition of vital interdependence among the nations. Much of the food, medicine, clothing and raw or manufactured commodities needed in the daily life of one country must be obtained from others. Commerce is organized largely on a world basis; prices are

controlled by a world supply and demand; social and economic life are expanding to an international plane; thus the world is interwoven, and is becoming the unit of interaction. In consequence, the old spirit of opposition and conflict between nations, must give way to a recognition of mutual problems and mutual interests. The size, complexity and continuity of these international matters extend beyond the scope and legitimate authority of any single nation or small group of nations. The former national diplomacy is individualistic and inadequate to this new condition of the world.

Social theory and the facts of history show that peace and order - civilization in fact - rests upon some form of social organization. It is deemed necessary for every society and association; it is applied to every town, country, state and nation. It is equally true that societies tend to interact with others, and to set up a mutual social organization as mutual interests develop. In the international field, the evidence shows a complex and growing condition of interdependence which, in the absence of social organization for its control, can lead to the grave danger of conflict. The government of any nation possessing vital necessities, may withhold or restrict the supply, and discriminate between nations; this is already being done. Under these conditions, extremes of nationalism and national armament no longer provide adequate protection; they are rather a menace to national security since they set up a

fear and tension that hold the nations apart. In the light of all the facts, therefore, a continuous international social organization is necessary, and offers the only reliable form of national security.

An examination of the possible forms of organization indicates that the existing League of Nations offers the best solution of the question under present conditions of national dominance, and that the most desirable policy for U. S. A., is to adhere to the World Court, and officially cooperate with the work of the League, leaving membership until experience and public opinion can develop a decision.

In a democracy, the methods necessary to effect participation in the League or any similar international organization, depend upon an enlightened leadership in all of the channels which create public opinion.

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