

AN OUTLINE
FOR THE
STUDY OF THE
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS
OF THE
UNITED STATES, GREAT BRITAIN,
FRANCE, AND GERMANY

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THEIR BEARING UPON
CAUSES AND ISSUES OF THE WAR

Prepared for the Committee
in Charge of the Course in War Issues
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

by
JAMES W. GARNER

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

I. FUNDAMENTAL THEORIES

A. In Respect to the Nature and Function of the State

1. **Prussian Theory.** The State is an abstract mystical entity, a spiritual collective personality having a life of its own apart from and above that of the people who compose it. It is not an artificial creation of man; it is an organism, the result of unconscious evolution; it is an end rather than a means; the individual exists for it, rather than it for the individual; there is a certain quasi divinity about it; its chief attribute is power and power is the measure of right; it is omnipotent and omnipresent. The State may regulate the life of the individual in all his daily concerns; it alone should educate him; it is a better judge of what is good for the people than they themselves are. (Kant, Hegel, Fichte, Nietzsche, Treitschke). Note that German civilization is regarded by Germans as the product of the State rather than of individual effort and enterprise.

Corollaries: (1) There are no limits to the authority of the State; its commands cannot be questioned; it is impiety to attack its authority; blind and unthinking obedience is the duty of the citizen.

(2) The State has ends and interests distinct from those of its subjects.

(3) The first duty of the State is to make itself strong and powerful; it must unceasingly strive for power (Nietzsche); it must be self assertive, aggressive, imperialistic; the State with a superior civilization has a right and a duty to impose its civilization upon those less favorably endowed; it must therefore be militaristic. ("The two functions of the State are to administer justice and assert its power without"; "the second important function of the State is warfare"; "war is an institution ordained of God"—Treitschke).

(4) The right of small States to an independent existence need not be respected by powerful States ("Small states are ridiculous"; "they are incapable of defending themselves against external attack"; "they do not produce true patriotism or national pride and they are generally incapable of culture in great dimensions."—Treitschke.)

(5) The State is not bound by the law of nations or the moral law ("There is no such thing as international law"; "treaties are voluntary self-limitations, binding only so long as it suits the contracting parties to observe them"; "international arbitration is incompatible with the nature of the State; besides, it is a matter of honor for a state to settle its disputes by itself"—Treitschke).

Query. Was this theory of the State in any way responsible for the late war? Name some instances in which it was applied in practice.

2. **American Theory.** The state has no existence apart from the people who compose it; it has no ends or interests distinct from theirs; it is not a super-personal, super-moral mystical personality. It is the organization of the people for certain common purposes. It is an instrumentality, an agency created by themselves and the form of which they may alter at will; it is a means, not an end; it exists for the individuals who compose it, not they for it; it is entitled to obedience and in some cases of sacrifice but blind worship of the State as though it were a quasi divinity is not a part of American political philosophy. It allows the largest degree of individual freedom consistent with the rights of all; no industries are monopolized by the State but all are left open to individual enterprise; the life of the individual is not over-regulated; he is not over-governed. Paternalism has no place in American theory or practice. Nor is the United States a militaristic State. War is not considered as a "biological necessity"; the principle of international arbitration has made great progress (over 80 controversies settled by arbitration since 1790); international engagements are regarded as perpetually binding; the rights of small States are considered as entitled to the same respect as those of large States. The power of the State is not regarded as absolute; it is limited by the moral law and the law of nations.

B. In Respect to Government

1. **Prussian Theory.** Government exists for the people but cannot be administered by the people. It is a difficult art and requires special training. Government in Prussia is therefore government by trained experts. It is a bureaucracy. Administrative offices are open only to those who follow prescribed courses of study and pass state examinations. It is not responsible to the people; they have little share in it; and there is no popular control over it. The Prussian conception of democracy does not embrace the idea of self government. But the Prussian system has a deserved reputation for efficiency.

Query. To what extent should efficiency be regarded as the test of a good government? Is it the sole test?

2. **American Theory.** All governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. The people have a right to determine for themselves the form of government under which they live; to choose their public officials; to exercise control over them; and to determine the functions which the government shall exercise. The people are their own masters; public officers are public servants. Efficiency is not regarded as the sole test of good government. Stimulation of interest in public affairs, and the political education of the citizens, which result from their participation in government

outweigh the advantages of efficiency which are claimed for the bureaucratic system. In short democracy serves as a training school for citizenship.

Queries: Are democracy and efficiency in government necessarily incompatible? What conditions and limitations are essential to the success of democratic government? How does the German conception of democracy differ from the American conception? Dangers of democracy: ignorance, indifference, demagogy. (Compare Bolshevism: government by a single class—the proletariat.)

C. In Respect to Constitutional Safeguards

1. **What is Constitutional Government?** It is government organized and conducted in accordance with certain fundamental rules, either conventional or customary, which are binding upon those who exercise authority. It is therefore a government of "laws and not of men".
2. **How Framed.** In the United States constitutions are framed by popularly elected conventions and are generally submitted to the voters for their approval or disapproval. Compare the German state constitutions which were "promulgated" by kings and princes and which may be abrogated by them. What is the American view of such a constitution?
3. **How amended.** In the United States the state constitutions are amended by the action of the voters (upon proposal by the legislature or by popular initiative). In England, Germany and France the constitutions may be amended by the Parliaments. No distinction is made between the constituent and the legislative powers. Note that in Germany 14 negative votes in the Bundesrath may defeat an amendment and that the Emperor controlled 21 votes in that body.
4. **Character.** A distinguishing characteristic of American constitutions is that they are not only instruments for the granting of powers but are also instruments of limitations and prohibitions. Compare the English constitution which sets no limits to the power of Parliament; also the French and German constitutions which contain few or no express limitations on the powers of Parliament.
5. **Supremacy of the Constitution over Ordinary law.** In the United States the courts have the power to maintain the supremacy of the constitution by refusing to enforce a statute which is contrary to the constitution. In England, France, Germany and most of the other countries of Europe, the courts have no such power. If therefore the legislature in those countries passes a law in contravention of the constitution the law is nevertheless valid and there is no judicial recourse against its enforcement.

D. In Respect to Liberty.

1. **Constitutional Protections.** The American constitutions are not only instruments of government but also charters of liberty (First eight

amendments to the Federal constitution; bills of rights of the state constitutions). Compare the constitutions of the German Empire and of France. Nevertheless the French regard the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen of 1789 as a part of their public law. The Prussian constitution contains an elaborate bill of rights but most of its provisions are "empty phrases". Note the power of the American courts to enforce the provisions of the bills of rights and to protect the domain of liberty which they create.

2. **Conceptions of Liberty.** In the United States, England and France, liberty of speech, press, assembly, religion and education is subject to few restrictions, except in time of war. In Germany no public meetings may be held without a declaration to the police. Speeches must be delivered in the German language, even in Poland and Alsace-Lorraine. Editors are jailed for criticizing the government and private schools are only tolerated. During the existence of the Anti-Socialist law, (1878-90), 1000 books and pamphlets, over 80 German newspapers and 60 foreign journals were placed on the index, and 1500 persons were imprisoned. Compare the following from Prof. Hintze of the University of Berlin: The government of Prussia is a "form of government which does not seek primarily the comfort and happiness of the individual but rather the power and greatness of the State, since without the latter, general prosperity cannot be regarded as secure." "German freedom," says Prof. Troeltsch, "will never be purely political; it will always be bound up with the idealistic thought of duty and with the romantic thought of individuality."

Queries: What is meant by "political" liberty? What effect has the denial of liberty upon the character of the people?

Name some restrictions placed upon the liberty of American citizens during the late war.

Required reading:

Beard and Ogg: National Governments and the World War, Chs. 1, 10.

Lowell: Greater European Governments, pp. 3-4; 98-104.

II. FORMS AND FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT

1. **Monarchy.** Great Britain is a monarchy and so was Germany until recently, i.e., States whose titular heads ruled by hereditary right. Is monarchy necessarily incompatible with popular government? Is the English government a government by the people? Note that Belgium is a monarchy but its constitution declares that "all powers emanate from the people". But compare the German monarchies. (In 1905 the people of Norway voted to establish a monarchy in preference to a republic.)
2. **Republic.** The United States and France are republics. Their executive heads are presidents elected for definite terms. Is the government of England less republican in spirit?
3. **Federal Government.** A composite type under which there is a common central government and a number of component member-states each with a large degree of local autonomy (the United States, the German Empire, Switzerland, Brazil, Canada, Australia).
 - A. **American and German types compared:**
 - (a) In the United States the member-states are on a footing of equality in respect to rights and privileges; in Germany they are unequal.
 - (b) In respect to the distribution of powers the American states are left in control of many matters which in Germany are conferred upon the Imperial Government.

Query: Is the present distribution of powers between the national and state governments in the United States in harmony with modern conditions?
 - (c) A distinguishing feature of the German federal system is that it is a system of centralization in legislation and decentralization in administration (the state governments execute in the main the laws of the Empire).
 - (d) In the United States the Supreme Court is the umpire which determines disputes between the national government and the states and keeps each within its own sphere. The national government cannot directly coerce a state. In Germany the Imperial government may, thru the process of "federal execution", compel a state to perform its obligations as a member of the Union.
 - B. **Merits of Federal Government.**
 - (a) The only form which combines the advantages of a central government for the management of common affairs, with the advantages

of local government for the administration of local concerns. It allows uniform regulation where uniformity is essential and at the same time permits diversity where local conditions make it desirable.

- (b) It is well adapted to large states composed of diverse nationalities or of populations with widely varying interests and standards of right and wrong.

Queries: Would any other form of government be so well suited to the conditions prevailing in the United States? Would it not be well adapted to the British Empire? Instead of dividing Austria into a number of petty states would the interests of the various nationalities in that country be better subserved by federation, leaving to each a wide degree of local autonomy or by making them independent?

C. Weaknesses of Federal Government

- (a) In respect to national defense and the performance of international obligations.
- (b) Danger from diversity of law where there should be uniformity (law of insurance, bills and notes, marriage and divorce, etc.)
- (c) Danger of conflicts between the central and local governments.
- (d) Complexity, delay and expense resulting from a dual system of legislation and administration.

4. **Unitary or Centralized government.** A system in which the powers of government are not distributed between a central government and a number of local governments but are concentrated in a single central government. The government of France is a good example. The local governments are under the control of the central government. What are the merits and demerits of such a system?

5. Parliamentary Government

A. **Definition:** A system in which the executive and legislative functions are not separated. The titular executive is an irresponsible hereditary monarch or a president, the real executive being a ministry or cabinet which is usually a committee of the legislature. The ministry formulates all important legislation, steers it through the legislature and then carries it into execution. It is immediately responsible to the legislature and mediately to the people for its political policies and must resign when it ceases to have the confidence of either. (England, France and most of the countries of Europe).

B. **Working in England and France.** The parliamentary system has not worked as smoothly in France as in England because:

- (a) It is not indigenous.
- (b) The ministers are subjected to excessive control by the legislature.

- (c) The right of interpellation is abused.
- (d) There is a multiplicity of political parties.
- C. **The German System.** In Germany the true parliamentary system has not heretofore existed, because the ministers are not members of the legislature nor are they responsible to it. They were appointed by the Emperor and were responsible to him alone. (Compare the Saverne case).
- D. **Merits of the Parliamentary System.** The legislature and executive work in harmony. The same body which formulates legislative policies carries them into execution. By means of the power of dissolution an appeal may be taken at any time to the electorate to determine conflicts between the executive and the legislature. Is the English government more responsive to public opinion than that of the United States, as is sometimes asserted?
- E. **Demerits.** Instability; lack of concentration of power.
- 6. **Presidential Government:** (the United States). A system in which the executive and legislative functions are in the main kept separate. The executive is independent of the legislature both as to tenure and political policies, being responsible to it only for criminal acts. Members of the cabinet are not members of the legislature; they do not necessarily belong to the party in control of the legislature; they are appointed by the executive and are responsible to him alone.

Queries: Should members of the cabinet be allowed seats in Congress even if not responsible to it? Why was the Parliamentary system not introduced into the United States?

- 7. **Functions of Government:**
 - A. **The Paternalistic Theory:** the government is a better judge of what the common welfare requires than the people are; the government should guide and direct them; regulate their daily lives; watch over them; and provide for the satisfaction of all their common needs. (Example: Prussia, to a large extent). What is the effect of such a system of government on the character of the people?
 - B. **The Socialistic Theory.** The State should in addition to its functions of police and defense engage in various industrial undertakings (such as the operation of railroads, telegraphs and the like), promote the social and economic interests of the people, provide them with free education and even amusement, insure them against old age and sickness, lend money to farmers, etc. The German governments and especially that of Prussia own the railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones, mines of various kinds, forests, conduct savings banks, pawn shops, employment agencies, systems of insurance, and have a virtual monopoly of education. The German cities own and operate all public utilities, maintain opera houses, public markets, slaughter houses and even milk depots, lodging houses, restaurants, etc. The governments of England, Australia, New Zealand and other countries

are now engaged in many socialistic undertakings. How does the state socialism of these countries differ from that of Germany? Should a government undertake to perform a service which may be as well done by private enterprise?

C. **The Individualistic Theory:** The government which governs least is the best. The functions of government should be limited to the maintenance of peace, the defense of the country, the enforcement of contracts, and the punishment of crime. Does the American government belong to this class? Is the theory workable under modern conditions?

Required Reading: Beard and Ogg, chs. 3, 11, 18. Lowell, pp. 13-28; 93-97; 120-122; 182-183; 233-249; 254-256; 277; 299-301.

III. THE ELECTORAL FRANCHISE

1. **In the United States.** Excluded classes, lunatics, persons convicted of election offenses and infamous crimes, women in many states. Educational and taxpaying requirements:
 - (a) In Northern states.
 - (b) In Southern states. The "grandfather" and "old soldier" devices in certain southern states. Woman suffrage; limited vote in many states, equal suffrage with men in 16 states.

Note that in the United States no distinction is made between national and state suffrage as is made in England between the parliamentary and municipal franchise and in Germany between the Imperial and state suffrage. In the United States there is but one class of voters and their qualifications are fixed by the states subject only to the provisions of the 14th and 15th amendments to the Federal constitution.

2. **In England:** By the Reform Act of July 7, 1918, the parliamentary franchise is conferred on every man over 21 years of age who has resided in the same place for 6 months and on every woman over 30 years of age who had formerly enjoyed the privilege of voting in local elections or who is the wife of an elector, and who occupies a dwelling or premises of the annual value of 5 pounds. (Excluded classes, peers, idiots, lunatics, bankrupts). Note: persons in active military or naval service may vote.
3. **In France.** All male inhabitants over 21 years of age except convicts, bankrupts, persons under guardianship and persons in the active military or naval service are qualified voters. No educational or property qualifications. Women may vote for judges of commercial and industrial courts.
4. **In Germany**
 - A. **The Imperial Suffrage.** All males who have attained the 25th year of age, except bankrupts, persons under guardianship, beneficiaries of public charity, convicts, and those in active military or naval service are qualified to vote. Women are excluded in all elections.
 - B. **The Prussian Suffrage.** Members of the Prussian legislature are chosen not directly but by electors who are in turn selected according to a three class system under which the voters are grouped on the basis of the amount of taxes they pay. In 1903 the first class represented 2 percent of the voters, the second class 12.7 percent.

and the third, 85 percent. (In 2159 districts in 1911 a single voter constituted the first class.)

5. Methods of exercising the Franchise.

- A. In the United States secret ballot, screened voting booths, no other persons except election officers allowed in the voting room, no electioneering within a certain distance of the polling place, laborers allowed to be absent from their employment for the purpose of voting, etc. Substantially the same safeguards in England.
- B. In France the system of envelope voting prevails and in 1914 the secret voting booth was introduced. Elections are held on Sundays for the benefit of the working classes.
- C. In the German Imperial elections voting by envelope prevails but there is no screened voting booth. Voters are therefore exposed to pressure and intimidation.
- D. The Prussian elections are not held on Sundays as in France, and the law does not secure to the working classes a right to absent themselves from their employment for the purpose of voting. Moreover, the ancient system of viva voce voting prevails. The intimidation to which the voters are thus exposed deters large numbers from voting. (In 1903, 77 percent of the voters refrained from exercising the franchise in the Prussian elections). Compare the following from Treitschke: "The secret ballot is the shabbiest trick that was ever proposed in the name of liberalism." (Politics II, 199). Note that in Germany a strong and effective pressure is exerted by the government upon the voters, in behalf of the candidates whom it desires to be elected.

Required Reading: Beard and Ogg, ch. 7; pp. 226-237; Lowell, pp. 32-34; 283-291.

IV. LEGISLATIVE SYSTEMS

1. **Origin of the principle of representation.** Rise of the British Parliament.
2. **The Bicameral System. Upper Chambers.** The House of Lords in England. Origin, composition, and powers. By the Parliament Act of 1911 it lost the power to reject money bills and was left only the power to delay other legislation. Proposed changes in composition of.
3. **The Senate of the United States.** 96 members. Now popularly elected. Term 6 years. Equal representation of the States. Special powers, original purpose and early character. Reason for substitution of popular choice; effect on character of the Senate. Elements of strength and of weakness.
4. **The Senate of France.** 300 members. Chosen for 9 years, by departmental electoral colleges. Senators must be at least 40 years of age. On the whole, a body of able representatives but popularly criticized for its conservatism. Proposed alteration of mode of election. Special powers.
5. **The German Bundesrath.** 61 members. Composed exclusively of members appointed by the executive heads of the several states. Members vote by state delegations and as a unit. They vote according to instructions and uninstructed votes are not counted. It is not therefore a deliberative body. Of the 61 votes the Emperor controlled 21. All important bills originate in the Bundesrath and its ascendancy over the Reichstag in this respect is well established. Compare its powers in this respect with the English House of Lords.
6. **Lower Chambers.** The House of Commons in England, 709 members, is elected for a term of five years by practically universal suffrage (male and female) members being apportioned on the basis of population. (Explain why the recent Parliament served for 8 years—no general election between Dec. 1910 and Dec. 1918). Single-member constituencies (counties, boroughs and Universities). Members not required to be residents of their districts. The ascendancy of the House of Commons in the legislative system is now complete. Note that the House may be dissolved by the Cabinet at any time and new elections held.
7. **The House of Representatives in the United States,** 435 members. Chosen for a term of two years by a suffrage fixed by the states. Members are apportioned among the states decennially by Congress on the basis of population but the districts are formed by the state governments. Single-member districts (occasionally representatives-at-large). Each state at least one member. The house cannot be dissolved. Members required by custom though not by law to be residents of their districts.

8. **The French Chamber of Deputies.** 602 members. Chosen for a term of 4 years, by universal suffrage (exclusive of women) from single-member districts. Recent agitation for substitution of choice by general ticket combined with proportional representation. Special functions. Chamber may be dissolved by the President with the consent of the Senate but the power has fallen into desuetude.
9. **The German Reichstag,** 397 members, is chosen for a term of 5 years by manhood suffrage. Single-member districts. Representation based on population but no reapportionment since 1871. Hence great inequalities as to representation. Country districts greatly over-represented and cities under-represented. The government has refused to make a reapportionment because it would increase the representation of the Social Democratic party. As compared with the **Bundesrath**, the **Reichstag** plays a subordinate role in legislation. No control over Chancellor or other ministers. In case it refuses to pass the budget the government may collect the taxes and make appropriations.
10. **Local Legislatures.** In the United States, both houses of the state legislatures are chosen by direct popular vote. In Prussia the upper chamber of the legislature is aristocratic and appointive. The lower chamber is chosen indirectly by electors according to a three class system of suffrage already described. No reapportionment of seats since 1860. Result: Social Democratic party practically unrepresented. (1903 the two conservative parties with 372,132, votes elected 202 members while the Social Democratic party with 314,149 votes elected none.)
11. **Legislative Procedure.** In the English and French Parliaments all important bills are introduced by the ministers. They are prepared by a skilled parliamentary draftsman. Public bills introduced by private members are rarely passed. Different procedure for passing private bills. Committees play a subordinate role. In England, Parliament cannot increase the budget as presented by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Contrary practice in France. In the German Parliament most bills originate in the **Bundesrath** and must be returned to it when passed by the **Reichstag**. In the United States committees play an important part. Legislation by Congress is largely legislation by committees. Members unlimited right to introduce bills. Usually no distinction between procedure for passing public and private bills. No budget. Legislature free to increase or reduce government estimates of needed appropriations. The "pork barrel" abuse in the United States and France.
12. **Direct Legislation: The initiative and referendum.** In a good many American states legislative measures may be initiated and adopted by the people without the collaboration of the legislature. This device does not exist in England, France or Germany. Note other new institutional forms of democracy in the United States, such as the recall and the direct primary.

Required Reading: Beard and Ogg, Chs. 4, 13; pp. 132-138; 220-226; 237-246. Lowell, pp. 35-61; 104-115; 164-180; 185-194; 251-268.

V. THE EXECUTIVE

1. **Nature of the Executive power.** Combined with the legislative function in the parliamentary system. Plural executives (Switzerland). Compare the organization of the national executive power in the United States with that of the States; in the former case the power is concentrated in the hands of a single person; in the latter it is split up and parceled out between the governor and other officers. Effect on efficiency and responsibility. Multiplication of boards and commissions in the American states. Executive councils in a few states.
2. **The President of the United States.** Chosen for 4 years indirectly by popular vote. Breakdown of the electoral scheme. Criticism of the present method. Candidates nominated by national conventions. Presidential preference primary laws. Re-eligibility; independent of Congress as to tenure and political policies. The Vice President.
3. **The President of the French Republic.** Chosen for a term of 7 years by the legislature organized as a national assembly. Criticism of the existing method. 1848 elected by universal suffrage. No nominating machinery. Rarely elected to second terms. No Vice President. May parliament compel the resignation of the President (Case of Grevy).
4. **The Crown in England.** Hereditary. Present law of succession. May be altered by Parliament. People through their representatives may determine who shall be their king. King holds his title only by parliamentary will.
5. **The Crown (formerly) in Prussia.** Compare the Prussian law of succession with that of England. Doctrine of divine right. Abandoned in England in the 17th Century.
6. **Powers of the Executive. The President of the United States.**
 - (a) Those conferred by the constitution and the laws.
 - (b) Those derived from custom and usage.
 - (c) Those inherent in the nature of the office.

Powers: (a) as civil executive; (b) as military executive.
His share: (a) in legislation; (b) in the conduct of foreign affairs;
(c) appointments and administration; (d) ordinance power.

Woodrow Wilson assigns to the president the triple role of: (a) administrative head of the government; (b) formulator of legislative policies; (c) party leader. Compare his powers with those of the King of England and the President of France.

Query: What were some of the extraordinary powers conferred on the President by acts of Congress during the recent war?

7. **Powers of the President of France.** Large powers conferred by the constitution but by reason of the parliamentary system they cannot in fact be exercised by the President. Irresponsibility—The only constitutional power which he is free to exercise is to “preside over national ceremonies”. But a strong personality such as Poincare may exert a potent moral influence on the policy of the ministers. Former agitation by the Radical party in favor of abolition of the office.
8. **Powers of the Crown in England.** The royal prerogative; statutory powers. Note that the royal prerogative has been greatly reduced by parliament and what remains can be taken away at any time. Distinguish between the theoretical and the actual powers of the crown; the latter are exercised through ministers who are responsible to the House of Commons. Irresponsibility of the King. Value of monarchy and why it survives.
9. **Powers of the Former German Emperor.** Extensive powers, both civil and military, conferred by the imperial constitution; other large powers as King of Prussia, including the royal prerogative. He was regarded by German publicists as the fountain and source of all law and authority. The function of Parliament was to furnish the crown with information and advice. In legal theory the legislative power belonged to the King. “There is no will in the State superior to that of the sovereign, and it is from that will that both the constitution and laws draw their binding force.” (Laband, *Staatsrecht des deutschen Reichs*). Since the Parliamentary system does not exist in Germany these powers were in fact exercised by the emperor-king. The ministers were his personal and official agents; they were subject solely to his direction and were responsible to him alone for their official acts and conduct. The Emperor considered himself responsible only to God.
10. **Government in Time of War.** Increase of the executive power, “War Cabinets”, boards and other agencies.

Required Reading: Beard and Ogg, Chs. 5, 8; pp. 196-202. Lowell, pp. 5-17; 115-118; 131-135; 269-275; 279-281.

VI. JUSTICE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

1. The Judiciary.

A. In England all judges are appointed for life by the Crown and are irremovable except upon address of Parliament. They are paid high salaries. Number of judges as compared with Germany and France very small. Courts generally held by a single judge. System of circuit judges. 1907 creation of Court of Criminal Appeal. The House of Lords and Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as courts. Jury trial in criminal cases but juries rarely employed in civil cases. Juries never judges of the law. Justice administered rapidly and without technicality. System of common law and equity. No administrative courts as on the continent. Power of the judge to sum up and comment on the evidence.

Queries: What is the advantage of the system of circuit judges? Why are juries rarely used in the trial of civil cases in England? What is the objection to making juries judges of the law? Ought the judge be allowed to express an opinion as to the weight of the evidence?

B. In the United States. Federal judges are appointed by the President with consent of the Senate. Life tenure, but may retire on full salary at 70 years of age. Removable only by impeachment. State judges (except in a few states) are elected by the people for definite terms, ranging from 2 to 21 years. Constitutional protections in behalf of the accused. Jury trial in both criminal and civil cases. (In some states, e.g. Illinois, juries are judges of both the law and the facts.) Judge is little more than a moderator. No power to sum up and comment on the evidence. Emphasize the control which American courts exercise over legislation and administration. Criticism of the administration of justice in the United States: slowness in the selection of juries, wide latitude of appeal, reversals for technicalities and harmless errors.

Query: What are the merits and demerits of the method of choosing judges by popular vote?

C. In France. All judges except those of the commercial and industrial courts are appointed. Popular election tried 1790-1804 but abandoned. Life tenure. Except justices of the peace, colonial judges and judges of the administrative courts, they are irremovable by the government. All courts except those of justices of the peace are held by a bench of judges. (Compare English and American Courts). Criticism: Too many judges (over 6000 in France). Compare the English

judiciary: (Hardly more than 100 judges in England). French judges poorly paid. Jury trial in criminal cases, but not in civil cases. (Seven out of 12 may return a verdict). Criticism of French procedure: secret grilling examination of the accused before indictment by *juge d' instruction*; harassing examination by the judge at the trial; no cross examination by counsel; hearsay evidence admitted; Judges take an active part in the trial (compare American and English practice). Since 1895 provision for reparation in case of conviction of innocent persons (compare England and the United States.)

Administrative Courts: Jurisdiction of controversies between individuals and the administrative authorities. Much criticized in England and the United States. French courts no power to adjudge acts of the legislature unconstitutional, but may refuse to enforce illegal executive ordinances.

D. **In Germany.** Uniform system of law, procedure and judicial organization for all the empire. The judicial service is a profession. Admission only after completion of prescribed course of study and a state examination. All judges appointed for life and are irremovable except by the court of which they are members, sitting as a disciplinary tribunal. No transfer except with equal rank and pay. In both Germany and France members of the bar are rarely appointed to high judicial position. (Contrary practice in England and U. S.) As in France the courts are collegial in organization; rarely held by a single judge. Jury trial in criminal cases (8 out of 12 may return a verdict.) As in France there are special administrative, commercial and industrial courts. Different from France, however, the administrative judges are irremovable by the government.

2. Local Government.

A. **In the United States** the right of local self-government is regarded as an essential feature of democracy. Counties, cities, villages and townships elect their own officials and determine their own policies. Local officials are rarely appointed by the central government and except in a very few states none of them may be removed by the governor. Nor is the local administration subject to the control of the central government. But the powers of the local government are in general only such as are granted to them by the constitution or by acts of the legislature. (Note that some cities have "home rule" charters).

Query: Since many local officials (sheriffs, mayors, health officers and the like) are charged with the enforcement of state laws, should not the governor have the power to direct or even dismiss them?

B. **In England.** The local areas, counties, cities, boroughs, districts and parishes have popularly elected councils which in turn choose most of the local administrative officials. Large powers of self-gov-

ernment have been conferred upon them by acts of Parliament. Some of their activities, however, such as those relating to police, care of the poor, education, public health and the like are subject to a certain control by the central government. Few officials elected by the people; but are chosen by the council.

C. In France. The local areas have popularly elected councils, and mayors of towns and cities are chosen by the municipal councils but their powers are very much limited. Many local officials are appointed by the central government at Paris or its representatives in the locality and many acts of mayors and of city councils require the approval of the central authorities. The control and tutelage exercised by the central authorities over the local governments are a survival of the Napoleonic Empire and have been much criticized in recent years by French writers.

D. In Prussia. The provinces have local assemblies but they are not elected by the people. The assemblies could be dissolved by the Crown and many of their acts required the approval of the Crown or a minister. The circle (*Kreise*) councils are indirectly chosen under a complicated system which gives the preponderance of power to the large landowners and manufacturers. They are largely under the control of a central official called the *Landrath*. Town and city councils are chosen according to a three-class system of suffrage which keeps the control within the hands of the large tax payers. Mayors are elected by the municipal councils. In none of the local areas have the people any share in the election of administrative officials. Prussian municipal government is government by trained experts; on the whole it has been efficient but it is very undemocratic. Compare the view of Prof. Schmoller of the University of Berlin: "self government means class rule and corruption; democratic government usually brings forth capitalistic, class rule, corruption, buying of votes and an uncertain changeable foreign policy."

Required Reading: Beard and Ogg, Ch. 19. Lowell, Ch. 4; pp. 122-130; 135-150; 276.

VII. GOVERNMENT OF COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES

1. **The British Empire: Growth, population, nature and extent of.**
 - A. The British Colonies are not tributaries; they make no contributions to the Imperial treasury; they have their own protective tariffs.
 - B. Forms of Colonial Government.
 1. The self governing colonies. Their relation to the Empire.
 2. The Crown Colonies.
 3. India. Recent reforms and proposed reforms.
 4. The protectorates.
 5. The government of Ireland.
 - C. The Problem of Imperial Federation. Note that none of the British Colonies are represented in Parliament. Why? But in 1918 there was a colonial representative in the Cabinet.
2. **American Territories and Dependencies.**
 - A. Policy in respect to the domestic territories. Extension of the constitution and gradual introduction of local self-government. Representation in Congress. Ultimate admission to the Union as states.
 - B. Policy in respect to the insular possessions. Extension of the Constitution.
 1. Military government.
 2. Civil government. Local legislatures; veto power of Congress; governor and principal officers appointed by the President; representation in Congress; inhabitants made citizens of the United States (except Filipinos).
 - C. Results: educational, economic and political.
 - D. American semi-Protectorates: Cuba, Hayti, San Domingo and Panama.
3. **The French Colonial Empire: (a) in Africa, (b) insular possessions.**
 - A. Tunis, Algeria and Madagascar.
 - B. Morocco and the Protectorates.
 - C. The French West Indies.

Note that the French Colonies are represented in Parliament.
4. **The German Colonial Empire. How acquired, extent, population.**
 - A. Extension of the bureaucratic system to the African Colonies. No representation in Parliament. The Kaiser was "protector" of all the

colonies and except as to judicial matters his authority was unlimited.

- B. Loss of the German Colonies during the late War. Problem of their disposition.
- C. Government of Alsace-Lorraine, Poland and Schleswig-Holstein. No liberty of speech or of press. Political policy in respect to Alsace-Lorraine. Compare American treatment of Porto Rico and the Philippines; also English policy in respect to non-English races, e.g. in Canada and South Africa. Is the English government of Ireland comparable in any respect to the German government of Poland?

Required Reading: Beard and Ogg, Ch. 16. Lowell, Ch. 5; pp. 295-298.

VIII. POLITICAL PARTIES AND ISSUES

1. In England.

- A. The historical parties of England were the Whigs and Tories. About 1835 the Whigs came to be called Liberals and the name Tory was displaced by the term Conservative. Since that time the control of the government has alternated between the two parties (Liberals in control since 1906). In 1896 a section of the Liberal party refused to follow the majority on the question of home rule for Ireland and formed a party known as the Liberal Unionists. They ultimately joined the Conservatives.
- B. The Liberal party has laid special stress on the liberty of the individual, freedom of trade and contract, equality before the law, extension of the suffrage, the reform of parliament, and the removal of the disabilities of dissenters. It has been the party of home rule for Ireland, it has combatted high protective tariffs, disestablished the church in Wales, laid heavy taxes on land and unearned increment, shorn the House of Lords of much of its power, made liberal provision for elementary education, opposed church control of the schools and enacted much social reform legislation. Stronghold of this party in Western England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland.
- C. The Conservative party has been the traditional supporter of the existing order of things; it has defended the monarchy and the House of Lords; it has been the party of imperialism and of protective tariffs, (though it favors preferential treatment of the colonies); it has opposed heavy income and inheritance taxes; combatted radicalism in social and economic matters; advocated a referendum on bills rejected by the House of Lords; favored the retention of plural voting; opposed home rule for Ireland, etc. Note, however, that the Conservative party has cooperated with the Liberals in the enactment of many important measures of a social, economic and political character.
- D. **The Labor Party.** Of recent origin. (In 1906, 54 representatives of labor were elected to Parliament). It has generally acted with the Liberal party. Liberal party took over large part of program of Labor party. Socialism and trades unionism coalesced. Labor party favors legislation in the interest of the working classes, of women, children, the aged and the infirm; government ownership; taxation of incomes, inheritances and unearned increment; feeding of school children at public expense; old age pensions, etc. Note that in England labor representatives are sometimes appointed to places in the

cabinet. The influence of the Labor party has been out of proportion to its strength in Parliament. Why?

- E. The Nationalist Party. An Irish party whose chief object is home rule for Ireland.
- F. The Sinn Fein Party. An Irish party which demands absolute independence for Ireland.

2. In France:

- A. 1914-18. Conservatives and Liberals; 1871-76 Monarchists and Republicans; 1876-1919 various Republican groups.
- B. Rise of the Radical party in the early 80's. A party of social reform.
- C. 1893, Socialists elect 50 representatives to the chamber of Deputies. Two groups (a) independents; (b) unifies. 1899 a Socialist (Millerand) becomes a member of the Cabinet.
- D. 1898, appearance of the Socialist-Radical party. Differs from Socialist party only in degree. Strongly anti-clerical and anti-individualistic. Favors social reform, secular education, decentralization, more democracy. These three groups about 1898 constituted a bloc which has controlled parliament until now (parties of the Left). Other groups constitute the Right.
- E. The General Confederation of Labor. Largely a part of revolutionary syndicalism. Advocates class war and violence. Weapons: the general strike, boycott, and **sabotage**. Anti-miliaristic and "anti-patriotic".
- F. Note that the characteristic feature of the French party system is the existence of a multiplicity of parties and groups. What is its effect on the working of the parliamentary system? Note also that in France national issues do not play the part that they do in England and the United States; that the organization of parties is very much like that of a club; and that candidates are not nominated by popular vote.

3. In Germany

- A. The two historic parties were the Conservatives and Liberals, the former being the supporters of the government. They were mainly a party of the landed aristocracy. Each group gradually broke up into two groups: (a) Conservatives and Free Conservatives; (b) National Liberals and Radicals. Bismark's reliance was upon the National Liberals until 1879.
- B. Rise of the Centre party (Clericals) in the early 70's, essentially catholic. Combatted radicalism, defended the rights of the states and opposed secularization of the schools. Elected 60 members to Reichstag 1871. By 1903 strongest party in the Reichstag (102 members). 1879 Bismark turned to this party for support. 1894-1900 formed alliance with Conservatives. ("blue black" bloc).

C. Existing Party groups in Germany

1. Conservatives (various groups). Stronghold in the country districts (junker aristocracy). Defenders of the monarchy by grace of God, opposed to popular government and responsibility of ministers. Belief in state church and religious teaching in the schools. Advocate militarism and imperialism.
2. Moderates (Clericals, Radical Liberals and National Liberals).
3. Social Democrats. Best organized and strongest party in the Empire but inadequately represented in the Reichstag. (Scarcely represented at all in the Prussian legislature). Government repression of, 1878-90. Attitude of Emperor toward. No representation in the ministry until 1918. Favors responsibility of ministers, universal suffrage (including women), direct voting, secret ballot, redistribution of seats in Parliament, the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, freedom of speech, press, and assembly, secularization of the schools, income and inheritance taxes, international arbitration, militia in the place of a standing army, etc.
4. Minor parties: Poles, Anti-Semites, Guelfs, Alsatians, Danes.
5. (1919 various radical groups: Moderate Socialists, Independent Socialists, "Sparticides", etc.)

4. In the United States

- A. Early parties: Federalists and Anti-Federalists; 1830-54 Whigs and Democrats; present parties: Republicans and Democrats.
- B. The Republican party. Liberal interpretation of the Constitution, extension of the powers of the national government, champion of protective tariffs, colonial expansion, subsidies for the merchant marine, negro suffrage.
- C. The Democratic party. Strict interpretation of the Constitution, states rights; individualism; opposition to protective tariffs, ship subsidies, imperialism and extension of the powers of the national government by "constructions" of the Constitution. But note that neither party has always adhered strictly in practice to its traditional principles.
- D. Minor Parties: The Prohibition, Labor, Socialist and Progressive (1912-16) parties. The I. W. W.
- E. Attitude of Socialist parties toward the War
 - (a) In Germany the majority of the social Democratic party supported the war but a minority group in the Reichstag formed an independent organization and issued a manifesto condemning the action of the majority for supporting the war policy of the government.
 - (b) In France the Socialists supported the government's war policy from the beginning until the end.

(c) In the United States a national convention of the Socialist party of America held at St. Louis, April 7, 1917, proclaimed their "unalterable opposition to the war", called upon the "workers of all countries to refuse to support their governments in their wars," declared the declaration of war against Germany to be "a crime against the people of the United States and against the nations of the world," asserted that there had been "in all modern history no more unjustifiable war than this" and that no "greater dishonor had ever been forced upon a people." It urged upon all Socialists "continuous, active and public opposition to the war" and "unyielding opposition to all proposed legislation for conscription" (*Amer. Year Book*, 1917, p. 395). Some of the more moderate Socialists protested against these resolutions and subsequently withdrew from the party.

Queries: Why have the Socialist and Labor parties in the United States played an insignificant role as compared with those parties in Germany, France and England? (Only one Socialist member of Congress at present; few in the state legislatures). What is the explanation of the rapid growth of those parties in Europe? To what extent are the policies of the Social Democratic parties of Europe embodied in the platforms and policies of the Democratic and Republican parties in the United States?

F. Note that in the United States as in England the two-party system has generally prevailed; that the organization and methods of political parties are to some extent regulated by law; and that the parties in most states nominate their candidates by direct popular vote.

Required Reading: Beard and Ogg, Chs. 14, 15, 24. Lowell, Ch. 3; pp. 151-166; 302-8.

IX. EDUCATION; THE CHURCH; SOCIAL REFORM

1. Education

- A. **In the United States.** No state monopoly of education but extensive national, state and local aid to education. State Universities and Colleges of Agriculture. Right to establish private schools and higher institutions of learning allowed without restriction. Little or no government control or supervision of private education. Private institutions allowed to grant diplomas and certificates. No citizen may be required to attend or support a sectarian school. Compulsory attendance of children of school age. Women students on equal footing with men.
- B. **In England.** No state monopoly of education. Many private schools, and some privately supported colleges and universities. But limited state supervision of private schools which receive state aid. Local school authorities free to choose teachers and determine curricula of studies. No religious tests required of teachers. Religious instruction not required by the state but church schools receive state aid. Women students generally on equal footing with men.
- C. **In France.** No state monopoly of education, although demanded by the Radical party, to eliminate clerical influence of church schools. Private schools and universities may be freely organized, though the latter may not grant degrees and they are subject to State inspection. Many church schools but no state aid for such schools. Clerical influence eliminated from public schools (secularization). Religion not allowed to be taught in public schools but teaching of morality required.
- D. **In Prussia.** Education regarded as a function of the state. Education determined by the state in accordance with the government's views of state functions and power. Virtual state monopoly of education. Nearly all schools, colleges and universities are maintained by the State. Private schools may be founded only with the consent of the State—a consent which is rarely given, (in 1911 only 480 private schools in the Empire). No private universities, not even theological schools. Private schools are at all times subject to government supervision and inspection. The government determines the curriculum, approves text books, prescribes qualifications of teachers and tests results by examinations. No freedom of teaching. Special teachers of religion. Teaching of religion required in all schools. Church authorities may visit, inspect and disapprove religious text books. Women students hitherto not on equal footing with men. Separate schools for girls. Not until 1909 were women admitted to

all courses in the Prussian Universities. "The mission of women may be comprehended under the words *Kuche, Kinder, Kirche*" (the Emperor). The school system is pervaded by the military spirit, many teachers being reserve officers.

Criticism of the German System. Excessive State control and interference. Bureaucratic regulation destroys freedom and initiative of teachers. Domination of the church (compare Paulsen, *German Education*, pp. 177-186).

What are the merits of the German system?

2. Place of the Church in the State

- A. In the United States. No state church. "Free church in a free state". No taxation for support of religious worship, no compulsory attendance upon religious worship. No teaching of religion required in public schools. But church property exempt from taxation, state protection of public worship, employment of chaplains in the army and in legislative bodies, punishment of blasphemy (Christianity a part of the common law); clergy permitted to celebrate marriages.
- B. In England and Scotland. An established church, recognized and in part supported by the State; creed prescribed by acts of Parliament; church governed partly by statute law; King head of the church; representation in Parliament; church courts formerly jurisdiction in cases of a matrimonial and testamentary character, "Free" churches in England—their legal position. Disestablishment of the church in Ireland (1868); in Wales (1914). Movement for disestablishment of the church of England—respective attitudes of the Conservative and Liberal parties.
- C. In France. Until 1905 church and State united. Catholic, protestant and Jewish clergy paid by the State. Head of the State nominated the bishops and archbishops. Church largely controlled education. Alleged hostility toward the Republic. Schools secularized (1882) teaching by religious orders prohibited (1904), Concordat abrogated and church disestablished (1905). All religious sects now on equal footing and clergy supported by church membership.
- D. In Prussia. Close connection between church and state. Evangelical State church. Prussian minister of ecclesiastical affairs. Struggle between the Catholic church and the State (*Kulturkampf*), 1873-1878. The Center party defenders of the Catholic church. Conservative party: public schools should be under supervision of the church. Social Democratic party would emancipate schools from church domination (secularization) and bring about complete divorce of church and state.

3. **Social Progress and Reform.** In each of the four countries here considered an immense amount of legislation in the interest of social reform and humanitarian progress has been enacted in recent years. Factory legislation originated in England, great attention has been given to

prison reform and social settlement work; England has been the classic land of "public relief" experimentation. The system of industrial insurance against accidents, sickness and old age originated in Germany nearly 40 years ago and has recently been introduced into England, France and the United States. In England and France systems of old age pensions have lately been introduced and workmen's compensation legislation has been enacted in all four countries. In the United States the liquor prohibition movement has made vastly more progress than in either England, France or Germany. Charity organization has received much attention in the United States; the organization of building and loan associations has provided a means by which workingmen may own their homes; and the introduction of the indeterminate sentence, individualization in punishment, release of prisoners on parole and the establishment of the juvenile court have greatly humanized the administration of the criminal law. In England and the United States the legal and political disabilities of women have been largely removed; in France considerable progress has been made in this direction; in Germany alone they are still without political rights.

Query: Why have the Social Democrats in Germany uniformly opposed the social reform schemes of the government? In what respect has English policy been more in accord with the spirit of democracy?

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X. THE SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

1. International law is a body of rules, conventional and customary, which civilized States regard as binding upon them in their mutual relations with one another.
2. It differs from municipal (national) law in that it is not enacted by a legislature and there is no sanction for its enforcement other than public opinion.
3. Formerly the rules of international law consisted entirely of custom and usage but much of it (especially the rules governing the conduct of states in time of war) has now been reduced to written form and is embodied in treaties and conventions.
4. Steps in the process of codification.
 - A. The declaration of Paris of 1856.
 - B. The Declaration of St. Petersburg 1868.
 - C. The Act of Brussels Congress of 1874 (unratified).
 - D. The Geneva Conventions of 1864 and 1906.
 - E. The Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907.
 - F. The Declaration of London of 1909 (unratified).
 - G. War Manuals of different states. Compare the German War Code with those of the United States, England and France.

Note that most of the Hague Conventions of 1907 were technically not binding on any of the belligerents during the recent war because several of the smaller belligerent powers had not ratified them. But they were nevertheless generally regarded as binding. Moreover such of their provisions as were merely declaratory of the existing law of nations were legally binding.

5. Violations of international law during the recent war:

Invasion of neutral States; alleged blockade of neutral ports; extension of the doctrine of contraband; destruction of neutral merchant vessels, hospital ships and vessels engaged on missions of philanthropy; violations of the Red Cross Convention; employment of prohibited instruments and methods; unlawful contributions, fines and requisitions; maltreatment of prisoners and hostages; deportation of civilian populations; forced labor for military purposes; unlawful bombardments by land, sea and air; outrages against non-combatants, etc.

6. The German theory of military necessity and the right of reprisal
7. Ineffectiveness of international law

Possible means of strengthening it:

- (a) By application of the rules of the criminal law: trial and punishment of individual violators of the law.
- (b) By holding the governments of the violating belligerents responsible for damages resulting from violations of the law of nations.
- (c) By the collective intervention of neutral powers in behalf of a nation whose rights have been flagrantly disregarded by another State in violation of the rules of International law.
- (d) By the establishment of a league of nations to compel states to respect their international obligations and to submit their controversies to the decision of an international tribunal. (League to enforce law.)

8. Possible means of averting wars in the future:

- (a) Compulsory disarmament.
- (b) Voluntary substitution of judicial methods for the settlement of disputes in the place of recourse to armed force.
- (c) Establishment of a system of universal obligatory international arbitration.

Queries: To what extent has arbitration been resorted to in practice for the settlement of international differences? Give some American examples. With what countries has the United States arbitration treaties at the present time? What classes of disputes are excluded from their application? What has been the attitude of the German government toward arbitration? What is an international commission of inquiry? What were Mr. Bryan's "wait-a-year" treaties? Do you think secret diplomacy and the existence of secret treaties were in any sense responsible for the late war? Was the system of alliances between certain European powers prior to the war conducive to the general peace?

Required Reading: Text of the Hague Convention respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land; Garner, the German War Code. (Copies on reserve in general library.)

XI. AMERICAN WAR AIMS IN RELATION TO GOVERNMENT AND LIBERTY—PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND REORGANIZATION

1. President Wilson: "The object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment, controlled by an irresponsible government which having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry the plan out without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long established practices and long cherished principles, of international action and honor." (Reply to the Pope's Peace Appeal).

"These are the ends for which the associated peoples of the world are fighting and which must be conceded them before there can be peace:

1. The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world; or, if it can not be presently destroyed, at the least its reduction to virtual impotence.
2. The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery.
3. The consent of all nations to be governed in their conduct toward each other by the same principles of honor and of respect for the common law of civilized society that govern the individual citizens of all modern states in their relations with one another; to the end that all promises and covenants may be sacredly observed, no private plots or conspiracies hatched, no selfish injuries wrought with impunity, and a mutual trust established upon the handsome foundation of a mutual respect for right.
4. The establishment of an organization of peace, which shall make it certain that the combined power of free nations will check every invasion of right and serve to make peace and justice the more secure by affording a definite tribunal of opinion to which all must submit and by which every international readjustment that can not be amicably agreed upon by the peoples directly concerned shall be sanctioned.

These great objects can be put in a single sentence. What we seek is the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed and sustained

by the organized opinion of mankind." (President Wilson, address at Mount Vernon, July 4, 1918.)

2. Problem of International Cooperation and Reorganization

A. Proposed League of Nations. Objects:

- (a) to establish and enforce the rules of international law.
- (b) to compel nations to submit their non-justiciable disputes to examination and report by an international commission of inquiry and their justiciable disputes to arbitration.

B. The organization of the League. (Should Germany be admitted to membership?) Establishment of an International Court of Justice; an international police force; an international legislative body.

C. Means of enforcing the will of the League:

- (a) Diplomatic.
- (a) Economic pressure, boycotts, non-intercourse.
- (c) Use of force.

D. Practical difficulties in the way of the organization of the League and the enforcement of its will.

Query: Would the entrance of the United States into such a League be in contravention of our traditional policy in respect to entangling alliances?

E. Existing examples of international cooperation. (The universal postal and other unions). Note that the countries belonging to the universal postal union have agreed to arbitrate all disputes arising over the interpretation of the Convention creating the Union.

F. Proposal for the creation of a super-national state embracing the great body of existing states. Is it desirable and practicable?

Required Reading: Beard and Ogg, Chs. 27-28; Historical Light on the League to Enforce Peace; pamphlet, League of Nations (No. 131); Becker, America's War Aims and Peace Program. Copies on reserve in the general library.