CHAPTER TWELVE

THE GOVERNMENTS OF MANKIND AND THEIR ECONOMIC AND MILITARY WARFARE

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THE GOVERNMENTS OF MANKIND AND THEIR ECONOMIC AND
MILITARY WARFARE

§ 1. Political Organizations

HITHERTO, as far as possible, our survey of the human community has ignored political machinery. But we have now reached a point where we must take up the activities of governments and show how this world-wide plexus of work and acquisition and spending that we have spread before our readers is directed and controlled.

We shall still avoid politics so far as advocating measures, taking sides or discussing parties or policies go, but we must ask the reader to keep it clear in his mind that a description of political machinery is no more "politics" than a description of the stage is "drama" or a description of the human nervous system and its working, ethical exhortation. We are telling how things are. If at points they appear ridiculous, the fault is not in the description but in the facts.

And here we come to the broadest reality of the human situation to-day, which is this: that while the material forces man has evoked make, with an air of inevitability, for the unification of mankind into one world system of exchange and mutual service, the direction and control of his affairs are subdivided into a patchwork of over seventy* sovereign states, each theoretically independent of the others, free to go its own way and shape or misshape its destinies as though there existed no foreigners in the world. We have been brought already to recognize the profound evil of this divided control, in the matter of money and credit. Later in this chapter we shall trace the way in which the net of frontiers strangles economic life and keeps the world in constant imminent danger of a war catastrophe. But first, before we go on to this geographical fragmentation of human politics, let us examine some of these

* Counting the United States as one but the British Empire and its Dominions, so far as they are separately represented at Geneva, apart.
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seventy-odd governments now in operation and, disregarding the
question of frontiers and foreigners for a section or so altogether,
consider the efficiency of these centres of management side by side,
as it were, with the contemporary aeroplane, dynamo, biological
laboratory or steel foundry.

By political organization we mean all the authorized activities
that protect, direct, permit or prevent, in the name of the com-
munity. The State, in its various ramifications, is the political
organ. Political life is the control, or the attempt to control, direct
or influence State activities; it comprehends the minister in his
bureau, the autocrat, the politician in opposition, the agitator at the
street corner, and the conspirator in or out of gaol. It is ostensibly
if not actually the centralizing process of the community.

§ 2. A Short Study of the British Government at Work*

Let us approach our first study of an existing government, that
of Great Britain, by asking what it has to do, and what sort of
arrangements would be made to house and organize it, if we
entrusted the task to some intelligent specialist in the layout of
industrial plants or the like. For the purposes of our present enquiry
we may accept the existing ingredients: the monarch, an “upper”
assembly of irremovable legislators, and a “lower” but more power-
ful body of elected representatives. (No one has ever yet attempted
to run a business with an upper and a lower board of directors.)
We will also assume the party system and cabinet government as
they exist. We shall have a word or two to say about the number
of these representatives and the method of their election, but beyond
that we will merely consider the most expeditious and fruitful way
of organizing the energies of all these factors.

The monarch we may, according to the best English precedents,
leave out of our speculations. He is a constitutional monarch whose
responsibility has been taken over entirely by his ministers. He is
a ceremonial figure, the “golden link” of empire. He may not
dispute about himself, and so, by an obvious courtesy, he is above
criticism. He is tradition made inert like the Mace upon the table
of the House of Commons. He—or rather “the crown”—is a time-

* For a more respectful account see Sir Erskine May’s Law, Privileges, Proceedings
and Usage of Parliament.
honoured symbol of authority, and there is no reason whatever why a crown should not remain for ever the emblem of authority in the commonweal. That, at any rate, is the accepted theory and for many reasons we will refrain from any reflections upon that accepted theory. We will discuss the processes of British government without the faintest flavour of lèse-majesté.

Now, first this government must be housed. Our expert would insist, of course, upon a building of the very newest type. No great business combine would dream to-day of carrying on its operations in a building a hundred years old. It would have the soundest, best equipped structure conceivable, with every possible device and convenience to ensure the well-being and facilitate the operations of its directors. Each of these select and elected persons would have at least one private room, well lit and fitted with telephone, special information and news tickers, properly encased in sound-proof covers, works of reference and so forth. There would be stenographers and dactylographers swiftly available, and there would be a big, efficiently organized library with a large and competent staff present day and night to help and supply information. Airy and pleasant dining rooms, newspaper rooms and conference rooms go without saying, and the whole building would be linked by lifts and passages planned elaborately to economize time and trouble.

The administrations of the various ministries of the State would no doubt be housed in separate buildings of their own, but each would be represented in the parliament house by a group of offices constituting the bureau of the responsible minister. The prime minister could be the chairman of the cabinet, the board of final decisions which would meet in a convenient chamber near his bureau, whenever final decisions were necessary.

The primary function of the elected members of the lower house is to watch and question the proceedings of the ministries and the cabinet. They mediate between the section of the community they represent (and collectively for the community as a whole) and the administration of the ministries. They have also to function in legislation, that is to say, in modifying the functions of the ministries. They would naturally be continually forming and re-forming groups for those ends, for the enforcement of protests and suggestions and the drafting of legislative extensions and amendments.

At intervals the upper and lower houses would meet to discuss
and decide upon these matters, and for this our government building would have to have debating chambers. Every session in the debating chambers would be convoked for a specific end, coram populo, to repudiate a minister or a line of action or to pass a law; it might adjourn, but it would not disperse until it had got its business done. And the need for such debates would determine the number of legislators in either house. There is a minimum below which the various interests of the realm would not be represented; there is a maximum beyond which an assembly begins to take on the lax, vaguely emotional quality, the fluctuations of excitement, and the boredom of a public meeting. These maxima and minima have never been worked out properly, but probably the best size for a businesslike deliberate assembly is somewhere between two hundred and fifty and three hundred and fifty persons. It is no good whatever to encumber government with more members than are needful. The elected house would represent the constituent element of the community, and in a world where distance has been abolished it is obvious that territorial constituencies, except upon a provincial scale, are out of date. . . .

But there is no reason why we should go on with this simple business statement of what is needed for the proper management and direction of Great Britain Limited. The reader approaching this subject through museum avenues of business appliances, industrial layout, and rationalization expedients, will be in a position to imagine all the necessary efficiency. Let us, since our concern is not with what men might do but what they do now, turn rather to the actual working mechanism of British government in a period of dire stress and danger for all the world.

Our first intimation of incongruity comes when we contemplate the buildings, the Houses of Parliament, in which this great business is carried on. They do not look in the least businesslike. Nor do they make up in dignity or splendour of feeling what they lack in mechanical efficiency. They look as if a late Gothic cathedral had had an illegitimate child by a Flemish town hall. Even as an exhibition of the Victorian Gothic temperament, the building is less entertaining than (say) the London Law Courts or the Tower Bridge over the Thames.

A closer acquaintance suggests that the architects first designed the exterior and then rather inattentively fitted in an interior.
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There are the legislative chambers themselves with their lobbies, presidential throne, bilateral arrangement of seats for the "Ins" and the "Outs" in the struggle for office, galleries for admirers, and so forth, and beyond these there are a network of passages and staircases into which open various offices and chapel-like committee rooms devoid of any modern business convenience. The legislative chamber, in the case of the elected representatives, has seats for rather less than half the total number of members. But, of course, since forty-odd hours of oratory per week is more than any but the hardest can bear to listen to, most of its seats are ordinarily empty. Scattered about the building are a few crypt-like apartments, capable of accommodating perhaps five per cent of the legislators, in which they can work individually with their secretaries. There are, literally, miles of corridors, but only one lift to serve the four floors used by members. Only ministers and under-ministers have rooms of their own. A large proportion of these are of the kind which would be set apart for the use of servants in Victorian dwelling-houses — ill-lit and ill-ventilated. And as the building dates from Victorian times and lends itself but poorly to modernization, many of them are still fitted with a sacristy containing an ewer and basin for ablution. The ordinary members have only small lockers of the kind allotted to schoolboys in Victorian seminaries for their private books or papers. Every member has a hook all to himself in the cloak-room, and to this hook a loop of pink tape (renewed every session) is tied, in which he can hang his sword! Interviews with visitors from outside must be carried on either in corridors or in one or two underground tea or smoking rooms. There is no modern system of communication between the various parts of the building. As in primitive Africa, human porterage is relied upon as the means of conveying messages, and an hour may easily elapse between a visitor's arrival and the unearthing of the member he wishes to see. What this method lacks in speed, however, it makes up in dignity, the messengers being large and slow-moving men, wearing evening dress even in daylight, and ornamented with large gilt chains and badges after the manner of provincial mayors. Kitchens are interspersed among committee rooms, and for a considerable period every evening favoured regions of the building are pervaded by the sounds and the odours of good, old-fashioned English cooking. These, however, are not the only
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odours which are distributed by the ventilation. In some mys-
sterious manner the drainage in the Thames contributes an inter-
mittent miasma to a perennial stuffiness. Yet surely, for such
important business as is done here, it would be better to drench the
workers in super-oxygenated air of the utmost purity. Everywhere,
even in the case of kitchens, lockers, smoking rooms and lavatories,
an elaborate imitation Gothic scheme of decoration prevails. In his
utmost privacy the member of parliament still crouches in a niche.

The building is of a type of limestone exceptionally sensitive to
the acids of the London atmosphere, and a touch of eventfulness is
given to its façades by the occasional fall of lumps of the decaying
stuff. This is most felt upon the celebrated Terrace, a long narrow
passage between the building and the river. Here teas are served
to members and their friends and constituents, heedless of the
occasional avalanches. Here social influence is brought to bear up
the legislator, as the student may learn from the still sufficiently
contemporary novels of Mrs. Humphry Ward.

The enquiring stranger will naturally wish to be shown the
library and the organization for prompt information. He will find
three or four rooms lined chiefly with files of State papers and with
collections of books on British birds and field sports—dating from
the times when the majority of elected members were country
gentlemen. True, a selection of the customary reference books to
be found in clubs and hotels, and a few recently published political
biographies, along with a small shelf of current books from a circu-
lating library, indicate a faint recognition of modern requirements.
But no effort is made, even from such pathetically inadequate
material as this library comprises, to assemble for the use of
members from time to time such books or papers as bear on subjects
under discussion in the legislative chamber. There are no research
workers, preparing synopses or abstracts of information: no effort,
indeed, at all to relate the library, as such, to the specific needs of
those who might use it.*

For obscure tactical reasons in the Party Game, the House of
Commons consists of 615 members, a crowd too great for free
deliberation and too small for mass meeting treatment. When most
of them are present, a number must stand and cluster. There are
about 760 peers in the House of Lords, about 28 are minors at the

* No "wireless" is permitted anywhere in the Houses of Parliament.

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time of writing, and most of the others stay away, so that there is not the same congestion. At the risk of seeming farcical to the uninitiated it may be worth while to give some particulars of the way in which the business of a great empire is conducted in this ill-equipped, ill-ventilated and totally unsuitable building.

Every legislative measure must go through several stages of debate in the elected assembly—second reading,* committee, financial resolution (when money has to be found), report, third reading—before being sent to the hereditary chamber for further consideration and discussion there. It is the nominal aim of the Ins to keep the debates on each of these stages as short as possible, in order that the promises they have made to the electors may be redeemed at an early date. The ordinary members on their side of the House are accordingly expected to remain silent, leaving it to their leaders to make explanatory statements and reply to the criticisms of the Outs. These latter, on the other hand, since the basic article of their creed is that everything proposed by the Ins is bad, and since furthermore they will, in the ordinary course of events, be outvoted anyhow, aim at lengthening out and delaying the debates as much as possible in order to hinder the Ins from carrying through their legislative programme. The business of talking is on their side, accordingly, not confined to the leaders, but is enthusiastically carried on by as many of their supporters as can contrive to speak for half an hour or more without too often repeating what has already been said several times, and without making too apparent their lack of knowledge of—and often indeed, lack of interest in—the subject under discussion. This kind of debating sometimes goes on into the small hours of the morning, sometimes right through the night, the Outs hoping that sheer physical fatigue may force the Ins upon "the rack," to make concessions. The Ins may retaliate by moving and carrying the closure of a debate, but they do this at the peril of being represented (by the Outs) to every elector in the country as enemies of freedom of debate, betrayers of democracy, etc. And although every elector knows that the voting which ultimately decides every question is carried out on strict party lines, and knows, too, that most members do not listen to the debates, he has been trained to the belief that

* First reading has, surprisingly, been abbreviated to a mere formality occupying only a few seconds.
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this freedom of debate is a highly important thing, in the vein of Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights.

Recently a small group of members (including Sir Oswald Moseley and Mr. Maxton) became convinced that the economic situation demanded certain urgent remedies, and they did their best to work out how long these urgent measures would take. After the most careful enquiry and computation, they came to the conclusion that the measures immediately needed would take at least ten years of parliamentary time to put through.

This normal routine of parliamentary procedure may not strike the outside observer as an altogether dignified way of giving effect to the national will. But that is because he does not realize with what solemnity and formality it is carried on. There are certain honoured quaintnesses even in the discussion. All speeches must be addressed to "Mr. Speaker," the chairman of the assembly, and other members may only be alluded to by an elaborately circumlocutory form of address. For the convention of addressing the Speaker there is something to be said. It keeps debate impersonal; it prevents wrangling duels and direct insults "as man to man." But the other circumlocutions are a great strain. Ministers and ex-ministers are "right honourable gentlemen"; ordinary members "honourable gentlemen"; members with military or naval posts "honourable and gallant gentlemen"; and members who are also lawyers "honourable and learned gentlemen." Their surnames must never be used, but only the name of their constituencies. Plain Mr. X thus becomes "the honourable and learned gentleman, the member for ——." A similar rule forbids any direct mention of the hereditary chamber, the House of Lords, which can only be referred to as "another place." Furthermore, the proceedings are in costume. On his entry into the chamber Mr. Speaker, who is always attired in eighteenth-century court dress, plus a wig and gown, is attended by another functionary, the Sergeant-at-Arms (wearing a sword to justify his title), who carries the Mace, symbol of the Speaker's authority. This is deposited upon the table of the House, and it is removed as ceremoniously, and placed on two hooks under the table, when the assembly sits "in committee" and Mr. Speaker's place is taken by the Chairman of Ways and Means. There is no rule forbidding general conversation while someone is addressing the assembly; but there are strict rules against a member
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speaking with his hat on, though he may wear it while sitting.* And although members may walk in and out of the chamber as often as they please, whether anyone is speaking or not, they must always bow to Mr. Speaker or his deputy on entering or leaving. No member may stand in the chamber unless he is speaking, except on a certain marked-off area of the floor which is deemed to be outside the House. If a member's toe protrude across the line of tape (called "the Bar") marking the boundary of this area, he is guilty of a grave breach of decorum, and all those members in the chamber who have witnessed it are expected to chant, "Bar! Bar! Bar!" until the intruding toe is withdrawn. So, too, if in the excitement of speech-making he chances to step away from his seat and set his foot in the gangway.

The debates are occasionally interrupted by a message from "another place" demanding Mr. Speaker's presence in the hereditary chamber to hear some message from the King, or to witness the Royal Assent being given (in archaic French—"le Roy le veult") to certain measures. The hereditary chamber thus asserts its superiority by compelling the attendance of representatives of the Lower House within its own precincts, while the latter saves its dignity by ceremoniously closing its door in the face of the peers' messenger and obliging him to knock and then knock again and then knock, three times altogether, before he is admitted. He then enters and delivers his invitation, and the Speaker, after repeating in full the invitation which everyone has just heard, heads a procession of members to the "other place." He and they cluster just outside the doorway and remain dutifully standing while the King's message is read. The procession then returns to the elected chamber, and the Speaker reads out the message in full once more.

The method of taking a vote of the members is as deliberate as the rest of the procedure. It is processional. (Edison invented a method of voting and counting all the votes in a minute or so without a member leaving his place, half a century ago. In Texas a mechanical voter is actually in use, and the result is recorded in

* He must also put it on—or borrow someone else's to put on—if he wishes to rise to a point of order after a vote has been called. Otherwise, hatless, Mr. Speaker would not "see" him. There is much innocent fun when a large-headed member is thus forced to use a small-headed member's hat, or vice versa. The presence of women members has now brought in an added touch of humour when, for example, an eager hatless man finds nothing but a bonnet available to restore him to technical visibility.
twenty seconds.) Every member must leave his seat in the chamber and walk in queue through the fair way of one or other of two lobbies, the "Ayes" or the "Noes," passing through a sort of wicket, where he gives his name to a clerk, and then through a door where he is counted by two tellers. And so round the course home. When all have been counted, the tellers advance to the table of the House and, after bowing twice, read out their figures. This arrangement occupies from ten minutes to a quarter of an hour, and can even be made to last longer by the adoption of dilatory methods if either side is intent on hindering the course of the debates. Sometimes during the committee stage of a measure, votes on several amendments are taken in quick succession, and members spend from two to three hours in a single evening filing through the lobbies.

This registering of his vote is, of course, the most important part of an ordinary member's duties. His efficiency, or otherwise, as a legislator is rated by his constituents according to the number of divisions in which he votes. Since he is seldom in the chamber when a vote is called, Whips appointed by his party are stationed at the door to tell him which lobby to enter and, if he is of the curious, troublesome type, what the voting is about. Apart from voting, his chief opportunity for individual participation in the business of legislation comes during question-time, when, during the first fifty minutes of each day's proceedings, he may put questions to Ministers on any matters of public importance. Questions in the main fall into three groups: those put down by the Outs with the aim of embarrassing the government by compelling them to make a definite statement on some issue about which the government prefers to be indefinite; those referring to matters of local constituency interest, put down by members to advertise to their constituents the fact of their presence in Parliament; and those which genuinely seek information on some point of policy or administration or aim at securing publicity for some genuine grievance.

But the student must not imagine that the private member may ask any questions he pleases. There are intricate rules and regulations about what he may or may not ask and about the form in which his question may be put. You would imagine that somewhere among the pillars and vaults and masonry a small bureau would have been established to which members would take their
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questions and have them put into acceptable form and passed, but that is not the Westminster way. The Member of Parliament must hand his questions, while debating is in progress around him, to the "Clerk at the Table," who sits immediately in front of the Speaker. He must then stand meekly by, like a schoolboy at the head master's desk, while the official ponders his question and discovers breaches of the rules in it. Having been instructed to alter it, but not daring to ask for any explanation lest he be called to order for brawling under the Speaker's very nose, he goes out and writes out another form of words. And so on, and so on—until the master is satisfied. A sufficiently lucid code of regulations as to the correct phrasing of questions could probably be drawn up in ten minutes and printed on a postcard. But apparently no one at Westminster has thought of this.

If he fails to obtain what he considers a satisfactory answer, our questioning member may announce his intention of raising the matter on the adjournment of the House, that is, after the business of the day is over, late at night, when both he and the Minister concerned are usually too tired to take more than a perfunctory interest in anything, and when, incidentally, it is too late to get any notice in the press of the matter. Or, if he feels acutely about the subject and desires some publicity for it, he may get himself suspended (i.e., expelled from the sittings of the chamber for a week or longer) by refusing to obey Mr. Speaker's order to him to sit down after his question has been dealt with. Then there is a "scene" in the House, which gets duly reported in the newspapers.

Often, when the question is inconvenient to the government, the member will get no open reply at all. He will be asked to wait while enquiries are made. Unless he is obstinately persistent he may hear no more about the subject. A special report from the department concerned may even be placed quietly in the library at some later date, but he will not necessarily be informed of this, and the information may lie safely hidden on a top shelf or in an obscure cupboard. This, of course, can happen very easily indeed to questions on foreign or colonial subjects, where some time must elapse before replies from the territory concerned can be obtained.

During certain parts of every session one day, sometimes two, in a week are set apart for the discussion of private members' motions or bills (which of them are thus discussed is decided by ballot). But
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as there is practically no likelihood of these debates influencing the
course of legislation already decided upon by the government, they
may be regarded as academic exercises, of use only to those members
who desire practice in the art of speech-making.

We have noted the phases through which a bill must pass before
it goes to "another place." That is only half its career. After the
Commons it must go through similar stages in the House of Lords.
But here business is expedited somewhat, and their lordships rarely
sit longer than from tea-time to dinner-time.* (Voting is carried
out in the same way as in the Commons, except that the lords,
instead of being divided into "Ayes" and "Noes," declare them-
selves "Contents" or "Not Contents.") If a bill is passed by the
lords it needs only the Royal Assent to become an Act of Parlia-
ment. In the event of the lords rejecting a bill, the commons may
pass it again, this time with a minimum of formality and discussion;
and if they repeat this procedure a year later, and again a year
after that (which assumes that the Ins have not become Outs in the
meantime), the bill becomes law without the consent of the lords.

The parliamentary session has a variable length, but is never less
than a year (about eight months of actual sitting). It is opened by
a King's Speech, written, of course, by ministers, which outlines
in brief the programme of forthcoming legislation. This speech is
read by the monarch himself to the assembled lords and commons,
and the occasion is marked by a large amount of pageantry, with
Gold-Sticks-in-Waiting and Gentlemen of the Household greatly
in evidence.

At the end of the session all incomplete bills are dropped entirely.
This is called the "Massacre of the Innocents" by "old parliamentary
hands." Every scrap of work done upon these frustrated measures
is absolutely wasted. Everything must begin again at the next
session—the same stages, the same speeches, the same arguments,
the same indignation—all over again.

For traditional reasons of a complex type, the government is
regarded as a solid body of inseparables. If the members want to
get rid of an incompetent minister of finance, they cannot do so
without turning out the entire government and breaking off every
other ministerial activity in progress. A prime minister, defeated

* They have, of course, no budget or estimates to deal with, entire control of
finance being vested in the Commons.
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or in a bad temper, may decide to advise the King to dissolve parliament, and then back go the affairs of the nation, in all their complexity and incompletenesses to the general population, under conditions we will consider a little more closely in our section on Assent.

Such are the machinery and working of the supreme government of what is still the greatest empire the world has ever seen. Our most effective comment is to turn our eyes for a mere instant back to Mr. Ford making motor-cars, or to the mechanisms described at the end of Chapter IV.

The fact that the British Parliament is ceasing to be an efficient instrument for the government of a modern community has become so patent and painful to the more intelligent among politicians themselves that we find both Mr. Winston Churchill—who has sat in both Conservative and Liberal Cabinets—and Mrs. Sidney Webb—the wife of a Labour Cabinet Minister—putting forward schemes for its reform. Their plans have something in common: both start by pointing out that whereas the problems which confronted our ancestors were conceived in political terms, those that concern us to-day are mostly economic in character. And neither writer is able to regard our present House of Commons and House of Lords as suitable assemblies for the discovery or expression of economic truths. Mr. Churchill in his pamphlet, "Parliamentary Government and the Economic Problem," states the position succinctly. What the peoples demand to-day, he says, is more prosperity. They ask to be delivered from "the new punishment—the Curse of Plenty"—a state in which they find themselves starving in the midst of world-wide "over-production." But the remedy he proposes for this is not particularly drastic. He wishes to set up an Economic Sub-Parliament, subordinate to Parliament, appointed by the party leaders in proportion to the number of their followers in the House of Commons. These appointed members are to be possessed of "high technical qualifications"—that is, they are to consist of "40 members of the House of Commons experienced in economic subjects, and 80 business men, Trade Union representatives or economic authorities," among whom should be "not less than 20 members of the House of Lords." And the work he wishes them to do is to take over, with the consent of the House, bills which have
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passed their second reading, or any other bill or clause which they may be asked to consider, and debate them with fearless detachment from public opinion—and, one imagines, though he does not say so, equally fearless detachment from the opinion of the party leaders by whom they are appointed.

To this scheme one might put forward the objection that what is wanted is no mere discussion of bills after their principles have been settled, but a wider general knowledge of economics. The Macmillan Committee was a committee of experts of great brilliance and the highest standing. It was asked to advise on the financial policy of the country during the present crisis. In July, 1931, it reported that it is absolutely vital that a policy should be adopted which will tend to raise world-prices and increase consumption. In August, 1931, a National Government was formed in order to carry out a policy of checking consumption and forcing prices down still further. As we write efforts are being made to carry this out with the minimum of Parliamentary voting or discussion. In such a vortex what would happen to the straw of Mr. Churchill’s economic parliamentary sub-committee?

But the main objection to his scheme, as our readers will have told themselves, is that economic problems are international. What is necessary is not that Trade Unionists and business men and members of the House of Lords shall have still another opportunity of stating their opinions, but that governments themselves shall consider their economic measures from a world point of view. The time to take expert advice is before the principles of bills are decided, the advice that is needed is that of real experts, and the danger to be overcome is that the present rulers of the British democracy are too ignorant of finance and economics to be able either to understand or to criticize their pronouncements.

Mrs. Webb’s scheme goes further towards meeting the first of these objections. She would have the range of questions which are generally called social removed from Parliament altogether and handed over to an elected National Assembly together with the government departments concerned with their administration. This would have great advantages. It would relieve the pressure on Parliamentary time. It would mean that there was a far greater chance of bills being voted upon by people with some interest in their contents—the division into social questions on the one hand
and foreign affairs, defence and imperial questions on the other does correspond to two different types of politician. It would revive cabinet government, which is made impossible at present by the sheer amount of work to be done. The weak link of the scheme is finance, which Mrs. Webb would leave in the main to the old Parliament after handing over certain sources of revenue to her National Assembly. Finance nowadays, as we are being sharply reminded, is more than the mere spending and raising of taxes. It is impossible to decide on wages or hours or unemployment insurance without reference to international money questions. And an assembly which had no responsibility for foreign affairs might tend to be even more insular than the existing Parliament. The parliaments of the future, if the world is not to relapse into chaos, must regard themselves as the local organs of the world state, and reforms which do not envisage this must fail at an essential point.*

§ 3. *The Permanent Official*

But does so clumsy, antiquated and slow an administrative machine really govern? The answer is that, except in a very broad and qualified sense, it does not. It has been partially superseded, just as the monarch has been almost entirely superseded, by other agencies. The King parades on public occasions as the head of the State. The members of the government parade as his responsible advisers. But what does not parade, and what is altogether less obvious to public observation, is the organization of departmental officials. A large and increasing share in government falls to this stratum of active workers, and it becomes necessary, therefore, that we should consider the rôle of administering and interpreting the law that falls to them.

Under all governments there has been this class, since civilized communities began. They were scribes, they were viziers, they were chamberlains and chancellors, they appear in endless variety, beside and behind the throne and spreading out over the administered country. A history of the Civil Service in Egypt throughout the dynasties has not yet been written. Probably Professor J. H. Breasted could tell us as much about it as anyone. There are

* For a fuller development of the matter in this section see the chapter on Political Institutions in Laski’s *Grammar of Politics*. 

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studies still to be made of the Civil Service of the empires of Mesopotamia also, and we know far too little of what is to be known of the Civil Service of the Roman Empire. The thousands—generation after generation; I suppose it amounts altogether to millions—of men in these services, whose names are now for the most part forgotten, have held the machinery of civilization together and kept it going throughout the ages. Civilization could no more have existed without them than a human body without a nervous system. I would suggest that one of the chief contributing causes of the collapse of the great Mongol empire of the early thirteenth century and of the Arab empire of the eighth, so that they were blown out and burst like paper bags, was largely due to their inability to develop any effective civil service over the vast areas of their conquests in time to consolidate them. Some historians dwell upon the political incapacity of Mongol and Arab—perhaps unjustly. When the Mongol came upon an established machine of government in China, when the Arab found the same thing in Persia and Egypt, and the Turk in Byzantium, they founded enduring empires. Or rather, they took them over—and were taken over. A time may come when history, grown more penetrating, will have more to tell about clerks and less about conquerors.

In our analysis of the motivation of the human community in Chapter VIII, we gave some broad indications of the development and variation of the priestly persona. The departmental official, far more even than the teacher and the man of science, is in that tradition of honour and devotion. He has definitely put adventures in gain behind him. He is far more restricted in that respect than the official in any public utility or industrial enterprise run for profit. The latter type does for many reasons tend to assimilate to him as the scale of business enlarges, but the private official is generally more enterprising and bolder in accepting responsibility. The chief accusation against the public functionary throughout the ages has also been the chief grievances against priesthoods, conservatism; he is over-disposed, it is said, to follow precedents and refuse risks.

In the last two or three paragraphs suggestions have been thrown out for at least three enormous books. It is the privilege of a work like the present one to make such demands. Let us now ask for yet another great volume, with appendices and all complete, which
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shall be a full and careful study of the history, working and psychology of the British Civil Service for the last hundred years. It would be a most valuable and directive addition to the political science of the whole world. It would analyse problems at the very core of an organized world state.*

Great Britain, struggling with the unprecedented problems of an expanding industrialism at home and a spreading empire about the world, made its first break with patronage in 1856 and introduced a method of open competition for entrance to Haileybury College, leading on to the Indian Civil Service, which was further developed into a system of open competition for most home Civil Service appointments in 1870. There had been qualifying examinations for Haileybury since 1813, but not open competition. Open competition was really a primarily important innovation in administrative structure, and the outcome of a long and sustained discussion that had been going on for half a century. To Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) we must ascribe the launching of this idea. His *Official Aptitude Maximised and Expense Minimised*, which was part of his great incomplete *Constitutional Code*, was a scheme for competitive examination for official appointments. The idea was supported vigorously by Sir Charles Trevelyan and Lord Macaulay. The speech of the latter upon the Indian Civil Service Charter Act in 1833 was a masterly statement of the case for the new method. The Indian Civil Service Charter Act in the days of Company rule in India was renewed every twenty years, and when it came up again in 1853 this great innovation was applied to India. A committee, Sir Charles Trevelyan’s committee, sat from 1849 onward to bear fruit at last twenty-one years later. So the first modern civil service was born. The method of selection by open competition, hitherto unheard of in the Western world, has created a civil service, with a body of upper officials of a new and better type, singularly free from personal and party ties, exceptionally intelligent and intellectually enterprising. It lets in the “rank outsider” of ability and energy: that is its supreme merit.

No doubt the system of examination is open to very great improvement. The “subjects” to which marks were and are most

* Dr. Finer, of the London School of Economics, has published various studies. An excellent, clear book, not too long, and full not only of fact but suggestion, is his *British Civil Service.*
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heavily assigned in the competition are subjects remote from the realities with which the competitors will have to deal. It is possible for a Treasury clerk, for instance, to be blandly ignorant of economics, social and administrative science and psychology; he learns his business from the files of his department and is all too apt to absorb the shibboleths and habits of thought of the City financiers with whom his duties bring him into contact. He has not the assurance and strength of scientific knowledge, and the City he should dominate, assimilates him. Good as the official by competitive examination is, an insistence on the social and political sciences as of dominant importance in his success would certainly make him better.

This new civil service presently revealed a spirit of enquiry into the objectives of government such as no other civil service had ever before displayed. It produced a novel ideology. Fabian Socialism is essentially a product of the British Civil Service. Both Sidney Webb (now Lord Passfield) and Sydney Olivier (now Lord Olivier) were among the chief creators of that school of non-revolutionary administrative socialism, socialism by evolution. They were both civil servants, and it would be difficult to estimate how far the ideology of social reformers and public servants throughout the world at the present time has been affected by this remarkable initiative. Closely associated in its beginnings with the Fabian Society and with the activities of Webb and his brilliant wife, is the London School of Economics, still the most vigorous and efficient centre of modern social, political and economic thought in the world. These initiatives are, we say, in a large measure by-products of the new British Civil Service; the expression of its bolder and more innovating spirits. They are cited here as evidence of what is possible and not of what is general as yet in the new type of civil servant. But each sweep of the competitive scythe brings in with the rest, a contingent of original minds. The majority of British permanent officials have proved less lucid and outspoken than these outstanding figures. They have done the tasks put before them without any overt excursions into general political suggestion, but their circumstances must dispose them to a very similar way of thinking.

Behind the antiquated and sometimes almost farcical forms and procedures of the British monarchy and parliament there now
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stands this stable organization of experienced and competent permanent officials, protected from the attacks of powerful and influential persons and legally excluded from party politics.

From top to bottom there are now almost 310,000 national civil servants in Great Britain; twenty times the number at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In addition there are 120,000 state industrial workers. Side by side with these there are the independently recruited local government officials (of the county councils, etc.) amounting to about the same total, to whom the principle of competitive examination has been as yet only partially applied. That 310,000, we must note, includes a multitude of postmen and such-like subordinates with hardly any directive influence whatever. It is in the upper division chiefly that the vital and directive minds are to be found, a few hundreds (circa 1200) of them in all, but hundreds of extraordinary importance in the working of the governmental machine.* The politicians manœuvre against each other, fight their party battles in the country, repeat their catchwords, make their vast absurd promises and win their way to office. There they find themselves in the presence of complex administrative problems for which they have neither the necessary knowledge nor the aptitude. They find themselves nominally heads of departments but in reality intermediaries between departments they cannot handle and the enquiring private member. The newly appointed minister says unto this man go, and he goeth—but the minister never finds out how he manages to go; and to another come, and he cometh—with a dossier of documents sufficient to dismay the stoutest politician that ever shouted on a platform. The legislator cannot legislate without the help and instruction of his departmental staff. Between procedure on the one hand and the departmental official on the other, the Member of Parliament and even the Minister is a sorely baffled man. He came to exercise power, and he finds himself not so much carrying on as being carried on.

It is impossible to overstate the significance of this modern type of civil service, which is neither elected from below nor appointed from above, but which emerges by a system of examination from the educational organization of the country. Elected, it would be,
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like the politician, merely a reflection and an exploitation of the self-pushing peasant type; appointed, it would be servile to the masterful predatory adventurer. It must be evident that in no section of the community are a modern ideology and a creative disposition of mind of greater importance and effectiveness than among these permanent officials. As the world of scientific workers emerges from the clerical traditions of the past, so also is the “trained” and “expert” official likely to emerge. They will be kindred types of similar origin.

We are still, so to speak, only in the first generation of the competitive civil service type, and already it is clear that it has a mind of its own. That distinctive mind is likely to develop to quite formidable proportions in the years ahead and to modify our conceptions of government and governmental possibility profoundly. And, though this is anticipating certain ideas we shall develop rather more fully later, it may be extraordinarily helpful to international co-operation in the future, if the meetings and interchanges of civil servants of different countries could be facilitated and multiplied. The meetings of the “great statesmen” of various nations at Geneva are apt to be rather like the casual meetings of Guys in the London streets on the Fifth of November. The things flap about with their great eyes goggling at the photographers and reporters. The General Election bonfire will come sooner or later, and the next meeting may be of quite another pair of Guys. But the permanent official remains and returns and grows in significance.

§ 4. A Collection of Governments*

It was rather amusing in § 2, even though it may have seemed a little irreverent to some of our readers, to survey the sacred procedures of the British Parliament in the light of modern rationalization. Manifestly we were dealing in this instance with a very old-established and intensely self-satisfied body. It has muddled along in the sunshine of British good luck for so long that it is still saturated with the idea that the sunshine is the outcome of its own peculiar virtues. It palavers, it plays its little slow game of pro-

* A very readable, good little book on the subject of this section is Parliament (History, Constitution and Practice), by Sir Courtenay Ilbert. It is a pre-war book now brought up to date (1929). A more extensive study will be Dr. H. Finer’s Theory and Practice of Modern Government, still in the press as this is being written.
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cessions and ceremonial, it rejoices in its leaders and "characters," it delays and obstructs human progress—with an unsullied conscience. Since the social machine does in a manner get along from day to day, and since the permanent official is relatively invisible, the public shares this delusion of the politician's essential importance. And there is no fundamental difference in quality, though there may be differences in degree, when we turn from the British government to other contemporary sovereign powers.

We find, for example, the government of the United States aloof from all the vital centres of American life in the District of Columbia. Washington has the better of Westminster at least in the possession of a comprehensive and admirably administered library. But the contact of the individual Congressman with the executive ministries is even more remote than that of the British Member of Parliament, because neither the President nor the Ministers he has selected sit in the House of Representatives. There is, therefore, no question-time at Washington. The President may or may not assemble his Ministers after the fashion of the British Cabinet. There are 435 members of the House of Representatives; they sit for two years and legislate or serve on various standing committees which communicate with parallel committees of the Senate and with the ministries (departments). The individual Congressman may be even more ineflective and evanescent than the British Member of Parliament. He may feel even more like an uninvited stray dog in an unfamiliar house. Unless he is in with the party bosses, the rules of procedure paralyse him completely.

The Washington Senate is, however, a very different sort of body from the Assembly. There are ninety-six Senators at Washington, two for each state, who sit for six years, thirty-two are replaced or re-elected biennially, and the Senate is therefore, quite apart from its constitutional powers, a more permanent, homogeneous and effective body than the Lower House.

The framers of the Constitution contrived a complicated system of interlocking vetoes to prevent any possibility of convulsive political acts. The President may veto legislation, the Senate must endorse by a two-thirds majority every treaty with a foreign power. All save the minor processes and undertakings of American representatives abroad therefore are provisional and conditional upon the assent of the Senate. This has provided some stupendous
surprises for the European mind, as, for example, the repudiation of
the League of Nations by the Senate, after nearly every chief avenue
in the European capitals had been rechristened Avenue Wilson.
From first to last a European Foreign Office is never quite clear
about what it is dealing with in America. Behind this formal
government again move those great shadowy monsters, the Demo-
cratic and Republican party organizations. They become incarnate
in Conventions; incarnate, they are seen to be creatures of frenzy
and unreason. They produce "platforms" which straddle and evade
every real issue, they menace, they make, and they break all the
actors upon the Washington scene. They developed mainly between
1830 and 1840, they underwent great transformations through the
Civil War, and they have ever since controlled the Washington
government. They are in effect now as much the real government of
the United States as Mussolini is at the time of writing the un-
crowned King of Italy. The President is first and foremost a party
man. He has been for a hundred years. He does not stand in the
shoes of George Washington. He stands in one of his shoes. More-
over, this government at Washington is a government whose powers
are strictly limited and defined. It has no concern over such (now)
world-wide concerns as labour legislation, marriage, divorce and
general morals, public health, mineral resources, water power,
company law, bankruptcy, insurance and education. These are
affairs for the eight-and-forty sovereign governments constituent
of the Union.

Senate, House and President are elected at different times for
different periods. Hence a President, for a part or the whole of his
term, may be confronted by a hostile Assembly.

At Washington and in each of the eight-and-forty state capitals,
just as at Westminster, there centres a civil service organization.
On the whole, the American Civil Service is not so stable and com-
petent as the British equivalent. It varies in quality from state to
state. The Federal Civil Service developed late in American history,
and to its delayed and hampered development many weaknesses
of the American government are to be ascribed. A hundred years
ago the party machines, those two great party organizations behind
the ostensible government, which actually dominate American
politics, laid hold of Civil Service appointments and used them
boldly as party bribes and rewards. No qualifications were exacted.
from the candidates for office, their salaries were taxed to contribute to the party funds, and, subject to the Four Years' Tenure of Office Act of 1820, they went in and out with their party.

This unfortunate arrangement has not only hampered the development of a great modern civil service in America, but it has introduced a perverted realism and a criminal bitterness into American party politics unknown in the British world. The gangster has stood close to the politician for a century. President Garfield, for example, was assassinated by a disappointed political gangster, and under one administration, a revenue service, appointed on this "spoils system," robbed the federal government of $75,000,000. After fifty years of ineffectual discontent, and following upon the shock of President Garfield's murder, the public rebelled, and the Federal Civil Service Act of 1883 (followed speedily by similar acts in the states of New York and Massachusetts), laid the foundations of a civil service in America adequate to the needs of a great modern community. Other states, however, still clung to gangster party officials, and only after 1905 did a new wave of purification sweep Wisconsin, Illinois, and several other states onward towards civilized civil services. And there at present things remain. The rest of the states have not been swept.

The Federal Civil Service Act itself was not altogether comprehensive; it excluded a number of appointments, higher grades of postmastership, collectorship of customs and inland revenue and other administrative offices, which remain to this day party jobs subject to both appointment by the President and confirmation by the Senate. (If the President makes an appointment in defiance of party feelings, the Senate may not confirm. He must parley and choose again. Generally the President does not make these appointments at all, but leaves it to the interested Senator or party boss.) Because of this exclusion from the Acts there still remain in the United States about 17,000 federal officials of no particular competence, subordinating their proper duties to party intrigue. But the bulk of the Federal services (about 700,000 posts) is now carried on by permanent officials.

The struggle of the United States to establish and maintain scientific standards in these matters is by no means ended. The Senate clings obstinately to its patronage. The examinations for even the higher grade appointments of the Federal service, says Graham

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Wallas, are not nearly so severe as the British, and for that and other reasons, they do not attract as good a type of man from the universities. It is a specialist's examination; it does not test general education and intelligence. In that respect the British conditions err on the other side. The pay in relation to the prevailing standard of life is low, and there is no effective superannuation. There is not the same career for an able man. The civil servant is not respected. He may be treated with great popular ingratitude. Citizens lack respect for the administration, and over great areas lawlessness prevails because the public services do not command respect.

And yet nowhere is this lawlessness absolute. In human affairs nothing is ever as good as it ought to be and nothing is ever as bad as it might be. Men may be crookedly appointed and still feel a sense of duty. There may be party politicians who may believe they are supporting the right thing—if a trifle subtly and indirectly—and at times they may even be roused to see that they get the right thing. Everywhere men value good report. In spite of every adverse force, the American nation is developing, slowly but surely, and in its own fashion, that essential organ for a modern state, a powerful and efficient civil service. Political entanglements notwithstanding, there are points upon which American public organization already compares favourably with any European parallels. The technicians, the economists, medical men, architects, chemists, draughtsmen and so forth, seem to be more severely chosen and chosen more definitely in relation to what they have to do. The prevalent hard thinking about efficiency methods permeates governmental work. There is not the same gap in sympathy between business procedure and public functionaries that we find in Great Britain. Professional organizations (of engineers, accountants, architects, e.g.) seem bolder and more vigorous and influential in America than in Europe, and make themselves better felt in the direction of public affairs.

When we turn to France we find a fine civil service (with which, in contrast to the British and American instances, the educational organization is combined), still rather disheartened and demoralized by an extensive reduction of salaries and prestige through the revaluation of the franc. The same thing has happened in Germany. Before the war the German bureaucracy was a very powerful body, appointed from above and responsible, says Finer, to no one but
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its conscience. It was appointed only after the most thorough education, selection, and probation—a system with two hundred years of history. It had public prestige of the highest degree, and a high tradition of efficiency, service, and liberal reform. It was sometimes overbearing, but just and clean. It was the state-conserving element in the Revolution of 1918 and the reaction of 1923. In spite of the temptations and tactics of political parties, it still preserves its professional dignity and capacity and becomes now more conscious than ever that it is the essential institution without which Germany must fail.

But we cannot embark here upon even the most elementary description of the working of the French or German governmental machinery. Or of any other governments. Treatise beyond treatise would arise. It was Aristotle, the Father of Systematic Knowledge, who made the first collection of governments (158 of them) as a supplement to his Politics. (Of this collection only the Constitution of Athens survives.) In that vast encyclopaedic museum which overshadows our book there would be a complete display of the constitutions and methods of legislation and administration of mankind, it would be the list of Aristotle brought up to date. There the student would contemplate the housing and organization of the inkpot-throwing parliaments of eastern Europe (the members of the Mother of Parliaments have no inkpots handy), the highly disciplined Fascist legislature, to which Fascists only may be elected, the new parliamentary or pseudo-parliamentary organizations of China and Persia and Turkey, and those mass meetings which figure as parliaments in Soviet Russia.

I visited the Russian Duma in 1914; it conducted its deliberations in Potemkin’s old riding school under a colossal portrait of the Tsar, enormously bootied, and was otherwise a very good imitation of a modernized Western parliament, with priests and women among its members; and I visited and addressed the Soviet of the Commune of the North in Leningrad in 1920. That was a vast meeting of a couple of thousand people or more, a meeting completely dominated from the platform; and proceedings culminated in the showing of an anti-Imperialist film of Zinovieff and Zorin visiting the Caucasus; after which the assembly dispersed emotionally singing the “Internationale.”

At Moscow I visited Lenin in the Kremlin, and I had a glimpse
of the administration of one or two government departments. I got an impression everywhere of casual and amateurish administration. The post office was completely out of gear—I saw youthful stamp collectors, entrusted with letter-sorting, picking foreign stamps off the envelopes of letters at the frontier bureau—and the new régime had practically taken over the personnel and methods of the Tsarist police. There never had been much of a civil service in Russia, and to a large extent its function (in 1920) was being performed by members of the Communist party, who sat in slovenly requisitioned rooms, and made up in zeal for what they lacked in efficiency. Possibly this improvised civil service has learnt much in the last ten years, but Stalin, who has succeeded the scientific-spirited Lenin, seems to possess all the vindictive romanticism of a typical Georgian, and his methodical removal of one after another of Lenin’s trusted lieutenants cannot fail to injure and cripple the working of the huge new politico-economic machine he is trying to create. One symptom of inefficiency is the constant trials and frequent executions of officials and experts that still go on. The methods of terror, says H. R. Knickerbocker, still rule in Russia. The Terror in Russia has lasted thirteen years. It is a cruel and wasteful substitute for civil service morale.

But we cannot, we repeat, expand the catalogue of constitutions and administrations here. Those who are bent upon human unity and the great peace of the world must needs spend some pensive moments over this imagined gallery of contemporary governments at work, before they go on with our argument. This assemblage of creaky, clumsy, primary governing machines with their underpaid, corrupted or under-developed civil services, their encumbering traditions of procedure and their obstinate inefficiency, this miscellany of machines, all different, without “interchangeable parts” or any arrangements for interlocking, constitute at present the only available legal apparatus for regulating and reconstructing the common affairs of mankind. Our hope of a satisfactory substitute lies manifestly in the unobtrusive evolution of a series of scientifically organized civil services with ideas of world administration in common.

A very important and necessary linking system between the official civil services and the general activities of the developing modern community, Finer points out, is foreshadowed by what he
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calls vocational associations, such organizations as trade unions, federations of this or that industry, chambers of commerce and the like. On the one hand, such bodies can influence and instruct elected legislators directly; on the other, they are called in by the Civil Service before laws are drafted. They can co-operate in the work of special committees. More and more of the real administration work of modern governments is carried on by accessory committees. Such advisory committees before the departments as the German Economic Council, the French Economic Council, the English Economic Advisory Council, are all organized (if rudimentary) arrangements to supplement the work of Parliament by more effective consultative methods.*

§ 5. Assent

Let us for a section revert to the elementary psychology of human association with which we have already dealt in Chapter the Eighth. It has been difficult to consider the existing governments of mankind from the point of view of an efficient discharge of function, without a note of derision creeping into the account. That note will pass into dismay and monstrous foreboding as this chapter proceeds to the consideration of international relations and the clumsy dealings of these inept governments one with another. But when we consider them, not from that point of view, but as aspects in the slow, progressive adjustment of a very ego-centred and recalcitrant animal to social life, the calm of biology returns to us, we see how inevitable these evils were, and the flavour of exasperation and indignation fades out of our description.

Before we take up the activities of war and the mutual injuries of states, let us seek an explanation of this outstanding ineptitude which still pervades political life and which contrasts so vividly with man’s present scientific and industrial achievement. Why are our ostensible governments so manifestly inferior in their working and adjustments to railway engines or telephone exchanges?

* Fiffer’s book on Representative Government (1923) broke new ground in this matter. Since then Child’s book on Labour and Capital in their relations with Parliament has analysed the situation in the United States more closely and exhaustively. There is a compact and very suggestive discussion of these general administrative issues in Sir Arthur Salter’s A Scheme for an Economic Advisory Council in India, 1931.
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The answer is latent in the account we have given of social origins. Man, we have to reiterate, is social in spite of himself. He is by nature self-centred, fierce and resentful, and to make up society it has been necessary that he should be educated, cajoled and subdued. Fear, superstitions and the gods, religions, histories, initiations and educations, example and precept have all played a part in the complex, always imperfect, process of breaking him in to collective life. Beating, promises, flattery and training have each contributed to win his assent to his rôle in the scheme of things, his willing participation in the give-and-take of the community.

In the smaller, simpler, stabler cities and states of the past, it was possible to browbeat and accustom ordinary people to the obediences and co-operations of collective life. The community carried on. If any chose to be recalcitrant, disapproval and compulsion of a practicable sort were close at hand. If in return the ruler proved too oppressive, a straightforward revolt and a change of ruler could occur and clean up the situation.

But with the growth and increasing complexity of modern communities, assent became a less simple matter. Government became distant, it became distant in space, and it receded from popular view behind a growing thicket of intermediaries. It ceased to feel the fluctuations of individual assent. Britain lost her American colonies because, weeks and weeks away across the Atlantic, men could get together and say freely what they thought of taxation by Westminster, while Westminster unaware could do nothing to suppress them or reconcile them. The French monarchy collapsed because France beyond Versailles would not assent to continually increasing taxation. Most of the social and political stresses of the past three centuries have been due to the dissentience of people out of touch with, and refusing assent to, governments. The nineteenth century, from first to last, was experimenting with representative democracy in the hope of sustaining the minimum of assent necessary for the working of a continually more extended, detailed (and more costly and taxing) governing machine.

On the one hand the traditional ruler was relinquishing more and more of the detailed application of power to the skilled or routine-guided official, while on the other he was still held responsible for all this increasing amount of government. So he found himself in continually greater need of the general assent of the community.
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The modern politician has arisen, in effect, to meet the needs of this situation. He is a dealer, a merchant or broker in assent. He lives by assent. He gathers it in, or makes believe to gather it in, from the vague and fluctuating masses of the great modern community, he consolidates it, or seems to consolidate it, always with a view to the approval of the assenting mass and a continuation of its favours, and so he transmits it to the officials, police, teachers, tax-gatherers, judiciary and so on. He interprets to the officials what the community approves and what they may do, and the officials inform him upon what issues the community needs to be instructed and directed. He has to pose as giving orders to the one and inspiration to the other. He is something quite different from a Roman Imperial statesman, an oriental vizier, or a statesman of the Middle Ages. One must go back to the city democracies of the Mediterranean to find anything like him. He is not indeed a statesman at all, or he is a statesman by the way. He is much more akin to the actor, the writer, and the popular journalist. He deals with audiences, as they do.

To realize the intervention of these assent-organizing activities and the conditions under which they must work is to begin to understand the otherwise inexplicable inefficiency of contemporary governing bodies. It was unfair to compare them to boards of directors or to any rationalized industrial organization. They neither embody definite plans nor pursue defined ends. Nobody is quite clear and precise about what they are for. They balance and sway in the balance. The will to rule which is supposed to exist in the electorate is not there. The will to rule has evaporated from the organization of the modern state. It is being concentrated afresh in the minds of political thinkers, business organizers, financial organizers, and the modern civil service. But the politician has to pretend and sustain with all his power the pretense that the will to rule resides in the electorate. Directly it is proved that the ordinary man has no wish to rule at all, the reason for the politician’s existence vanishes.

Our museum encyclopædia would detail all the multitudinous ways of looking at the state, still operative in the world. The religious royalist—in Britain, at least—would say that government is “for God and the King.” It has to sustain the peace and order of the realm. Such Puritans as those who founded New England
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would have it that it is the embodiment of God's will on earth. Many minds with a Latin tradition would turn rather to the phrase of the Re-Public or the Common Weal. And then ask for an expert dictator—though dictators are never experts. But for the past century and a half theocracy and autocracy have been more or less thrust aside by the democratic idea, the idea that the state is the "embodied will" of the people, that all power comes from the people and all governmental service is ultimately the service of the people and of their common rights and liberties. In most other systems the people are supposed to assent passively; an element of natural or divine right in the ruler or rulers is assumed, and the people are understood to recognize that; in modern democratic systems popular assent is figured as active and continuous. The people are themselves supposed to watch and understand government and to signify their assent by their votes.

The next stage to representative democracy is Anarchism, in which theory no government whatever is required, since the people are supposed to be directly and immediately capable of solving whatever collective problems may arise.

Manifestly our contemporary populations neither watch nor understand government. That they do so is a legal fiction. But we have to get along with that fiction for the present, because no one has yet invented and worked out any better way of getting a general assent to administration and legislation. A much better way cannot be beyond human contriving, but it has not yet been contrived. Meanwhile the collective affairs of mankind have to be carried on through the mediation of a patchwork of seventy-odd governments, mostly of the elective democratic type. There is nothing else to be done but to work them as well as we can until a better way appears.

Again the reader must turn his imagination to vast shadowy galleries in our Museum of Human Activities. There would be exhibits to display the past and present of electioneering and the organization of democracies for political ends. All the machinery would be displayed from public meeting to polling station and vote counting; there should be a complete collection of election posters, cinema records of American processions and demonstrations, and a series of photographs of politicians in full harangue, with their faces distended and their uplifted and gesticulating hands and arms.
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In the special library there would be a collection to illustrate the relations of the press to political crises and studies of bribery under past and current conditions, intimidation, personation, the falsification of returns and the strategy of seat redistribution, freak candidatures and the like.

It is impossible, under modern conditions, for politicians to mould or direct opinion. They have to pick up and marshal such feelings and opinions as exist already in the community, to "crystallize" them in catchwords, to use all the skill and science of the professional advertiser to impress their "personalities" and their panaceas on the popular imagination. Even when they are standing for a real end, its statement must be simplified down to the level of the average voter. Necessarily they must seek and use the cheapest, widest appeals to prejudice that the public intelligence will tolerate.

Cheapest and most effective of all such appeals is the appeal to patriotism. If patriotism had never existed before, modern politicians would have invented it. And almost equally powerful are class jealousy and class greed. Let the burthen of taxation fall on other people: that has always been quite naturally a very popular cry. Fear of the unknown is another great force for the politicians' purposes. All proposals for reorganization must have their complexities, which may need half an hour or so of explanation—and half an hour of explanation is nine-and-twenty minutes too much for the average man. All, too, involve some experimental reservations. A twist of misrepresentation, a misleading nickname, a bold assertion of the certainty of disastrous consequences, and the carefully elaborated scheme is doomed. The common voter, unless he is in a panic or entirely desperate, will go down with the ship, will stick to the ship, that is, so long as it is above water, rather than risk the frightful jump into the lifeboat. Much more will he hold back when there are politicians to tell him that the lifeboat is a life trap, and as the ship always has floated he may trust it to float for ever.

As corrective to this law, so to speak, of the maximum cheapness of appeal in political life, there is nothing but a public understanding based on a sound general education—education not of the formal school type, but real education as we shall define it in Chapter XV. As the level of sound education rises in a community, the quality of the politician's appeal must rise. There will come a point at which

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the baser grades of claptrap will discredit, and the politician will have to qualify this claptrap he uses with a certain consistency and sanity. An alert, intelligent and honest press is a powerful restraint upon the worst impulses of the politician. It can keep things in mind for and against him; it can be a constant refresher to the public mind. Unhappily, economic developments have for a time cheapened the press mentality throughout the world. But this we shall discuss later.

Posturing, intrigue and unscrupulous appeals to fear, class jealousy, and patriotism; favours, buttons, crystal and claptrap: these are the forces that bring the politicians of the great powers of the world to office. They come to government pledged to measures that must confuse economic life, cripple trade and promote those international stresses that lead to war. As far as possible, the permanent official, the sane man in a position of responsibility, does his best to prevent or delay the realization of those pledges. And the necessary legislative and administrative incompetence of the democratic politician is also very helpful in assisting him to break his word. Moreover, as soon as his election to office is over, he has no longer any strong inducements to keep his word; it is much easier and pleasanter to let his pledges—he never, if he can help it, pledges anything tangible—slide. He promised to save the country, and is not his presence at the head of things a sufficient guarantee that the country has been saved?

In this manner it becomes clear how it is that the multitudinous governing machines that now divide human affairs so strangely between them are so inferior in efficiency to the aeroplane, the telephone exchange or the power station. When we scrutinize the psychology of human association the wonder is, not that it works badly, but that it works at all. We have seen how in a comparatively brief period of time human communities have passed from their ancient forced assent to the arbitrary will of Gods and masters, into this present state of alleged free assent—which is, to put it plainly, humbugged assent. Uncertainly and desperately the educationally minded toil to overtake the blundering developments of this new situation. The problem of government remains still the obscurest of all the vital problems that now challenge mankind.

We may, perhaps, glance for a moment at various proposals that have been advanced for the improvement of the modern democratic
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governing machine. They are all rather hopeless proposals because they are more or less plainly and openly projects for the abolition of the contemporary type of politician, and it is only with the consent of the contemporary type of politician that they can legally be brought into operation. The proposals fall into three groups: those which concern the method of election; those which concern the size and procedure of the legislative body, and those which turn upon the necessity of the checks and delays established by our forbears.

It is maintained by a very considerable number of intelligent people that the prevalent method of election by the division of the electorate into one-seat (or in a minority of cases two or more seat) constituencies, necessarily subordinates wide to local considerations, gives no representation whatever to the minority, though it may be only a few votes short of the majority, and leads inevitably to a two-party system which mocks at essential change. At times a party which really represents only a minority of the population, by winning a number of seats by narrow majorities and losing a few by enormous minorities, may have an actual majority in the legislative chamber.

One remedy suggested by Thomas Hare (The Election of Representatives) in 1859 and supported by John Stuart Mill is Proportional Representation. In its original and most logical form it was a scheme for treating the whole country as one constituency and allowing a candidate to collect votes until he could obtain a quota qualifying him for election. “Practical” men have modified this project in 300 (!) different ways, but the most genuine form would have large constituencies returning up to fifteen members (so Lord Courtney before the British Royal Commission in 1909) and long lists of candidates would be submitted to the electors who would mark their preferences one, two, three, and so on. A candidate who secured more than sufficient ones to achieve the quota, would have his surplus of two divided among candidates who had not yet received a quota, and so on, until a sufficient number of quotas would be accumulated and only a surplus of less than a quota would be left unrepresented. But this would tend to the election of outstanding representative men who are not simply party politicians. On that account it is that we have those three hundred variations of the method, all designed to keep government in the hands of party politicians by insisting upon the voters’
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second, third and later selection being not free but confined to tortuously fabricated party lists. These sophisticated forms of proportional representation, contrived as they are to restrict government to the professional politician, lead to a representative assembly with an inconvenient mosaic of small parties and make government a matter of tiresome bargaining and intrigue.

But the plain fact of the case is that proportional representation aims to get rid of the party politician altogether and to substitute for his interventions a real council of the nation. The world wants—just as far as it can—to get rid of the politician in managing its affairs, just as it wants to get rid of the middleman in trade. Both are interveners, making trouble rather than saving it. No true politician will ever concede silent working efficiency in administration if he can prevent it. He lives and dies by party. What has been overlooked in such experiments in so-called proportional representation as have been made thus far, is that the elected chamber must be much smaller than, for instance, the British House of Commons or the American House of Representatives, and that it should have no party structure. It must be a not too big committee of the nation rather than an unwieldy bilateral debating society. Its ministers must not be a block, going in and out of office together; they must be individually responsible to the entirely more intelligent and more representative assembly the proportional representative method would produce.

We cannot enter here into the detailed discussion of the proportional representative project. The best case against it is made by asserting that an election in a modern democracy has a double purpose. Its first end is the appointment of a legislator. But equally important, say these critics, is the education of the common citizen in public issues by the speeches and canvassing of the candidates. This is only possible in small, accessible constituencies. No candidate could cover the ground of a fifteen-member constituency; and so his instructive and exalting personality could not get into touch with the uninformed common man. Proportional representation would therefore throw more political power into the newspapers and (party) publicity machinery. But think of the average party candidate—as educating anybody! The fact is that to-day the guiding influences in modern elections are the newspaper, the party propaganda organization, priests (in many countries), and
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“movements” which canvass. A change-over to proportional representation would not really alter this at all. Further it is argued that great numbers of voters would not vote at all. That might not prove a misfortune. To abstain is practically to assent.

But most criticism of genuine proportional representation is based on an uncritical and unimaginative belief in the necessity for party government because of its supposed stability. It is held to be an excellent preventive of any essential revolution, because the party out of office (though it consists of politicians differing in no essential respect from those in office) can pretend to take up and act for those who find the contemporary government intolerable. A change of personnel is thus foisted upon people who want a change of régime.

The whole apologetic for modern democratic government on the old party lines rests in fact upon this action in diverting and minimizing the forces of change in the interests of stability. It is not realized that there may be too much stability and not enough change. But the form of government suggested by the more thoroughgoing proportional representationists—a single small chamber of the size of a big committee of from 200 to 300 members, a circular chamber, that is, and not a bilateral one, a chamber elected by immense constituencies returning from ten to eighteen members each—would certainly give better scope for the broaching of dissentient views and for compromises with them, than the present system. It would accept or reject the ministers appointed by the premier individually, and it could go to the country triennially or quadrennially for new blood and the elimination of persons who had become unpopular. It would have far greater continuity of will and personnel than any existing government.

The professional politician has always clung as long as possible to the two-party system. When a community (as, for example, the British) has become so manifestly bored and thwarted with the Box and Cox alternation of governments, which, the more they changed, the more they remained the same thing, and has, in spite of every mechanical difficulty in its way, evoked a third or even a fourth party, then the politicians resort to the trick of the Second Ballot or Alternative Vote. These contrivances are designed to come into operation when there are three or more candidates, and none of them gets an absolute majority. The hindmost is eliminated, and
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the remaining two share his votes either in a second polling or by counting the second choice already marked on each voter’s paper. These devices have recommended themselves to legislators because they admit a third professional politician to the chances of the election and nevertheless are entirely effective in excluding any publicist, however popular, who is not attached to a fully organized party machine. The trade in assent, with all its honours and profits, remains in professional hands and that, from the politician’s point of view, is the most important consideration. It is hardly surprising that representative party government on such lines has been unable to prevent an anti-parliamentary revolution in Italy, Poland and various other countries, when a bored and apathetic community has submitted to, and even found a certain relief in, a frank dictatorship. And already we have studied the desolating ineffectiveness and want of initiative of the Mother of Parliaments in the face of the dark urgencies of our time.

• The fact that the prestige of the two-party system arose accidently, because of a peculiar dynastic and religious stress in seventeenth-century England, is generally disregarded in the discussion of electoral methods. But it is a vitally important consideration. The fluctuations in English affairs which led to the successive replacement of the first Stuarts, the Commonweal, the late Stuarts, the House of Orange, the Tory reaction under Anne, the House of Hanover and the raids of the Old and Young Pretenders, within the brief space of a hundred years, established an exceptional duality in English political affairs. On the one hand was the Tory, Royalist, Anglo-Catholic or Roman Catholic, and presently agriculturalist and landlord; on the other the Whig, Middle-Class Republican, Aristocratic-Republican with a tame king as figurehead, Constitutionalist, Puritan, Dissenter or Low Church, often urban and interested in industrial development. When the British colonies in America developed beyond the scale of an exploited group of satellites, Tory and Whig fought for subjugation or independence—the City of London was for the colonists—and the two-party system was transferred without any question of its naturalness to American political life and fixed there permanently by the adoption of a method of voting that practically necessitates the restriction of an election to one of two candidates. Tory disappeared in America, and Whig split into Republican and Democrat
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—we omit the intermediate phases—but the dualism remained. The economic and political prosperity, first of Great Britain and then of the United States, gave everything Anglo-Saxon a flavour of success throughout the nineteenth century, and as other countries began to modernize their governments, this purely accidental bilateral arrangement of affairs, with its alleged efficacy in burking attempts at fundamental change by diverting them into the harmless channel of "opposition" politics, became a world-wide institution.

But there is no natural necessity for it; none whatever. It is a contemporary superstition.

Equally superstitious is the almost world-wide insistence upon two legislative chambers, devised to check and thwart each other. No one can give any satisfactory reasons, except what we may call "artful" reasons, for this double digestion of the community will. No sane business organizer would dream of an upper and lower board of directors with an "opposition" on each board and a cabinet of managers, who every one of them would have to throw up their jobs, if any single one of them failed to satisfy the boards. But that is the form of the British directorate, and that is more or less the spirit in which most of the seventy-odd, distinct and separate governments in the world have organized the conduct of their affairs.

Long ago Bentham remarked, "If a second chamber agrees with the first, it is superfluous; if it disagrees, it is obnoxious."

We have now to consider some of the broader consequences of this seventy-fold division of human control, among governments organized for conflict and specialized for the most tenacious and inveterate resistance to improvement or replacement.

§ 6. Frontiers and the Official Intercommunication of Governments

The division of human government into seventy-odd sovereign states does not merely impede the effective treatment of fundamentally important economic matters—that alone would be bad enough—but it goes much further towards evil and human frustration than that, because it keeps up the tradition of the militant state and turns men's faces towards war and war preparation, and towards destructive economic warfare in preparation for the military
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conflict. Enormous quantities of human energy are dissipated by this fragmentation of government, economic evolution is delayed by it, and the whole future of our species threatened.

We have to deal with these things here mainly as economic disturbances and diversions of creative power. We shall say very little of the cruelties and abominations of war. They are horrible indeed, but they are secondary. What concerns us with war in this general economic survey is not its soul-destroying cruelty, but its futility and the barrier it may set to man's attainment of any life ampler than the one he leads to-day.

Throughout this work stress has been laid on the profound change in human conditions brought about by increased facilities of transport and communication generally. That also is the main theme of the Outline of History. But since there exists as yet no real science of social structure, the connection of the vast change of scale in human operations, this enormous lengthening of the human reach, with the intensified economic and political tensions of our time, has not been understood. It was not realized that a drastic revision of our political institutions and economic conceptions to adapt them to this change of scale had become a logical and urgent necessity. It is only now that any considerable number of people are observing that the frontiers of the old political systems and the old areas of sympathetic association which fitted economic needs fairly well in the eighteenth century are becoming intolerably narrow, tight and dangerous. The Outline of History explains how in certain instances, in the preservation of the unity of the United States, for example, in the development of certain modern "empires," in the unification of Italy and Germany, the new forces operated, unthanked and almost unsuspected, and now the science of work and wealth must develop this conception of areas outgrown and set itself to a study of the "frontier" as a complication and an obstacle to the establishment of that world economic state which is so manifestly struggling to come into existence.

I had thought at first that we should begin here with the custom house as an ever-present manifestation of this entanglement. But it opens up our discussion better to examine the nature of the obsolete traditional machinery which is fighting so obstinately to maintain the old patchwork of communities against the synthetic forces of the world, and then to treat the existence of tariff walls as one
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necessary concomitant of that machinery. The organization and work of foreign offices and of the diplomatic and consular services must first be brought into the picture. Here is the cue for the Foreign Minister in his becoming livery, the Foreign Office clerk, and even the King’s messenger, with his impressively sealed bag, to pass across the stage.

All this is now established traditional stuff. But though its spirit is very ancient indeed, its present form was assumed in comparatively recent times. In its present form it is only about three centuries old—nine or ten generations of men. We must go back to the Peace of Westphalia (1648) for the inauguration of the system of international dealing we know to-day. Then it was, writes a friend from Geneva, that “the equal right of all states, whether great or small, Catholic or Protestant, to existence and independence was recognized, and also the virtual sovereignty of the princes and cities in the Holy Roman Empire. The practice of establishing permanent legations in each other’s capitals was inaugurated at the Conference.” And the board was set for that game between the powers, the Game of the Militant Powers, which has become now so monstrous a weight on social and industrial life and so stupendous a threat to the future of mankind.

Were we working on a truly encyclopædic scale, here would be the place for a study of the training and occupation of diplomats, the relation of the diplomatic to the consular service, and the successful resistance offered by the diplomatic profession of the world, so far, to the natural consequences of the fact that it is now becoming materially possible for any Foreign Minister to talk to and see the face of any other Foreign Minister in any part of the world.

The diplomat of the eighteenth century, says Professor Alison Phillips in his excellent article in the Encyclopædia Britannica, was frankly a national advocate, an “agent” for the proprietary rights of his sovereign. “Diplomacy thus resolved itself into a process of exalted haggling, conducted with an amazing disregard for the ordinary standards of morality, but with the most exquisite politeness, and in accordance with ever more and more elaborate rules.” He cites Frederick de Marselaer (1626), however, as declaring that “it was the function of an ambassador not only to study the interests of his sovereign, but ‘to work for the common peace and to study the convenience of foreign princes,’ ” and he
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also mentions François de Callières (1716) and Vattel (1756) as speaking "of Europe as a kind of republic which it was the function of diplomacy to preserve." In the nineteenth century Professor Phillips traces a considerable relaxation of the original narrowness of the diplomatic idea and a certain diminution of the importance and responsibility of ambassadors with the advent of telegraph and railway. But at the same time there was a specialization and intensification of the mentality of the diplomatic services. Originally any intelligent competent person might be a diplomat (Louis XI sent his barber on diplomatic errands). But after the Treaty of Westphalia, the division of Europe among "sovereigns" and the centralization of power and authority about their courts, diplomacy became an "art" of the genteelest pretensions, reserved almost entirely for men of good family, skilled in etiquette and intrigue. They had to mingle with the "highest personages," to know the moods and feuds of influential people; to propitiate and hoodwink, to report and suggest. After Waterloo Britain adopted the system of sending out to her various ambassadors one or two "attachés to be domesticated in his family."

"The attachés of the various embassies and legations in the European capitals," writes one bitter critic with an intimate knowledge of legation life, have been "a godsend to middle-aged women of position everywhere. They are State gigolos." This is perhaps a little harsh, but the advancement of these young men and their matrimonial successes are closely interwoven. An attaché who marries "beneath him" falls out of the service. Two "Labour" Governments in Great Britain, approaching diplomacy in a state of conscious gentility, have done nothing to alter this state of affairs.

So the tradition of an elegant, manœuvring, "confidential," undemocratic service was built up, and it rules still, a little unsteadily, in the swaying and dangerous world of to-day. The British Foreign Office clerk has been mingled a little with the diplomatists proper, where knowledge and mental vigour were plainly more important than what is called breeding. And occasionally men of exceptional originality, such men as, for example, Lord D'Abernon in Berlin, have achieved real creative statesmanship in spite of all tradition. There are also now always the military and naval attachés, who are there to observe and spy upon the military
activities of the host country. And nowadays a commercial attaché creeps in. But of course there are no attachés whatever to study the scientific work, the philosophy, the art, and the social progress of the land. That sort of thing does not enter into Foreign Office mentality.

An ambassador has certain privileges; his embassy is treated as being part of his own country (extra-territoriality) in which he may maintain his native laws, and he is exempt from distraint for debt and may commit many of the lighter offences, such as disregarding traffic regulations, indulging in prohibited drinks and the like, without prosecution. His more public duties are now largely formal; every contemporary ambassador is on the end of a telegraph wire from home; but there are obscurer activities for him to foster. The association of embassies with espionage, and during war-time in neutral countries with the organization of incendiarism, the sinking of ships, raids and such-like plotting, was natural and inevitable, and so, on the other side of the account, was the stealing of their code books and the furtive interception and examination of their correspondence.

For many reasons the diplomatic representatives of the United States of America have varied considerably from the normal European type, but there has been an increasing social assimilation in the present century. If the ordinary American ambassador is not now a nobleman, he is as much a nobleman as circumstances permit. Owing to many instabilities in their status and their greater novelty, the social assimilation of the representatives of Soviet Russia has hardly begun. They remain more than a little alien to the rest of the diplomatic world and are subjected to slights and insults no other diplomatists would endure.

§ 7. The Custom House

The obstinate resolve to treat the subjects of each of the sovereign states of the world as a community distinct from and in competition with the rest of humanity, which still dominates the political and educational organization of mankind is everywhere in the harshest conflict with the development of a world economic system. Of that we have a disagreeable reminder whenever we cross a frontier.

Nationalism is a vested interest and defends itself with all the disingenuousness of self-protection. The admission that a political
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world system is the natural expression of the continually more common material interests of mankind, means virtual social suicide for a vast complex of traditionally important people. It means the disappearance of diplomacy, of courts and royalties, and of every type professionally dependent upon assertive and aggressive patriotism. It means the obliteration of the nationalist politician and "statesman," who knows that in a world system he will sink to provincial or parochial importance. Or to no importance at all. There is consequently a world-wide and desperate resistance to the economic forces of our time at all the present headquarters of human organization. The parties of the right are patriotic and brutally for warfare; the patriotic parties of the left talk peace and will not ensue it, take care not to ensue it. The politician who really sought the peace of the world would need the courage and creative ability to make himself a world politician. He would do it at great personal risk. Whenever he displayed an interest in world problems or tried to acquire a wider point of view he would have to turn a defenceless back to his rivals at home. They would explain that he was growing too big for his boots, losing touch with his own people, neglecting the interests of his fatherland or motherland in his desire to strut upon a larger stage, and so on. World politicians will appear in time, no doubt; men working through such things as news agencies, books, and powerful international associations rather than through legislative assemblies, and so organizing a cosmopolitan assent to world-wide reconstruction; but such methods have still to be elaborated and made effective.

Meanwhile the sacred frontiers of the pre-railway era, and the ideals of the Foreign Offices of the eighteenth century, these strange geographical divisions for which we live and our sons may die, have under the stresses of easier and easier transport to be fortified not simply against armed hosts but against marketable matter in motion; they have to be emphasized by a monstrous system of interferences with trade, to defend their obsolete romantic autonomy against the plain necessities of our time. The less the frontier is necessary the more it has to be exacerbated.

The story of the modern tariff system and its increase in importance after the eighteenth century is a complex and a curious one. Tariffs seem to have been first used extensively for quasi-belligerent purposes during the Napoleonic Wars. Originally a mere
method of taxation for revenue—they have become a mitigated form of warfare, aiming at the relative advantage of the population interned behind the frontier and the relative damage and ruin of foreign industries. The nature of their interference, the way tariffs are imposed, their methods of administration, make a science in itself. A popular account of that science would have to be enlivened by pictures of custom-house officials at work; the searching of luggage upon a New York pier, for example, and the activities and methods of smugglers and revenue patrols. The profits and prospects of the professional smuggler, the salaries and opportunities for corruption of the revenue services would furnish interesting material.

How the normal hostilities of tariffs may be raised to the level of a blockade is shown by a study of the trade relations between Britain and Russia. Tariff obstruction at this higher level is, for all practical ends, war at the frontier, White War, the chronic as distinguished from that acute form in which invasion, bomb, bayonet and poison gas play leading parts, which more emphatic sort of warfare we may call Red War. It is not really a different thing; it is only a difference of tempo, instrument and colour.

Closely associated with the clogging and congestion of world trade by the custom house is the interference with the free movement of workers, business people and the like, by the passport and permit system. The passport has other uses of a more strictly political sort, at which we shall glance later, but here it is, while we are still upon the subject of frontiers, that its origin and development can best be described. The passport grew out of a majestically feeble letter of recommendation addressed by one’s foreign minister to all whom it might concern. That letter has shrunk to comparative insignificance in the contemporary booklet passport, which gathers impressions from the rubber stamps of all nations. Endless forms of trouble arise in various countries out of the passport mislaid, and there is a flourishing trade in stolen, transferred and forged passports wherever men and women go about their unlawful occasions.

§ 8. War Preparation as an Industry

From the passive and obstructive malignity of White War we must turn to the activities preparatory for the Red War phase in
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international dealings. In no other department of human affairs has tradition held its own so successfully against the creative forces of the new age and every reasonable disposition in mankind.

Our kings and presidents, in their military uniforms, our flags and sovereignties and the primary forms and conceptions of our states, all come down to us from the time of the localized community which was either predatory in a small local way upon its immediate neighbours or defensive against them. They remain with us, as dangerous as cancer starting points, because the development of the modern economic world system has so far been a planless process due to forces that are only now beginning to be apprehended as one whole.

At no time has the necessity of getting free from the outgrown rules and boundaries of the old régime been faced and so the world’s war equipment has followed blindly upon industrial advance until it has become a monstrous and immediate danger to the community. An encyclopædic review of modern war equipment might very well begin with an account of eighteenth-century war plant, its horse, its foot and its artillery of little field guns, and trace the accumulating consequences of big steel production and of inventions in gas and explosives, in transport, communication and the like. Finally that richly illustrated encyclopædia would become vivid with pictures of tanks, bombing planes, aeroplane carriers, battleships throwing out smoke-screens, and of munition works and casualty stations in full activity during the last great war. All that spectacle is part of the work of the world and a great spending of wealth. It is essential to our review that it should come well into the picture.

The still unassembled galleries of this museum of the science of work and wealth we have dreamt of would display, therefore, the scale of the industry and the multitudes of men in training for it at the present time. And since the associated encyclopædia would be a full résumé of human occupations, it would have to give the abundant particulars of that training in its endless varieties. It would summarize the good and evil of barrack life.

At least military service uproots the peasant. That is a good thing. But this drilling of millions of young men, this incessant training of young Frenchmen mentally as well as physically to kill Italians and Germans, of Poles to kill Germans or Russians, of
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Russians and British and Americans to kill anybody who happens, is not a good thing. This morning ten thousand bugles and drums were noisy about the world, calling the boys out to the exercise yard, and hardly a moment passes without a machine gun rattling out its blank cartridges or a futile gun booming at a target for want of immediate flesh and blood to shatter.

There is a real breaking down of initiative in the well-trained common soldier. The late Dr. Rivers in his brilliant report on "War Neurosis and Military Training," now reprinted in his Instinct and the Unconscious, tells how the army discipline exaggerates mental suggestibility until it may even induce that type of hysteria which is accompanied by partial paralysis and kindred crippling functional disorders. Numbers of men never recover from the drill-sergeant throughout their lives. They go out from the army and become citizens, to play a part in politics, to vote. But at the word of command they jump to attention.

Our encyclopedia would correlate these service disciplines with peace production on the one hand and the labour market on the other. On the one page it might give figures of so perfect a piece of mechanism as a modern submarine, and over against it photographs of the equipment of a one-roomed slum "home" in which heirs to our civilization have been born and are being reared. That home is what it is because neither labour nor material can be obtained to make it better. The home is subject to all the restrictions of private production for private property; the submarine is evoked by the collective buying of the community. Our schools wait; this ugly tribute starves our schools. The modern state "economizes" on schools; on submarines it dare not economize. We should have pictures of dockyard gates with the workers pouring in or out; the great workshops on which they toil and the streets in which they live. And there must also be an account of specialized technical training for warfare—specialized training as distinguished from the mere drilling of the rank and file. Every year in times of peace something between one and two thousand carefully chosen young men of exceptional physical quality are smashed, burnt alive, or otherwise destroyed in the training of the air forces of the world alone. There is also a steady destruction of choice young men in submarines.

Against this we must balance the braver shows of outright war.

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Our lavish encyclopædia would display kings, princes and presidents and other militant heads of states arrayed in the brilliant uniforms that emphasize their fundamentally belligerent function, decorated with feathers, skins, manes of beasts and so forth, reviewing and inspecting troops, presiding over military tattoos, parades, the trooping of the colours. It would give also a brief history of military and quasi-military costume in connection with belligerent psychology. A few score coloured plates might be devoted to the uniforms worn by the British royal family. Are soldiers particularly addicted to corsets and cosmetics? Some students allege they are. Little is known popularly of the motives and methods of those who design and vary the adornments of the military. It may be possible to discover some interesting symbolism from many objects that on the surface appear to be very aimless encumbrances and incrustations. Why, for instance, do the Grenadier Guards wear vast bearskins? Where are they made, and what do they cost? How many hands and eyes have been busied in decorating those unfortunate, bored and fatigued young men who stand for long hours heavily accoutred at the gates of Buckingham Palace? How long will it be before the last sentinel is relieved there and the whisper of the final password dies away into the eternal silences? These poor sentinels do nothing. The real guardians of the peace, the police, are there also, to save them from annoyance and preserve the dignity of the household within.

From these adornments an encyclopædic study of warfare would pass on to trace the progress in military methods, material and machinery. The Science of Warfare is now a very active occupation. It is a sort of ugly and dwarfish little twin sister running at the side of scientific research. Her difference is that she tries to be secretive, and her ends are murderous. She is perpetually seeking to seize upon and pervert scientific advances.

But one must admit the fascinating vigour of many of her newer adaptations. There is something that stirs our unregenerate natures in the foaming advance of a great battleship and in the emphatic thud of gunfire, the flash, the swift ejection of a ball of dense smoke which slowly unfolds. Most of us could watch aerial warfare with undiluted pleasure if the promiscuous use of bombs were barred. We should follow with sympathetic delight the nimble dance of the conquering ace flying for position, tapping out
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the bullets from his exquis’te gun with finished skill, sending, amidst our applause, his dead and wounded antagonists spinning down, poor rabbits, to their ultimate dramatic smash.

It would need another work as long as this one now, to tell fully of the post-war development of the tank and the mechanization of land warfare. Hitherto men have been stabbed, blown to pieces, buried alive, suffocated, scalded, burnt and smashed and eviscerated by projectiles in every conceivable way, but in the next war they will also have the prospect of being pulped into a sort of jam by glorified tanks. It will be a new experience. A really exhaustive treatise on war technique would include also the development of mine fields in the future and the next phase of warfare under the sea. A ship may hardly know it is hit before it goes under.

An inexpugnable nastiness and repulsiveness, however, invades the brightness of military science at the thought of “gas.” The professional soldiers dislike it extremely. Nobody likes it. Yet no one in his senses believes that “gas” can be excluded from the next war. And no sane airman with a gas bomb will withhold it from the enemy’s G.H.Q. if he gets a chance of delivering it there. But it is poor consolation for a civilization shattered, to know that a large proportion of military leaders will probably be choked to death in an extremely painful fashion if they get the war of their dreams. We also shall get the war of their dreams.

A comprehensive and impartial survey of what men do and how they gain their livings, if it were worked out in detail, would give ample attention to the Gas Warfare Department, describe the physical and moral effects of the latest and best gases, and weigh the prospects of an honest and capable young man or woman who selects that as a field for his or her life work. It would go into much detail about gas that we willingly spare our readers, telling of Lewisite, the gentle and insidious, so that you hardly know you are dead; or phosgene, which seems a small matter at the time and kills distressingly the next day; of the suffering caused by mustard gas, and of the fine gases that can get through any gas mask to the wearer within. These last do not kill, generally speaking; their purpose is to produce an intolerable discomfort so that the mask is torn off, and the heavier, deadlier gas given access to its victim. Gas treatment can now be extended to whole countrysides. It can constitute lines of defence that are for a time impenetrable. In the
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United States of America at least considerable advances have been made in the methods of disseminating disease germs from the air. It was found at first that the deadlier bacteria were in some cases too delicate and died during the process. Patient study has now made it possible to breed tougher strains of these organisms, and there is every prospect that in the next war all the more dreadful airborne infections will be released abundantly in the great cities of an enemy's country. Work has also been done upon the distribution of cattle and crop diseases over the countryside.

That better informed encyclopædia which hovers phantasmally at the back of our minds would also give certain figures I have not been able to ascertain, the number of grave, competent human beings who are now at work studying and experimenting upon these astounding refinements of human intercourse.

§ 9. The Rôle of the Armament Industry in Fostering Belligerence

Here is the place for an exhibit, an individual instance of the interplay of nationalist traditions and modern industrial progress, the life of Sir Basil Zaharoff. It is the story of an entirely honourable and honoured human being, exceptionally energetic and capable, reacting in a perfectly natural and legitimate way to the laws, traditions and institutions of our time. If this figure should seem to some imaginations to cast a very dark shadow upon the human spectacle, the fault lies rather with the pinnacle he stands upon and not with himself. His story is told by Richard Lewinsohn* with the endorsement of M. Skouloudis, the founder of Sir Basil's fortunes and a former Greek Foreign Minister.

SIR BASIL ZAHAROFF

Sir Basil, it seems, was born in an obscure village of Anatolia in 1849 of Greek parents who presently took him to Constantinople. There a kindly compatriot paid for his education at the English school, and in his teens he was able to earn his living as a guide and commissionaire attached to various hotels. Then he became the assistant of his uncle, Sevastopoulo, a draper, an infirm man whose affairs profited greatly by the energy and capacity Sir Basil brought

* Zaharoff, l'Europien Mystérieux.
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to them. The nephew was promised a share in the proceeds of this business, but the uncle, either through meanness or the fear of losing, the services of his useful relative if he became too independent, would not assent to the payment of the amount due to him. Accordingly young Zaharoff, having access to the money of the firm, paid himself off and, in the hope of avoiding any unpleasantness with his uncle, went to London to begin life anew. But the uncle, in a resentful mood, had him arrested there, accusing him of robbery. Things looked very bad indeed against the young man; he knew no one to bail him out, he was detained in prison until his uncle came to England to prosecute him. He was only saved from conviction and imprisonment by the dramatic discovery in the pocket of an old overcoat at the last moment before going into court, of a crumpled letter giving him full powers as a partner to buy, sell and pay out money as he thought fit. He had been hunting everywhere for that mislaid letter. The day when he had to go into court was cold, and he bethought himself of his overcoat, and in the pocket was something... Sevastopoulos, confronted with it in court, could not deny his own handwriting. So by a fortunate accident young Basil Zaharoff was saved from prison to become, it is said, the richest man in the world.

How did this penniless adventurer clamber to that position, and what did he give the world in return for the enormous purchasing power he won from it?

Lewinsohn tells of a return to Athens, of struggles and difficulties, and then of the coming of opportunity. Zaharoff had gained the good-will and esteem of Skouloudis, and one day (in 1877) Skouloudis received a letter from the firm of Nordenfelt, makers of the earliest form of machine gun, asking him to recommend them an agent. Zaharoff was appointed to the vacant job with the warmest recommendation of Skouloudis at a salary of five pounds a week. Therewith, paying off various outstanding hotel bills, he commenced his march towards the inestimable millions of to-day.

He was to achieve wealth with honour, he was to become a British baronet and wear the magnificent plumes and robe of a G.C.B., in which he appears in his best known portrait. He is also, I learn from Who's Who, a G.B.E. Oxford University has made him a D.C.L., and France has conferred upon him the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour. And he has won not only honour but
power. He exerted, says the Encyclopædia Britannica in an extremely insufficient and concise but extremely respectful biographical article, “a strong if indirect influence during the World War and at the Paris Conference, being a close friend and political adviser of Lloyd George, Venizelos, Clemenceau and Briand.” To that we will return.

His first considerable step towards this influence and recognition was to sell a submarine to the Greek Government. After years of trial, Nordenflets had produced a submarine that not only went down under water but, generally speaking, came up again. It had been exhibited in the Sound between Sweden and Denmark, but the great naval powers had refused to take up this new engine of destruction. There seemed to be a conspiracy against it. The experts found it unnecessary and unpleasant. Zaharoff had the bright and patriotic idea of selling one on easy terms to Greece. He had friends in Greece. Then he went to Constantinople to tell them about it and ask what they thought of it. Turkey was indisposed to let Greece get ahead with a weapon that might prove effective in the Dardanelles. So Turkey ordered submarines also. The ball was set rolling. Russia could not let Turkey get ahead in this fashion. Soon the submarine was established as an item in armament competition.

But now the Nordenfelt gun was threatened by the invention of a certain Hiram Maxim. He had a machine gun one man could work; the Nordenfelt needed a crew of four. He exhibited it at Vienna. While he fired his gun at a target and demonstrated its powers, Zaharoff was busy explaining to expert observers that the whole thing was an exhibition of skill; that only Maxim could fire that gun, it would take years to train men to use it, that these new machines were delicate and difficult to make and could not be produced in quantities, and so forth. Maxim, after tracing the initials of the Emperor upon a target, prepared to receive orders. They were not forthcoming. He learnt that the Nordenfelt was simple and strong. This gun of his was a “scientific instrument” unfit for soldierly hands. His demonstration went for nothing. What had happened? He realised he was vis-à-vis with a salesman, a very formidable salesman. In the end he amalgamated with the salesman. Thereupon difficulties vanished, the Maxim gun ceased to be a scientific instrument and became a standard weapon. Nordenfelt and
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Maxim consolidated, and the fusion was financed with the eager support of the investing public. So Lewinsohn tells the story. This was in 1888, and the instincts of the investing public marched with the spirit of the times. The age of armaments in which we still live had begun. The device of selling first to Greece was capable of infinite variation and repetition. Naval theory was developing and becoming more and more infected by mechanism—even though the military mind still resisted what Lord Kitchener called “mechanical toys.” The armament industry knew no boundaries. It was entirely modern in its cosmopolitanism, and whenever it produced a model that met the taste of Great Power A, Great Power B was invited to inspect the novelty that might presently be used against it. Some powers increased their state munition works, but the private armament industry, conceived on a world-wide scale, was already growing larger and more inventive than was possible for any single state. Presently (1897) Nordenfelt-Maxim found themselves bought by the great British firm of Vickers for one and a third million pounds, and Zahraroff carried his financial gifts and his salesmanship on to a wider stage.

The Vickers firm was not merely an armament firm; it did a huge business in iron and steel; it could carry through every stage in the process from ore to battleship, a feat beyond the power of any state arsenal. Vickers armed both sides in the Boer War, and the British who were killed in that struggle had at least the satisfaction of being killed by bullets “made in England.” The profits of the Boer War enabled Vickers to buy up the Wolseley Tool and Motor Co., and the Electric and Ordnance Accessories Co., and so the process of amalgamation went on. The prospect of any state undertakings rivalling the products of the vast combination either in price, quantity, or quality became remoter and remoter.

It was less, perhaps, through ambition than through business necessity that Zahraroff, the supreme salesman of this great system, entered upon obscure but effective political and propagandist activities. He had never paused in his brilliant career to indulge in philosophical speculations or humanitarian dreams, and it was a natural and legitimate development of his selling methods to avail himself of press support and, for example, to secure an interest in such an enterprise as Quotidiens illustrés, which published the well-known journal Excelsior and to endow a chair of aerodynamics in
the University of Paris to hasten the day when aeroplanes (by Vickers) would be a necessary part of armaments all the world over.

The Great War was harvest time for the trade in war munitions. It would be unjust to historians, diplomatists, courts and patriots generally, to say that the armament industry had sown the harvest, but certainly for half a century it had done everything possible to stimulate the sowing. In Britain the industry was put under public control and a formal limit was set to its profits, but its heads became very naturally the advisers and helpers of the belligerent governments. Greece was hesitating about her rôle in the struggle, and Sir Basil found the money needed for a propaganda that would bring her into the war on the part of the Allies. Newspapers were bought and Greece came in, as Lewinsonh relates in detail.

The end of the war found the world extraordinarily weary of warfare, and there was a considerable possibility that the hugely distended world-armament industry would find itself facing a dispirited and declining market for its goods. Under these circumstances it was natural for those who were interested in its health and vigour to exert themselves to revive the romantic spirit of national assertion. And also Sir Basil loved Greece. He belonged to the Gladstonian age of national patriotism. A sentimental patriotism is probably the broadest, least ego-centred idea that ever entered his head; and we must not suppose too hastily that his motives in securing Western support for Greek aggressions upon Turkey, if complex, were necessarily disingenuous. But for Greece, in the harder, disillusioned post-war world, the manœuvres that carried Greek armies to Angora and overwhelming defeat, that led to their disorderly retreat to the coast and the expulsion of the Greek population from Asia Minor, were altogether disastrous. The history of Greece and Turkey in the years following the war is too intricate, contentious and generally "shady" to deal with here; for us now its only importance is that it marks the culminating and conclusive effort of Sir Basil to exercise political power. Thereafter his activities have gone into channels that have little or nothing to do with this section of our work; operations with the deflated armament firms, metallurgical industries and petroleum, the exploitation of the Casino at Monte Carlo, and so forth. Our concern here is with the psychology of the armament maker as exemplified in his case.
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Indisputably this man has spent a large part of his life in the equipment and promotion of human slaughter. And it is unjust and absurd to blame him for doing so. It is so cheap and easy for the sentimental pacifists to be indignant about him, but all of us are involved in the complex of processes that carried him to wealth and all of us have a share in his responsibility. Circumstances beyond his control built up his ideology. He has simply been modest enough not to question the standards of the world about him but to observe them faithfully and intelligently. It is plain that he has always accepted the making of money as a justification for his operations. Monetary success ought to be the indication of social service. If it is not, the fault is primarily with the political and business system and only secondarily with the individuals who make money. The organization of killing is inherent in our accepted ideology. The picture of an Anatolian Greek, overwhelmed by his riches, adorned with the highest honours France, Britain and Oxford can bestow, and amusing himself by running a gambling palace in his declining years, displayed against a background of innumerable millions of men maimed, tortured, scarred, mutilated and killed, may be an effective indictment of our political traditions, but in no sense is it a personal condemnation. Millions of his contemporaries would have played the same game had they thought of it and known how. There was nothing in their personas to prevent it. If anything is wrong it is in the educational influences and in the political, economic and financial opportunities that evoked those personas.

ALFRED KRUPP

We have taken the case of Sir Basil Zaharoff as the most picturesque illustration of the exploitation of our outgrown political suspicions and animosities by a particularly gifted salesman. An encyclopædia of the science of human industry would supplement his story with a constellation of biographies of kindred and associated spirits, all men no doubt amiable and pleasing in their private lives, and show how, acting strictly according to the business standards of the nineteenth century and on the lines of the education then provided, they were instrumental in imposing upon the civilized world first a colossal misapplication of its industrial machinery, then a vast load of taxation, and ultimately such an orgy of death,
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torment and destruction as the world has never seen before.

Victor Lefebure in his excellent book Scientific Disarmament tells how Lord Armstrong, the British armament vendor, when his new breech-loading rifled built-up gun was refused by the British Government in 1863, went to Austria, Denmark, Spain and other countries and so put the British muzzle-loader out of fashion. It was the same forcing method that Zaharoff employed when he took the submarine to Greece. Lefebure gives also a brief résumé of the life of Alfred Krupp, another of these honest dealers in the destruction of mankind. Alfred Krupp was one of the earliest pioneers in the trade, and a pioneer also in that development of the steels which we have already described from the point of view of Substances, in Chapter II. Krupp's steel guns were little appreciated in Germany until, in 1856, the Khedive of Egypt quickened the business with an order for thirty-six of them. Prussia followed, and from that time onward for half a century the progress of the gun dominated European life. Krupp became the close friend of the first German Emperor William I and developed an unrivalled testing ground at Meppen with a range of fifteen miles, the world's show-room, as Lefebure calls it, for big artillery. Krupp reigned, the world's "Cannon King." No one could equal his guns; no one could equal his armour plate. For fifty years he toiled to achieve that immense superiority in heavy ordnance that Germany displayed at the outset of the war in 1914. The other countries laboured in a vain endeavour to keep pace with Krupp.

"How far," Lefebure asks, "would it help to remove war from reality if we could limit these unleashed forces of armament development under a definite policy of agreed control?"

Alfred Krupp, the Cannon King, died in 1887 at the age of sixty-five, and was succeeded by his son, Frederick Krupp, who died in 1902. His health was indifferent, and he died before he was fifty. This second Krupp had financial and organizing genius rather than the technical preoccupation of his father, and built up the vast industrial organization at Essen that flourishes to this day. He controlled an important section of the German press and did much to consolidate the aggressive patriotism of the German people. The third generation of the Krupp family was already passing the meridian when at last the final harvest, the second reaping after Alfred Krupp, arrived. Its members were already lapsing from the
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A strenuous tradition of Alfred: One made an elegant withdrawal from the common life of mankind to the island of Capri, where his reputation mingles now with that of the Emperor Tiberius. In the excitement and resentment of the invasion of Belgium in 1914, many English writers, the present writer included, denounced the "Krupp-Kaiser combination" as the sole cause of the collapse of European peace. They forgot the Vickers-Armstrong side of the story and the aggressive British Imperialism of the Kipling period. The twin begetters of that war were the armament industry and aggressive patriotism wherever they appeared. Nevertheless, it was mainly the genius of Alfred Krupp, stimulating and being stimulated by the ambitions of the Hohenzollern dynasty, to which we must ascribe the full development of this strange, monstrous, morbid development of human industry, science, loyalty, greed, vanity and tradition, the armament trade. It has slaughtered twenty million people and still it towers menacingly over all human life.

§ 10. Spying and Spy Hunting

Our account of the war industry will not be complete without some description of espionage, counter-espionage, newspaper corruption and secret service work generally. The prospective belligerent hides his plans, his inventions, his purpose, and he seeks incessantly to know what his neighbour is hiding. He wants to verify suspicions and sow the seeds of indecision and division in a camp that may at any time become hostile.

There are human types, and often they are by no means stupid types, which lend themselves very readily to the organization and performance of these obscure but logical developments of the patriotic spirit. There is an attractive element of mystery in the work, the possibility of intensely dramatic situations, revelations, the invocation of unsuspected power. There are also great opportunities of pay for nothing—except the taking of chances. A sound knowledge of languages is very helpful in the profession, a good memory, quiet observation, subtlety and histrionic ability.

Correlated with these activities of the spying sort and linking up by hidden strands with the overt diplomatic organization, every country maintains special bureaus, with classified dossiers,
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based largely on secret, unverified and often totally inaccurate information made against a multitude of arbitrarily selected unfortunates, the "suspects." Being a "suspect" is an involuntary form of human activity of a particularly disagreeable sort. Nobody in the world knows what the secret service industry may not have filed against him in some police dossier of this or that country, or what threats, delays, inconveniences, arrests or physical injury may not descend upon him. He may merely have a name identical with or similar to that of someone else. The secret patriot is above reason or the law. Whether he is ever far above blackmailing is another question. And the curious reader who wants to know how much this branch of war work goes on in war-time, may read for himself in Somerset Maugham's grim Ashenden or in Compton Mackenzie's derisive Extremes Meet and The Three Couriers. Both these writers base their books on close personal experiences.

Our encyclopædia, when it comes to be compiled, may quote these writers, but it is to be hoped that much more exact details than they give will be available of the cost and range of this branch of work and reward, the nature of the duties to be performed and the emoluments of the practitioners. Few of us outside the profession realize the multitude of people now employed in watching the unwary, in sneaking about for information or pseudo-information, in steaming and stealing letters, playing tricks with the telegraph and telephone, provoking simpletons to indictable acts, filching documents, taking forbidden photographs, circulating rumours and so forth. It is a world screened and hidden. The census does not reckon with it, for all its practitioners mask themselves by professing some more reputable occupation. From secret service to the white slave trade, the drug trade and kindred criminality, seems but a step. All underhand callings tend to drift together, and the mentality of these activities is nearly identical, even if the relationship with the police is different. The arresting hand of the policeman is suddenly seized and lifted. "That man or woman is useful and not to be taken." The difficulty of suppressing this ugly development of the industrialization of vice is greatly enhanced and confused by the existence of this inevitable furtive fringe to modern war organization.
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§ 11. The Service Mentality. Police

But a complete survey of human motives and human interaction will have to go much more deeply into the belligerent process than the preceding sections have suggested. We have insisted and reiterated that this survey is essentially psychological. It seeks the roots of social motive. Its fundamental matter of study is "will systems." Shops, factories, railways, ports and shipping, as we have passed them under review, are all realized will systems. They are to be explained completely as the product of desire and demand, experiment, suggestion, imitation and effort. Few people will believe that the continuing existence of organized White and Red War is completely explained by an association of traditional stupidity with self-protective blindness to manifest facts and mere shortsighted greediness. There is something better about army and navy than that. Let us now look on this better side of the military persona, the service will system.

Too much pacifist literature is devoted to the more manifest evils and absurdities of belligerence; too little to the hiatus that would be left in human life if, by a miracle, flags, frontiers, arms and disciplines were suddenly and completely abolished. The machine would not go on if they were merely abolished and nothing more. Something would have to replace them. It is comparatively rare to find any realization that when every allowance has been made for the inertia of tradition, for the blind vigour of threatened interests, and for the innate streak of fear-linked emotional cruelty in all men, there must still be other elements in the human make-up to keep this vast system of activities going. You cannot make a resistant system out of elements that are entirely rotten. Few people are prepared to declare that the professional soldier is simply a compound of idiocy, fierce cruelty, and dishonesty; and yet very little has been said here so far to admit any other interpretation of him. Yet most advocates of world peace and world unity have in their hearts a definite respect for the good soldier as a soldier, and for the spirit of military tradition.

It is when we turn upon the pacifist and confront him with that possibility of the concession of all his demands in the sudden obliteration of all the military systems in the world and ask him,
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"What then?" that we begin to realize the more fundamental and justifiable elements in the military and naval mentality.

And in the first place, it is well to be reminded, it is not our soldiers who are responsible for the horrors of modern warfare. To the best of their ability they have resisted the novelties forced upon them by civilian ingenuity. The British generals in the Great War refused to use and then failed to use the tank with a quite heroic obstinacy, and so they prolonged the indecisions of the war for two years. They completely defeated an attempt to mitigate the horrors and exhaustion of the journey to the front line by a system of telpherage. We have told of the British artillery authorities refusing Armstrong’s guns and the Prussian War Office driving Krupp to sell a battery to Egypt before it could be brought to accept his improvements. Wellington opposed the adoption of the breech-loading rifle. Poison gas, mechanization, ironclads, torpedoes, submarines, aeroplanes, have all been forced upon unwilling service men by salesmen and financiers with the pitiless logic of material progress behind them. Such contrivances did not arise out of the intensely conservative service tradition. The civilian has been more reckless in his inventions and fiercer in their use.

In the next place it has to be remarked that the duty of preparing to kill and ultimately killing foreigners has never been recognized as more than half the work of the combatant services. Quite as important to the soldier was his rôle of guarding something central and precious, his rôle of protector. Only secondarily has he been a destroyer. Historically every specialized army system in the world had developed sooner or later a standing nucleus, a “Guard”—Pretorians, Mamelukes, Royal Guards or what not. Before that specialization, wars were wars of comparatively undisciplined levies, they were the wars of the natural man, and they were more cruel, predatory, indecisive, discursive and destructive. The irruptions of Hun, Mongol, Northman and Moslem were far more frightful experiences than the conquests of Caesar’s legions.

We have already given the broad lines of a classification of the personas to which modern people shape their lives, and we have pointed out that the persona of the professional soldier is a blend of the nomadic with an increasing element of the educated persona; that he is not only a self-respecting fighting man but now also he is a specially disciplined and devoted, educated and educating man.
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To that idea we return. Let us compare the soldier with the scientific investigator, equally devoted and educated. Upon each there is impressed the same obligation to disregard mercenary considerations and all personal ends. Each has an acute and elaborate code of "honour," and each, it is assumed, would rather lose his life than save it at the price of betraying his essential purpose. But while there is this much resemblance, there is a wide divergence in the direction of the devotion. The man of science has to be devoted absolutely to the sense of truth within himself. He must doubt interminably rather than scamp his decisions to get to an end; he must not formulate half-truths as truths. Until he passes from pure to applied science, he is rarely under the obligation to act. But the soldier lives alert for the call to a maximum of effective action. His, then, "not to reason why"; his "but to do or die." If his "orders" are to spy or cheat, he will obey.

His is therefore the type of persona most prone to uncritical loyalty. All his ideals march with the idea of saluting his superior officer and obeying "orders" implicitly. The navy is entirely with him in this respect. The "service," first and foremost, dominates such lives. Every established system, however decayed, has or has had its loyal, unquestioning "services." The King bolts to Varennes, but his Swiss Guard dies at its post. That is typical. Before everything else the good soldier fears attacks upon his own discipline and upon the discipline of the rank and file. He dreads the unsettling idea that creeps into his thoughts, and the leaflet at the barrack gates, with an equal unreasoning horror. To him these things mean not change but dissolution. He dreads that dissolution as much as the man of science welcomes the continual destruction and rebirth of generalizations. The "services" cannot be self-critical of their loyalties.

These loyalty systems radiating from the militant "services" devoted to the uncritical protection of the political institutions of the past, to King, however petty and absurd, and to Country, however restricted, are the living core about which the sweating employer, the munition profiteer, the financial adventurer, the beneficiary from old traditional privileges, the reckless journalist, the clinging adherent to bankrupt religions and every enemy of criticism, rationalization and open change, everyone who lives for to-day and not for to-morrow, rally and find their power of resist-
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ance. It is only by the capture of the imaginations that underlie every system of loyalty, by a gradual change in the direction of these loyalties as the error of their existing orientations is displayed beyond question, by the educational development of a new system of loyalties altogether and by the fusion and reconstruction of national services as world services, that the triumph of the new order can be attained. The new world state needs its own militant services, its own banded men of integrity and calculable action, even more than did the old order. If they are no longer needed to protect the State from the enemy without, they have to stand ready against brigandage, piracy and every form of disruption within. They have to keep safe the ways by sea and land and air from end to end of the earth. If they drop something of the decoration of the past, if they assimilate more and more to the realities of a land, sea and air police, they will, nevertheless, drop little of the sentiment and feeling that make the good service man what he is to-day.

Here, perhaps, we may recall the unsuccessful attempt of M. Léon Bourgeois to set up a cosmopolitan armed force at the disposal of the League of Nations and so provide the nucleus for a "world service" loyalty. M. Bourgeois has yet to be given his just meed of praise. He was, I fear, many decades in advance of his time. The need for such a nuclear beginning was also advocated very ably by the late Sir Mark Sykes.* It would be of extraordinary value now in allaying the irritation of minorities in such regions of mixed interest and mixed population as the Danzig corridor, Trieste and Macedonia. These obviously could be made into special neutral territories under direct League government, policed and administered by a more responsible international board of control. A League consular service is also an imaginative possibility, working to protect all foreigners in places where it is either inconvenient or undesirable to maintain separate consulates for each sovereign power.

Would that we had space here to enter more fully into the policing of the wilder parts of the world. In the section devoted to housing and town planning we have already noted the regulative work of the police in big towns, and we have linked it to firefighting and other necessary services. But the world knows too

* A book well worth reading in this connection is The Problem of the Twentieth Century, by David Davies (1930).
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little at present of the life and duties of the various types of armed service beyond its immediate ken. We have but the vaguest ideas of the life of the police who guard the sea and carry order into wild places, and scarcely more of the realities of our protection against every sort of malefactor. Roads, railways, grazing lands must be patrolled. False prophets and crazy insurrection may spring up like weeds after an unfavourable change in the economic weather or for no traceable reason at all.

The whales, the seals, the wild things of the waters, the deserts and wastes and forests call now for vigilant services on sea and land and air to save them from destruction. Seals, penguins, many sorts of fish have to be protected from cruel and wholesale massacre by semi-practical fishermen who will fight if need be. Kidnapping, forced labour and forced prostitution have to be prevented. Wherever there are crowds, again, there is danger of the collective lunatic breaking loose. Race conflicts and religious conflicts are not likely to die out for many generations. Even in the United States the vendetta and Judge Lynch still hold out against the powers of law and order. No civilization can save the world from earthquake, eruption, storm and physical disaster, and properly trained and disciplined services must be at hand to aid and shepherd the victims and clean up the debris. No longer loyal to local king and partisan flag, the services must be loyal to mankind and themselves.

*Et quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* Our imaginary encyclopaedia, in its exhaustive study of these matters, must find place for a discussion of the most subtle of administrative problems, how to admit complaints, reverse decisions and sustain an adequate criticism of protective services without weakening them or hampering their just activities.

In a little book *The Moral Equivalent of War*, William James the psychologist made an interesting suggestion that is well worth noting here. He believed that there was a considerable moral benefit in a year or so of compulsory military service for all the young men of the community. He thought something of the kind might with advantage be extended to young women.

He was writing before the war in America, where nothing of the sort existed, and he had in mind a comparison of the younger generation of that country with their French and German co-evals. It seemed to him that the young Americans were growing
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up with an irresponsible quality, that they took the order and security of life too much for granted, and that they needed to be reminded, by some such universal imperative, of their obligations to the community which had produced them and protected them. This was in the restless but abundant times before the disillusionment of the Great War, and it seemed to him that definite military training was likely to become less and less necessary in the world. He thought therefore that, although the year or so of service ought still to be exacted because of its moral value, it ought now to be directed to non-belligerent ends, and particularly to such onerous tasks as can never be properly performed by people working merely in order to get wages. For example, for young women there are nursing and many kindred forms of social work, in prisons and asylums, there is the care and cheering of friendless, old and infirm people, and of young children who have no one to look after them, and for the young men all that multitude of police duties, from fire-fighting to fighting pestilence, and from traffic control to gang control, where the individual is necessarily on his honour to give his utmost, his life even, with entire self-forgetfulness. And there are many forms of arduous or dangerous toil, at which it does not become a civilization to keep a man or woman for a lifetime, which could also very well be made into special services.

A constant flow of young conscripts through all these and a multitude of other parallel activities would, it seemed to William James, give such organizations just that “ventilated” quality which would prevent them crystallizing into self-protective systems with a defensive attitude towards the general public—as they do tend to become if the whole personnel is making a life job of the employment. An ennobling quality would be given these services, and the associations of the conscript years would form the basis of later friendships and brotherhoods. Moreover, a large section of the general population would be brought, in this way, into touch with and watchful understanding of the official administrator.

Quite independently of William James, a parallel series of suggestions was made by his Austrian contemporary Josef Popper (who died at Vienna in 1921 at the age of eighty-three), who is perhaps better known by his pen name of Lynkeus. His suggestion is of an economic conscription to produce all the necessities of mankind. He finds that from five to eight years of service will suffice. His
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chief work is Die allgemeine Nahrpflicht als Lösung der Sozialen Frage (Universal Civil Service as the Solution of the Social Problem). His book has not the psychological quality of James's; he sees the problem as a material one. It is not available in an English translation, but an account of his proposals by Fritz Wittels has been translated into English by Eden and Cedar Paul under the title of An End to Poverty.

We shall recall these suggestions later when we are dealing with the educational state.

§ 12. Passive Pacifism*

Our panegyric upon the police and the service type of persona has taken us away from the main issue of the danger of war to modern life, and to that we must now return. We had made a brief review of the existing machinery of government in the world—except only the League of Nations, to which we are soon coming—and we had shown the broad elements in the nature of these seventy-odd organizations, which make towards further war catastrophe. We will now consider the efforts that are being made to avert fresh warfare in the world. Homo sapiens is no longer carried mutely from disaster to disaster. He is protesting and using his wits with considerable vigour in the matter. How far has he got towards prevention?

We have insisted in § 7, and we here repeat, that economic war, the White War of peace time, and Red War, when all pretence even of peace is frankly set aside, are merely the chronic and acute phases of the same disease—militant nationalism. They constitute one problem. The clue for the effective solution of this supreme riddle lies, we have argued, in the re-orientation of loyalties through a realization of the essential unity of our species. In a phrase, loyalties have to be diverted from world subdivision to world union. That will give us a useful criterion by which to judge a great variety of anti-war activities in the world about us.

It would be a complex task to frame a list and classification of the anti-war movements of the present time. They fall into two main divisions. The first of them that will have to be considered

* The fullest and most recent statement of the case for Passive Pacifism is Devote Allen's The Fight for Peace.
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may be termed roughly the non-participatory type of movement. The movements of this class base themselves on a resolve to have nothing whatever to do with war, to refuse military service, payment of taxes in war-time and so forth and so on. The more fundamental idea behind such a resolve is the complete renunciation of force in the dealings of man with man. But the renunciation of force means the renunciation of positive government. Fundamentally, therefore, in their absolute form, these passive pacifist movements are anarchist movements, and they merely apply the general non-resistance to evil professed by all Christians in their more exalted moments to the special case of war.

The second class of movement is more complex in its methods and less easy to examine and discuss. It looks to political arrangements, international courts, agreements between states, disarmament conventions, tariff unions and federations, to retard, mitigate, and ultimately abolish war. There are many intermediate shades of opinion and resolve between the definitive types of these main classes. Both are compatible with a vigorous agitation for that reform of history teaching, that change in the political basis of the normal persona, upon which so much stress is laid in this work. The new education, it goes without saying, is inherent in either type of proposal.

But before we can take up the positive proposals of our second class which aim at positive measures and laws to emasculate and end war, it will be necessary to make a very careful study of the mentality of the non-participating resister and to understand exactly why he or she takes up this curiously irresponsible attitude. They are very illuminating socially. There are wide differences in the conception of non-participation. There is first, in close approximation to the second group, what we may call conditional non-participation. Associations of various kinds exist whose members pledge themselves not to support their own government in war unless it has made the last possible effort to arbitrate the issue. Other associations go further. They will refuse service in any circumstances because they believe that it takes two governments to make a war, and that it is the business of all governments to avert a catastrophe at any cost. And quite logically they will refuse to receive or impart military training, because they declare war is now impossible without gross blundering on the part of their own
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government—whatever the enemy government may have done. Moreover, they hold, and perhaps soundly, that a government duly warned of the probable passive defection of considerable sections of its population will pursue a far less aggressive and confident policy than one assured of a unanimous people, ready to leap to arms at the roll of the drum, on no matter what occasion. And as a further step comes the public announcement, so to speak, of one’s neutrality in every possible war. All these movements must weigh very usefully with governments in making them chary of belligerent gestures, but alone they may not only fail to prevent war, but, it is alleged with some show of reason, they may even provoke attack from without by weakening the potential resistance to some more predatory state with a smaller proportion of peace idealists in its community, or with ruder methods of restraining their propaganda.

After all, unless the whole story of human development told in this work is wrong, it is by forcible assertion that the will for creative order has thus far established its rule in the world. Let us not forget that Education as we shall show later is to a large extent repression—discipline. There is as much ape as angel in Homo. The policeman, not the saint, is the guardian of freedom in the highways and byways. The protective function of the militant “services” is not a sham. If it were not for the potential force of orderly governments the whole world would be given up to brigandage. Non-resistance has never been of the slightest use in abolishing brigands. And a modern belligerent state, waging its aggressive patriotism at its neighbours, boasting of its armaments and clamouring for expansion, differs only in the scale of its offensiveness from some brigand chief in possession of a Chinese province, and he again from the gangster in a Chicago district. If the resistance of the reasonable civilized elements in such a brigand state is inadequate to control its government, it is not simply the right but the duty of more civilized governments about it to restrain its aggressions. And surely it is the duty of everyone within that state or without it, to do whatever is possible to weaken its internal discipline, diminish its credit and hamper its armament. It is childish to pretend, as so many non-participatory pacificists do, that all governments are equally belligerent and equally pacificists. It is mere mental laziness to assert as much. Values cannot be so easily ignored in international politics. The power
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most closely associated with the armament industry was the power most responsible for the war of 1914-18, and ten thousand able writers can alter that. Preparation is aggression, and aggression is brigandage. Brigandage will cease only when the last brigand is dead or in the hands of the police. War will be at an end when the last bellicose sovereign power lays down its arms before the united forces of civilization. And not before.

These things the passive pacifists ignore with considerable pertinacity. And since they are often people of considerable culture and ability, it is necessary to enquire into the ideology that enables them to do this.

Their vision of the world seems to be defective in certain particulars. Many of them seem to be the children of comfortable, secure homes and prosperous parents. There is a failure to realize that human affairs have to be kept going by the positive effort of a number of people. Before the Great War there was a curious feeling in the minds of many, that in spite of the visible armament competition in progress and the extraordinary swayings of European diplomacy, a big European war was unthinkable. There was an irrational persuasion that somewhere, somehow, it was being held off. I shared that baseless feeling. I was one of those pampered children of security. August 4, 1914, was an immense surprise to me, and I believe that a great number of comfortable, prosperous Europeans felt the same astonishment. The guns, of which we had watched the loading, were really going off! Although the forms of danger had been all about us, we had lived in such habitual security all our lives that our thoughts were bedded softly on that reasonless assurance.

It had certainly never occurred to us that we had to do anything in the matter—until the war was upon us. In America the war seemed still more archaic and incredible. Very few people really wanted war, and that had seemed to dispose of the matter. So America came into the war with more internal violence, more social persecution than any other belligerent. The war spirit had to be forced and fostered, or it would not have been adequate.

It is in the nature of all animals, and man is so far an animal, to live tranquilly until the ambushed eater rustles forward to his leap or the pursuer is visibly in sight. The anticipation and prevention of public catastrophe is a recent enterprise of the mind.
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Formerly the final direction of things public and general was left to Fate or the gods. The natural disposition of man is to keep happy as long as possible by denying the active evil in powerful, but not immediately hostile, things, to leave them alone unchallenged as long as they leave him alone and get what is to be got out of life meanwhile.

A great factor in this inactive pacifism is the disposition of fine and cultivated people to save their minds and lives from the complex distresses the positive prevention and forcible suppression of war adventurers would certainly cause them. There are so many fine, subtle, delicate, interesting and delightful things in life that it is intolerable that one should be forced to occupy good grey matter with these loutish, cruel, stupid, and abominable violences. But war is no more to be ended by saying, "No more war" and "I stand out," and declaring that every government that went into the Great War was just as bad as any other and indeed on the whole worse, than is burglary to be ended by speaking in tones of remonstrance to a policeman who uses his truncheon.

War is a necessary consequence of the political fragmentation of humanity. Until humanity constitutes a political unity, the mass of reasonable people will insist upon preparations for defensive war, and preparations for defensive war are indistinguishable in their nature and moral reactions from preparations for offensive war. There must be the same study and development of new and more dreadful war expedients. The only alternative to belligerent forces in the world is a common repressive and defensive force. Such a force has still with infinite toil and perplexity to be organized. But these passive pacifists seem to believe that in some remote and mystical form such a force exists already and can be invoked.

Their refusal of service is not therefore so much an action against their own state as an incantation to that unknown, unimplemented God of Peace. In that god they put their faith—and so, gesticulating sceptical disapproval and moral superiority towards all who seek to grapple with Mars in his panoply, towards all who seek to subjugate chaotic by ordered force, they liberate their minds to ease and agreeable occupations. Other people will do the dusty and laborious job, and then, if these others succeed, will they not be justified in their faith in that unknown power?
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§ 13. The League of Nations and Other Experiments in Internationalism

We can now take the League of Nations into our account. Some readers will have wanted to consider it before. But for several reasons it has been preferable to glance down the diplomatic gallery, finish with our politicians and the Civil Service and see something of Scientific War before we came to this part of our Museum of Human Activities. We may figure the Peace Section now as a vast unfinished new wing to the collection. Much of that wing has still to be built; it is in the phase of mason's work and scaffolding in the open air, and even the galleries that are glazed and finished with cases and tables and open are far from full. It is through the League of Nations' display that we must pass to the greater possibilities beyond.

It is not really a very impressive display. One may figure it as a little clutter of beginnings amidst great spaces that are still eloquently vacant. It is only natural that it should be like that. The idea of a world League of Nations was unknown before the end of the first decade of this century. The League itself was born in a sudden convulsion of human hope at the end of the Great War.

In the stirring up of men's ideas that resulted from the war catastrophe of 1914-18, there was a real disposition to break away from the competitive military and diplomatic methods that had contributed so greatly to bring about that disaster. There was much talk of "Open Diplomacy" and a phase when certain great political figures, and particularly President Wilson, had manifestly a worldwide appeal. The time seemed ripe for a bold break with the system of competitive independent sovereign states altogether and the establishment of a centralizing Pax Mundi, with the support and approval of the great majority of mankind. The thing seemed possible then. Whether it was really possible no man can say.

In the Outline of History we have told of the foundation of the League of Nations and shown how the nineteenth-century sentiment in favour of "little nations" which dominated the imagination of President Wilson, at a time when all the world was crying aloud for Federation, blocked the way to a reversal of the Westphalian tradition. The very name of League implies a binding association.
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But President Wilson did not pursue that implication. He was perhaps too much of an historian and not enough of a creator. He had surely a vision of what might be, but he was too punctiliously disposed to fit it into ancient and traditional formulae. He thought not of mankind in chains to nationalism but of little nationalities struggling to be "free." The League of Nations from its birth onward, therefore, was dedicated to national sovereignty, and it was staffed largely by the diplomatic profession. It was to have made the world safe for democracy; it made it safe for more diplomacy. It has never yet recovered from this initial inoculation with the virus of nationalism. Perhaps it never will. It has displayed small power of growth or initiative in the past decade, and it has lost most or all of whatever hold it had taken upon the imaginations of common men. The world looks to it no longer as a beacon of hope.

Yet it was a very important initiative, and it would be premature to consider its possibilities as exhausted. Everyone interested in the present state of human affairs is bound to scrutinize its working and learn whatever it can teach or suggest to us, to be sceptical of its present pretensions and hopeful for its future usefulness.

A very good book on the organization and work of the League of Nations is Howard Ellis's *The Origin, Structure and Working of the League of Nations* (1928); another, *League of Nations: Ten Years of World Co-operation*, written and published by the Secretariat (1930). A compacter work is Wilson Harris's *What the League of Nations Is*. To these works chiefly we are indebted for the facts we retail here. All these books set out the organization of Geneva in as hopeful a light as possible, and all make the reasons for looking on beyond it now to other unifying processes very clear. The claims and the apologetics of these writers are alike illuminating. A more critical study is H. K. G. Greaves' *The League Committees and World Order* (1931), and a useful treatment from the legal side is Norman L. Hill's *International Administration* (1931).

President Wilson seems to have had no very modern political philosophy. He had a legal rather than a psychological mind; his intelligence was of the nineteenth rather than the twentieth century; and the great opportunities of the time rushed upon him unheralded. And perhaps he was over self-reliant. His mind did not go out readily to others and he was apt to make or attempt to make men
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of his own calibre, his subordinates or his antagonists, rather than his helpers. The League, as he seems to have conceived it, was a sort of super-federal government, and he planned its constitution on lines that might have been drawn by one of the framers of the American Constitution. As he brought it into existence it was a quasi-parliamentary government of a type such as we have already criticized. It has an Upper and a Lower Chamber. The Assembly is a house of representative delegations from all the constituent countries of the League, each delegation casting one vote. The Council is a gathering with permanent representatives of the greater powers and a limited number of representatives of other states, who come in and go out of the Council at regular intervals.

We will not repeat here the story of Versailles and the subsequent refusal of the American Senate to allow the United States to enter the League. That is given with all the essential particulars in the Outline of History.

Once a year, usually in September, this Assembly, this partial parliament of mankind, meets, and the hotels of Geneva are packed with a polyglot multitude. There are not only the delegations from the constituent countries, but a great multitude of camp followers, journalists, publicists and interested people. Geneva becomes the most animated of towns; its quays are crowded, and everybody of consequence in international affairs seems to be hurrying in one direction or the other across the Pont du Mont Blanc. A delegation may consist of as many people as its country chooses to send, but it has only one vote. The Assembly meets first in full session in an assembly room near the Grand Quai, the Salle de la Réformation, with a sternly Calvinistic gallery for strangers; it debates upon current international issues, resolves itself into a chamber of special committees which report to the concluding plenary session, and after that has been held and the reports have been considered, the tension upon the hotels relaxes again, and the delegations disperse north, east, west and south.

There can be no doubt that so far the Assembly has served a useful purpose for the public discussion of various issues of world importance. It is also commended as a meeting place for the politicians of remote countries, and as a medium for what Howard Ellis calls "hotel diplomacy," that is to say quiet friendly tentatives and undocumented understandings. It has been a convenient
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instrument for the formal discussion and settlement of various minor clashes in which the issues were not too strongly felt, the cases of frontier violence between Italy and Greece (1923) and Bolivia and Paraguay (1928), for example, and the Mosul frontier delimitation; but as regards War, either what we have described as the incessant White War of tariffs, or the Red War of military preparation and menace, it has proved a very ineffective body indeed. In September, 1931, while the Assembly was actually in session, warfare began between Japan and China. Mukden was bombarded and occupied by the Japanese army—without, it is alleged, any orders from home. The army acted automatically in response to local irritations and proceeded to occupy South Manchuria. This conflict manifestly puts the League of Nations to the test, for both China and Japan are members of the League and Japan is one of the Big Five.

The Council now sits four times a year, though a proposal was made by Sir Austen Chamberlain to restrict its annual total of meetings to three on the ground that foreign ministers had more important work to do at home. It has five permanent members (Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan), and nine others are elected, three a year for three years, by the Assembly. China may give place to Latvia, for example, or Abyssinia to Peru, or Spain to Liberia or the Irish Free State: turn and turn about. It exercises a number of directive functions, but the world’s interest in its proceedings has become more and more flaccid with the spreading sense of its essential ineffectiveness. It meets and disperses without any conspicuous excitement in the European or American press. It meets without a splash and sends no thrill throughout the earth. Most people in the world are unaware of its gathering or dispersal.

But behind these parliamentary organs there is the Secretariat, the Civil Service of the League. After our examination of the modern needs and methods of government it is natural that we should turn to this with a very lively curiosity. It is appointed by a Secretary-General (Sir Eric Drummond) and the whole staff numbers 670 persons (1930) drawn from fifty-one different countries. There are 11 number of sections, Political, Economic and Financial, Transit, Mandated Territories, Disarmament, Health, Social Welfare, Intellectual Co-operation, Information and so on. There is a registry of treaties and various technical and advisory committees,
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some permanent and some gathered for special tasks, operate in correlation with the permanent sections. No part of this organization has any executive authority. It "studies," it "advises," it prepares material.

Except for leaves and vacations, the Secretariat is always to be found at Geneva. It has been housed in a number of converted hotels; the Hôtel National, which became the first Palais des Nations, being the chief; now special buildings are coming into existence to supplement these first emergency shelters. The personnel of the Secretariat is drawn from among the available experts in political science and administration, and the original recommendation of the organizing committee in 1919 was that they should be men and women best qualified to perform the duties assigned to them without taking account of any supposed necessity for selecting persons from different nationalities. Qualifying this was a repudiation of any nation or group of nations monopolizing the staff appointments. Yet, clearly, if some one nation produces all the best experts, there is no sound reason why it should not "monopolize" all the service. "The members of the Secretariat, once appointed, are no longer in the service of their own country, but become for the time being exclusively officials of the League. Their duties are not national but international."

It was hoped to develop in the Secretariat an "international" (i.e., a cosmopolitan) mind. But the spirit of national jealousy has never been exorcized from Geneva, and the personnel of the Secretariat is continually disturbed because this or that influential power objects that it is not getting a "fair share" in the official machine.

Now let us take one section of the League's activities and examine the spirit and vigour with which it does its work. Let us take as our sample that "Committee of Intellectual Co-operation" which was originally projected by M. Hymans at the Peace Conference of 1919 and organized in 1922. Unlike various other departments of the League's activities, it is a genuine post-war product; the League's very own.

Here we have a title, at least, which is full of promise. We think at once of a systematic enquiry into all the endless mental activities of mankind that are now calling for and feeling their way towards co-operative unification. The dream of a mightier Encyclopædisim rises majestically before us. We think of men of science and
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influence co-ordinated to restrain the production of war inventions and to guide the spirit of our race towards unity.

Victor Lefebure, in his *Scientific Disarmament*, reproaches scientific men for the readiness with which they give their knowledge and inventive powers to the ends of national armament. He is particularly concerned by the possibilities of gas warfare. He wants a real pacifist organization of these at present irresponsible and mischievous experts. He wants a new scientific morale in regard to war, a cosmopolitan morale. This would be an obvious objective for a committee of intellectual co-operation throughout the world, but I find no evidence of any such attempt on the part of the existing organization.

The Introduction to this present work, and indeed all our present enterprise, is devoted to one of the main questions that such a committee should undertake, the question of a new education for a new age. The need to make over the schools of the world from the teaching of national to cosmopolitan history has been fairly evident since 1919. One man at least was alive to these needs, that very original and creative thinker, that typical survivor of the old clear-headed French tradition, M. Léon Bourgeois. As he put it, it was to be a committee “to deal with questions of intellectual co-operation and education.” But the Second Assembly, which sanctioned the creation of this new organ, dropped the last two words and left the League with the Committee emasculated. Emasculated for such achievements as this—I quote a passage in the best prospectus style from the Secretariat’s own *Ten Years of World Co-operation*:

“The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation consists entirely of persons chosen for their individual eminence in the world of thought. The object of the League in establishing it was to summon to its councils a carefully selected group of the best thinkers of the age drawn from the chief intellectual disciplines. Thus philosophy has been represented by the first chairman, M. Bergson, physics by Dr. Einstein, Mme. Curie, Dr. Lorentz, M. Tanakadate, Dr. Hale and his successor, Dr. Millikan, and more recently, by M. Painlevé, Greek studies by Professor Gilbert Murray, literature by M. de Reynold, medicine by M. de Castro, biology by Mlle. Bonnevie and later by Sir Jagadis Bose, the arts by M. Destrée, history by
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M. Susta and law by Professor Ruffini (succeeded later by M. Rocco) and by M. Mariano H. Cornejo.

"To gather together such an array of talent, representing such a variety of specialisms, countries and intellectual traditions, was in itself no mean achievement, particularly at a moment when the contacts between scholars, which had been interrupted during the war, had not yet been renewed. The mere existence of the Committee has certainly been a considerable moral influence in favour of international understanding."

But did this astounding committee ever really exist—that is to say, as a conference with a purpose? What did it do? Nothing apparently for two years. In 1924 it suddenly remembered itself and its promise, and it found a material form as an institute lodged in the Palais Royal in Paris with an income provided by the French government and a staff and a secretary. But it chose to be limited by its terms of reference and displayed no power whatever, of conviction and will to break away from them. It has done nothing commensurate with our original hopes for the League. It has engaged in a few minor activities; the organization of a certain amount of relief for intellectual workers in countries impoverished by currency fluctuations, the exchange of publications between scientific societies, the formation of an "International Committee of Popular Arts"—whatever popular arts may be—and so on. These are very meritorious things to do in their way, but they have no more effect upon the broad intellectual processes of the world than the Council and Assembly have had upon the economic hostilities that impoverish mankind, or upon the gigantic preparations for another great war that are going on so vigorously everywhere. Perhaps the crowning achievement of this committee so far is the Resolution which, greatly daring, it passed in plenary session on July 25, 1931, on the initiative of Professor Murray and M. Painlevé.

"The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation,
"Considering that the military burdens borne by the different nations render increasingly difficult the studies, the training and even the continued existence of an intellectual class, and thus hamper the intellectual progress of mankind;
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"Considering further that the Committee has undertaken and is carrying out the duty of instructing youth in the principles of the League of Nations, of peace and of international co-operation;

"And that the whole development of the League of Nations is closely bound up with the progress of disarmament and of the international conventions ensuring Peace:

"Expresses the ardent hope that the General Conference which is to meet next February will achieve a substantial reduction in the land, sea and air armaments of the world under such conditions as will provide international guarantees for the security of each nation."

After which the banded Intellectuals appear to have slammed down the window very hard and dispersed in a threatening and portentous manner. No armament manufacturer could fail to realize the gravity of their disapproval.

It may be objected that it is not fair to judge the League by one of its feeblest departments,* but that department has been taken because it was the League's own child. The International Labour Bureau, which has certainly done good work—and which carries a United States representative—is really only a continuation of the International Association for Labour Legislation founded in 1900, which held annual conferences and brought off such achievements as the Phosphorus Convention of 1906, in pre-war days. The League simply annexed and reshaped it. It might have grown more vigorously outside the League. The International Court again is claimed as something new. It is, we are told, a "court of justice," and not merely a "tribunal for arbitration," like the Hague Court. That is what is new about it. But how a process in a court which has no power of enforcement whatever can differ from an arbitration is for the lawyers to decide. The pre-war court and the post-war League Court are linked closely together and share the same "Carnegie" Peace Palace at The Hague. The League's share in the business is chiefly an affiliation claim. Various other originally independent international organizations, such as the International Hydrographic Bureau of Monaco, have been brought under the auspices of the League without visible harm or benefit.

* For a criticism of the economic side of the League see R. H. G. Greaves, *The League Committees and World Order*.
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But it is not our purpose to indict the League of Nations for its very manifest superficiality and inadequacy. It puts up such claims as it can; the prospectus style of its account of itself was almost unavoidable. It does very little, and it puts a brave face on the matter. There is no touch of deep living pride, of high ambitions or creative imagination in its evasive and diplomatic direction, but in that way it escapes getting into difficulties with resentful governments. It might have been the rebellious heir of the old order, and it has become its clerk-valet. It does not lead the way to unity, but at times it makes a deferential and perhaps directive movement towards unifying courses. It has immobilized and killed that wide and dangerous desire, as it must have seemed to all diplomatists and most politicians, for a world super-government, that flamed out in men's minds in 1918. That desire may flame again as our troubles thicken, but one may doubt whether it will flame upon the Geneva altar.

Let us rather accept the League for what it is and for what it may be. It is a small achievement if we measure it by the scale upon which any real intellectual, economic and political consolidation of human affairs must be attempted, but it is an achievement. It is a ripple in the advancing tide of unifying realization. It is a useful, if modest, permanent addition to the governmental resources of mankind. If it is not the home of unity, it is for awhile a convenient postal address. It has been and is, and it may well continue to be, a point for assignations, for enquiries and meetings, and the preparation of more effective co-operations. It may play the rôle of a matrix for the casting of organizations wider in scope and more powerful than it can ever be. It will be serviceable in just the measure that it transmits, and it will be objectionable just so far as it attempts to arrest, control, annex and claim credit for, the unifying forces of the world.

THE RED CROSS

But now let us look at certain other experiments in internationalism, less pretentious than the League but possibly more illuminating in the way in which they have contrived to transcend nationalist limitations. Senior among these is the Red Cross. The Red Cross was founded by Henri Dunant in 1862, for the
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assistance of the wounded in war; it was begotten by his book, *Souvenirs de Solférino*, describing the horrible condition of things upon that battlefield. It has had Geneva for its headquarters since its inception and its International Committee treats with governments and with the League almost as if it were an independent sovereign power. It has sustained objections to various war cruelties. Its arrangements for the repatriation of prisoners after the Great War were ably executed, and it has recently developed a special "International Relief Union" for the prompter assistance of populations stricken by famine, earthquake or the like sudden disasters. Its work in sustaining a world standard of nursing and of medical material has been of inestimable value. It is a federation of national societies which among them all count somewhere about 17,000,000 members.

THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURE

Another very remarkable and important international experiment, which has the status of a sovereign power making actual treaties with governments, is the International Institute of Agriculture in Rome. This was the creation of an American, a man, as the world must some day admit, of a very wide economic and political vision, David Lubin. His object was to establish a continual survey of world production, a perennial census organization, first of food products and then of other staples, in relation to world consumption. Conventions were made in 1905 between Lubin and forty countries representing 90 per cent of the world’s population, by which they agreed to furnish reports and subsidies to his institute. A special treaty was signed with the Italian government of Victor Emmanuel for the establishment of the Institute in a palace built for it by that monarch in the Villa Borghese. There it set to work. Its operations were shattered for a time by the Great War and Lubin never saw it restored to effective world influence. On the day that the main avenues of Rome were beflagged, crowded and lined with troops to receive President Wilson, fresh from the triumphs of Versailles, Lubin’s obscure funeral was making its way by back streets to the cemetery.

It is only now that this potential economic world organ of his is struggling back to a functional existence. But the world agri-
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cultural census of 1930–31, which it has in hand at the time of writing, is evidence of its returning vitality. It has initiated congresses on meteorology, plant diseases and locust control, and collaborated on occasion both with the League of Nations and the International Labour Office. In the long run we may find that this institute, the International Red Cross and the modest bureau of the Postal Union at Berne—also sustained by contributions from all the countries of the world—are types of world co-operation more flexible and practicable than that rather old-fashioned pseudo-parliament at Geneva, with its upper and lower houses, its dreadful polyglot debates and its pervading diplomatic atmosphere. It is highly undesirable that these older tested experiments in internationalism should suffer incorporation with the League, or that the League should obstruct by any officious intervention the development of the many other similar federal organizations, the growing need for world action in such matters as disarmament and monetary and financial unifications, may evoke.

THE BANK OF INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENTS AT BASLE

We have already noted in Chapter IX, § 10, the growing realization of the need to put finance (and possibly monetary affairs) upon a cosmopolitan footing. Very important in the development of this realization is the Bank of International Settlements set up in 1930 at Basle. Its ostensible objective was the handling and distribution of the payment of German reparations for the Great War of 1914–18. But from the beginning it was impossible to ignore the wider possibilities of any such institution, and it is already growing very remarkably beyond its original functions. It is empowered to assist in credit operations necessary for the development of countries arrested in their economic development. In other words, it is free, if it can, to weave together the highly industrialized countries of north-western Europe into one economic system with the still mainly rural countries of the south-east. It has necessarily become a meeting place for the bankers of various countries and a centre of expert discussion. Its possibilities are enormous. Already there are attempts to evolve side by side with it a huge investment trust to lubricate the working of national industries throughout the world. A third possible member of this profoundly interesting embryo of

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a world business control is an International Mortgage Bank to irrigate the agricultural production of financially weak states by long term cosmopolitan lending.

Professor Gustav Cassel, the distinguished Swedish economist whose warnings against deflation before 1923–24 have been so amply justified by events, finds these international organizations insufficient in themselves. He supports a scheme, recently drawn up by representatives of the Bank of England, for a much bolder and larger international institute directing floating capital towards permanent investment, and organizing the central banks so as to co-operate in a radical and general reduction of interest upon those short-term loans which have played so large a part in the financial convulsions of the immediate past. (Chapter IX, §§ 11 and 12.)

That is as much as we can say as yet of this new cosmopolitan banking. When, in a few years' time, this book is revised for a new edition, these paragraphs here may have to undergo a very considerable expansion. We may have to tell then of a world nucleus at least as important as the League itself.

OTHER INTERNATIONAL BODIES

Another international organ whose bureau is now seated at Geneva which has done very useful educational and organizing work, is the Inter-Parliamentary Union founded in 1888 by William Randal Cremer and Frédéric Passy. It holds annual conferences of cosmopolitan-minded members of parliament in various cities. At the Berlin Conference in 1928, 475 members representing 38 different countries assembled. And there is an International Bureau of Education with a constitution and an international status like the International Institute of Agriculture; it has been recently organized and as yet only a few countries have taken a share in it. So far it is no more than a poor timid, conferring body, afraid, it would seem, even of contemporary ideas. The blight of sentimental nationalism that cripples the Institute of International Co-operation manifestly lies upon it. Furthermore, there exist a multitude of purely propaganda organizations of a more or less thoroughly cosmopolitan trend, of which the British League of Nations Union and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace under the presidency of Mr. Nicholas Murray Butler may be taken as samples.
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The latter organization distributes large funds, its publicity is wide and thorough, and the name of Nicholas Murray Butler has become a household word throughout the earth. With the International of Co-operatives we have already dealt in Chapter VII.

GENEVA AS A RENDEZVOUS OF SCHEMES

As an informal consequence of the establishment of the League of Nations at Geneva a multitude of voluntary organizations of every grade of scope and quality have concentrated upon the Lake. These too help to measure the scale of the League of Nations effort. Every question that has a world significance receives attention in this "Geneva outside the League," from the propaganda of Esperanto and the advocacy of such-like artificial languages, to conferences on the bearing of sexual custom and hygiene upon population and international stresses. There are numerous organizations outside the pale which conduct enquiries and watch and seek to stimulate the League administration. Some act as centres for propaganda on behalf of the authority of the League. They have conferences; they sit in rooms talking, they constitute and reconstitute their societies, and no doubt they play a helpful part in maintaining international if not cosmopolitan ideals in a discouraged world. Many of the most active spirits in this outer circle at Geneva are wealthy Americans; many are less opulent students and enquirers seeking opportunity.

It is natural that a certain number of picturesque eccentricities should also be attracted to the lakeside to complete the picture. They walk on the quays, they cross the bridge to and fro, they wear rather distinctive costumes and carry important-looking portfolios.

Geneva is an interesting convergence of hopes and projects and pretensions, but if it is to be regarded as the sole centre and culmination of the organizing as opposed to the disintegrating forces in world politics, it is not a cheering resort for those who have any sense of the magnitude and urgency of the dangers which threaten our precarious civilization.

Happily Geneva is not all. Geneva is merely a rendezvous for a certain number of people who have been brought there or attracted thither by the expression it gives to creative forces that are at work everywhere. If Geneva and all that centres upon Geneva and the
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League were destroyed to-morrow, it would be a grave, but not an irreparable loss to mankind. These forces would find another rendezvous. The drive towards unification is in the logic of human association; it is the primary fact of history and social life.

§ 14. Projects for Cosmopolitan Synthesis: Necessity Drives Us Towards World Controls

A distrust of the League's utility in the larger functions for which it was contrived is manifestly felt by most experienced politicians and statesmen. Ever since 1923 they have betrayed their dissatisfaction with the League by a search for supplementary devices to avert or mitigate war—whether White or Red.

It would need a long chapter of modern history to survey these supplementary efforts, from the Washington Disarmament Conference and Locarno, to the Kellogg Amphiarchy and the proposals of M. Briand for a United States of Europe. It is necessary to distinguish clearly between such mere sentimental gestures as the Kellogg Pacts, however magnificent, and practical efforts to cooperate on super-national lines, however modest.

Perhaps the most hopeful element in all these post-war projects, conferences and the like, is their persistent resumption. There is a widespread uneasiness in the human mind that no fatuous renunciation of war "as a method of policy" will allay. Indefinable, various and universally dispersed urgencies are worrying the attention of our species towards some effactual unification, in spite of all the heavy thrust of tradition towards further conflicts.

Along one line of experiment we may note the various tentatives that have been made towards economic federations (with, of course, the correlative of military alliances) on a supernational scale. That may be as good a way as any of getting past the patriotic pickets. It may be true that Human Unity is too remote for a single imaginative stride. Pan-Europa seems, at the first glance at any rate, more practicable than Cosmopolis. Let us accept any proposal to go halfway there, in the sure conviction that once we are upon the road, we shall find our projected super-national combination no more than a wayside inn for the final political home-coming of mankind. M. Briand's scheme for the "United States of Europe,"

* Based on R. N. Coudenhove Kalergis's Pan-Europa (1923).

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British projects for "Empire Free Trade,"* the reality of Pan-America,† the dream of an Anglo-Saxon alliance, and the like, may all serve a greater purpose. They may all help to break down the spirit of national and local egoism and to turn men's minds not simply to the possibility but the need of larger systems of co-operation. While such suggestions are materializing as negotiations and haggling their way to realization, the secular process of material liaison will continue its apparently inexorable advance and reinforce these suggestions by a multitude of practical confirmations.

None of these projects is very original. There have been schemes for the pacific unification of Europe since the days of Henri of Navarre. The Holy Alliance was an attempt to bring into European affairs the conception of a regal family, and Sir Charles Waldstein was advocating a United States of Europe project right up to the outbreak of 1914. No doubt a group of intelligent monarchs might have contrived a European merger at any time in the last two hundred years, but unhappily very few European monarchs in the last two hundred years have been even moderately intelligent, several have been stupidly and aggressively militarist, and most have clung like limpets to the romantic patriotic traditions on which their importance rests.

These practical proposals for political unifications we have considered, these unions, federations, empire free-trade systems and Zollvereins, are all attempts to achieve a partial unification of human interests geographically. But partial unification of human interests can also be arranged by function rather than region. World controls, it may be, are to be built up bit by bit. The world Postal Union, the International Institute of Agriculture, the International Labour Office, the Red Cross, are all examples of real cosmopolitan organs, working very efficiently for certain specific ends. Since the war the League of Nations may have obstructed rather than helped the development of further specific organizations of this type by its claim to be the international factotum. But, after all, such special conventions, first for this end and then for that, may be the easier and better way to get past the Nationalist sentinels. The League was imposed upon the world by men whose imaginations were obsessed by the image of a legislative assembly in which

* See Lord Beaverbrook: Case for Empire Free Trade.
† See C. E. Hughes: Pan-American Peace Plans (1930).

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politicians like themselves would play the leading rôles; they did not realize that world affairs may be handled, and perhaps must be handled, by methods quite different from those of any modern sovereign government. Yet we may have a unified world securely at peace without either a president or a parliament of mankind. And even with most or all the old kings and presidents still robed and enthroned amidst their local gilding. There are possibilities of mediatizing the sovereign governments of the world bit by bit, with an extremely small amount of visible infringements of sovereignty.*

Consider first the problem of disarmament. The statesmen and diplomats manoeuvre and distinguish themselves, trust—I believe vainly—to the mercy of history for a favourable posthumous press, and achieve nothing of material importance. But manifestly no effectual disarmament is possible without, first, a world convention to take the armament industry out of the hands of profit-makers altogether, and secondly, a permanent body, a commission, a convention, call it what you will, to watch, co-ordinate and restrain the armament of all the states party to the convention. Disarmament will remain the most ineffective of "gestures" until that International Armament Commission is in permanent authority. Sooner or later, if civilization is to go on, it must exist. The League of Nations is itself quite unsuitable for the function. The utmost the League can do is to facilitate and not hinder the establishment of that overriding body. And as soon as such a commission comes into being it will begin to develop its own personnel, and the world will begin the business of getting accustomed to and having confidence in its operations.

Next let us consider the growing realization throughout the world that the economic distresses of our time are world stresses and that there is no hope of restoring and maintaining prosperity throughout the world except through cosmopolitan action. In this field, again, there may be a rapid acceleration of activities, as economic and social troubles increase. We have already noted in § 13 the extreme significance of the Bank for International Settlements at Basle and the buds it already bears. Its development into a real cosmopolitan

* A good pre-war book on this subject, still well worth a student's attention, is L. S. Woolf's International Government (1916). A modern book (1931) which also sets out very plainly the large amount of international organization prior to and outside of the League machinery is Keith Clark's International Communications: The American Attitude.
organ is probable. Here, in another system of interests almost independent of the disarmament issues, we may presently find people adopting different agencies and different methods and working their way towards some sort of International Currency and Credit Board. One can see that coming into existence by itself without any exacerbation of Nationalist feeling. It would need a considerable staff of its own even from the beginning. And from the beginning it could be in communication with the Disarmament Board.

The League of Nations Commission of Enquiry for European Union (1931), with its sub-committee on organization, with its examination of the world economic crisis, its projects for the international transmission of electric power and international co-operation in production, is an interesting preliminary exploration (within the limitations of the League) of the possibility of getting past political boundaries in economic matters.

Any such world boards or commissions would necessarily bring together into effective co-operation considerable contingents of the civil services of the various states. They would acquire international attitudes of mind. The foundations of a real world civil service, independent of national politics, would be assembled and laid. (Already, indeed, at Geneva, the League of Nations has a little rudimentary "world civil service" of five or six hundred employees.)

In § 12 we have already raised the possibility of international boards for the administration and control of "macédoines" of mixed populations and for a Geneva consular service. What we are suggesting here links very closely with the discussion in that section.

The Red Cross again could expand its work by degrees to become an effectual control of world health, no patriot objecting, and it could extend modern conceptions of sanitary regulation throughout the world. There are similar possibilities of development in the International Institute of Agriculture which might easily be associated with the Bank for International Settlements at Basle and the projected International Bank for Business Credits and the International Mortgage Bank in one great scheme of world statistics and world book-keeping. Those who are acquainted with the writings of David Lubin will know that his ideas went far beyond the range of a mere bureau of statistics. He wanted not only a census of needs and production, but also a survey and control of methods of distribution. His own experiences as a merchant in America had im-
pressed him with the primary significance of freights in trading, and one of his still undeveloped ideas was a progressive upward extension of the work of the world’s post office, from letters and postcards to parcels of increasing bulk, until all the shipping and all the inter-state transport of the world were brought into one tarified scheme. Is a development of that foundation in Rome until it becomes a census and control—“control” because knowledge is power—not only of agricultural production but of all staple production and distribution also, an unthinkable thing? It would be something much less showy but infinitely more real than a world parliament.

An International Conservation Board, as the Science of Life shows, is already urgently needed for the protection of natural resources now being wasted, and particularly for the protection of many species of animals and plants threatened with speedy extinction. In less than a hundred years, while the statesmen and diplomatists wrangle, most of the forests of the world may be destroyed. Many smart men of business may make large fortunes out of the process, and that no doubt will reconcile them at least to living on a balder planet.

All these varied strands of world organization could be woven independently of one another, provided that we release our minds from the suggestion that now it is only through the straight and narrow way of the League of Nations that such things are to be attained. And another great power could be evoked if that Institute of Intellectual Co-operation could be rescued from the petty aims and the ridiculous nationalist ideology that affect it like a disease, and make an independent organization, open and accessible to all who are concerned in the intellectual processes of mankind. The original educational objectives of M. Léon Bourgeois could then be restored, and the vitally important task of examining, protesting against, controlling and ultimately suppressing patriotic and belligerent teaching throughout the world could be undertaken with some hope of success.

Later on (in Chapter XV) we shall return to the possibility that this Committee of Intellectual Co-operation might assist or direct the production of World Year Books and a World Encyclopaedia.

Towards all these various ends people are working now. Every one of these desiderata carries with it vast possibilities of inter-
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national confluence between public services and of international confluence between educational organizations. All such projects for world-wide special boards and services march side by side not only with each other but also with political projects for confederations and economic alliances, towards unity. The two types of coalescence, the geographical and the functional, are not in conflict. Together these two sorts of movement already constitute a very impressive array of devices, possibilities and hopes.

The greatest danger to such hopes seems to lie in the years immediately ahead. All this experimenting and muddling towards world organization takes time. Meanwhile the old traditions remain very strongly established—in the legal forms of government, in social habit, in our schools. Particularly in our schools. The armament firms remain. They have not yet been brought to heel. The press, ignorant and short-sighted, is still very largely on the side of mischief.

This search for the methods of a world pax is essentially an intellectual matter, a psychological problem; it is an attempt to save mankind from the insane obsessions of patriotism; it is a race of education to avert another and greater catastrophe. The fundamental thing in human association is and always has been education; for what our education is, that also is our social organization and the quality of our lives.*

* The student who wishes to expand the matter of this and the preceding sections should read A. C. F. Beale's History of Peace.