CHAPTER IX

Trends of Civilization and Culture in the Twentieth Century

I. POLITICAL TRENDS

1. POSTWAR TENDENCIES

A New Era. World War I produced a great political upheaval not unlike that which followed the French Revolution of 1789. We are still too near to what occurred in 1914 to be able to detect in a true perspective the consequences, but some major transformations are beginning to stand out in strong relief. One thing is certain: an old order has been discredited and a new one, its character still uncertain, is coming to the fore. The change has not been complete but it is already sufficiently definite to indicate a new era in political administration.

Discredit of Monarchism. The general discredit of monarchies was one of the immediate results of World War I. For a time, it seemed that Wilson's dream of a world of democracies, in which people might have the right of political self-expression, was at hand. The Romanovs were driven from power by their own subjects. The Hapsburgs were crushed and their once extensive and powerful empire was divided. The Hohenzollerns, having failed in their bid for world power, stepped down from the throne and sought refuge in a foreign country. The rulers of Turkey and Bulgaria, allies of Germany and Austria, lost their hold on absolutism and submitted to radical transformation of governments and territories. Republicanism was substituted for monarchism in many countries. In Europe, at least a dozen republics were established, including

Poland, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Finland, Austria, the Ukraine, Turkey, Spain, Germany, and Russia. In other countries, there was a general liberalization of political procedure. In many states, where revolution did not bring about a complete change in government, seats in legislatures were redistributed, proportional representation was introduced, ministerial responsibility was adopted, and personal and civil liberties were enlarged. After the deluge, only a few monarchs were left and their governments retained merely the form and not the spirit of prewar monarchies.

Progress of Democracy. The new forms of government followed, in a general way, the lines that had been developed in France and in the United States in the preceding century. However, there were important innovations. The more recent constitutions provided a flexible government, more readily amenable to take care of current tendencies, than were the older ones. The chief executive, as a general rule, was given power more nearly resembling the French than the American type. The power of veto in many cases was omitted.

Several countries, including Finland, Estonia, and Yugoslavia, provided only one house in the legislature. In countries where two houses were included, the upper house was given secondary importance. There was a general extension of franchise to include not only adult male citizens but also women. Woman suffrage had been introduced in New Zealand, Australia, Norway, and Sweden before the war, but not until afterward did the movement gain particular headway. Poland and the new Baltic republics in their constitutions granted equal rights to both sexes. Germany, Czechoslovakia, Turkey, and the United States are included in the group of those that gave women equal rights at the polls. "Parliamentary government, geographical representation, and decision by majorities" characterized most of the political systems that were introduced after the war.

The Weimar Constitution. The German Weimar Constitution of 1919 may be taken as a typical form of government that embodied most of the new ideas. The constitution created a federal, republican commonwealth of 18 states. The president was to be elected for a term of seven years, eligible for reelection, and subject to removal by a popular referendum. In normal times, the president

was to be little more than a figurehead, although in case of emergency he was empowered at will to govern by decree.

The constitution provided for ministerial responsibility and a bicameral legislature. Members of the lower house (Reichstag) were to be elected by the whole adult population, male and female. The cabinet was dependent upon the support of a majority in the Reichstag. Proportional representation was introduced, by which a member of the Reichstag represented every 60,000 votes recorded, differing from the English and American systems, in which a candidate is put into office irrespective of the extent of his majority and without consideration of the minority. The upper house (Reichsrat) represented the states, each state to have at least one vote and no more than two-fifths of the total members in the house. Representation, with these limitations, was on the basis of one member for each 1,000,000 people. Provision was made for subjecting laws to a referendum of the people. Constitutional amendments could be made by legislative action. Judges were appointed for life, "independent and responsible only to the law." Bills could be introduced by the ministry or by members of the Reichstag, with the right of suspensive veto granted to the Reichsrat. Employers and employees of the great economic groups and corporations were represented in the National Economic Council, in order that they might advise the legislature on economic and social problems.

The fundamental rights and duties of Germans were outlined in the constitution. There was also an attempt to define and guarantee doctrines relating to economic and social policy, including free public education, social insurance, privileges for laborers to be represented in councils of government and industry, and the right to socialize various private enterprises. The Weimar Constitution, in spite of its many virtues, was destined to a short existence, as the Nazi dictatorship superseded it.

Nationalism. Since its origin in the Middle Ages, nationalism has been one of the outstanding political developments; today it is one of the most dynamic forces in human society. In earlier chapters, we have traced its origin and progress. The present century has marked a climax in its development. Idealistically, nationalism seemed to be harmless, a general panacea for political evils, but in practice it has pushed into the foreground many serious problems. World War I was caused, to a very great degree, by

exaggerated nationalism. The desire of Germany for her "place in the sun" and the grim determination of the Entente Powers to retain their exalted position constitute one of the fundamental causes for the outbreak of hostilities in 1914. The conflict was a "war of nations," supported by the nationalistic spirit of the people within the various states.

Wilson pleaded for the recognition and the right of self-determination of all nations, large and small. The treaties of Versailles, Saint-Germain, and Trianon, following World War I, show the extent to which nationalism was a factor in the diplomacy of the powers. There were 18 national states in Europe in 1914. In 1928, there were 30, requiring the creation of about 2,000 miles of new boundary lines. Many of the changes were necessary and justifiable, but unfortunately the peacemakers made costly mistakes. Even Alsace-Lorraine was not satisfied under French rule, while the desire for its return to France had constituted the major cause for French participation in the war. Germany lost the Polish Corridor and Upper Silesia, which, according to the rule of nationalism, she should have been permitted to keep. Hungary resented the loss of territory inhabited by her people. Bulgaria bitterly attacked the Powers for taking territory the loss of which deprived her of an outlet to the Aegean Sea. Montenegro and Macedonia justly complained because their independence was not recognized. Austria lost South Tyrol—an adjustment that was one of the most flagrant violations of the principle of nationalism at the Congress of Versailles.

These disputes over territory were a constant threat to world peace. Excessive nationalism was responsible for the staggering burden of armaments that taxpayers were forced to carry. It encouraged aggressive imperialism and developed in many countries a false type of patriotism. In fact, many critics have pointed out that, in place of its solving the world's political problems nationalism has become one of the chief obstacles to international conciliation.

Revival of Economic Nationalism. Trends in postwar trade and monetary policy presented another difficulty for idealistic nationalism. Financial stability for European states was exceedingly difficult to achieve because of the flow of gold to the United States. Austria, Poland, and Germany all experienced the havoc of infla-

tion. Most of the European states found it next to impossible to take care of their indebtedness. A general increase in tariffs created a kind of mercantile anarchy, which was characterized by attempts of all nations to limit imports to necessary raw materials and commodities. Unemployment became a burden international in scope. State budgets, already taxed to the limit by the costs of the recent war, had to increase their load further for the support of unemployed.

Signs of an economic collapse were evident in world economy as early as 1926. Unemployment was widespread in many European countries, and throughout the world production was in excess of demand. While the condition in the United States was an outstanding exception to the general trend, prosperity here was more apparent than real. Unemployment was a general menace and farmers were in stringent economic circumstances. Installment buying had created an artificial demand for commodities. Wealth was very unevenly distributed, and foreign trade reached an alarmingly low level. When the crash came, in October, 1929, repercussions were felt all over the world.

There was a general scramble on the part of all states to mend their economic conditions without much respect or consideration for each other. American short-term loans to foreign countries were called, and that accentuated the turmoil. The Reischsbank in Germany had lost 40 per cent of its gold reserve by June, 1931. The following year brought about the virtual cancellation of all reparation payment. Many financial enterprises had been undertaken, especially in France, England, and Belgium, with the hope of using German reparation payments. The United States, the principal creditor nation, refused to reduce the indebtedness of these countries. Consequently, the debtors refused to make payments.

Devaluation of currency followed, as a further frantic effort in economic nationalism to save the day. Japan was one of the first to try to increase her exports by monetary depreciation, and other countries fell into line. The American-dollar gold content was reduced about 40 per cent in 1934. High tariffs were introduced even in England, after almost a century of free trade. The Ottawa Imperial Economic Conference (1932) provided for lower tariffs within the Empire at the expense of foreign traders.

Proceedings at the International Economic Conference in Lon-

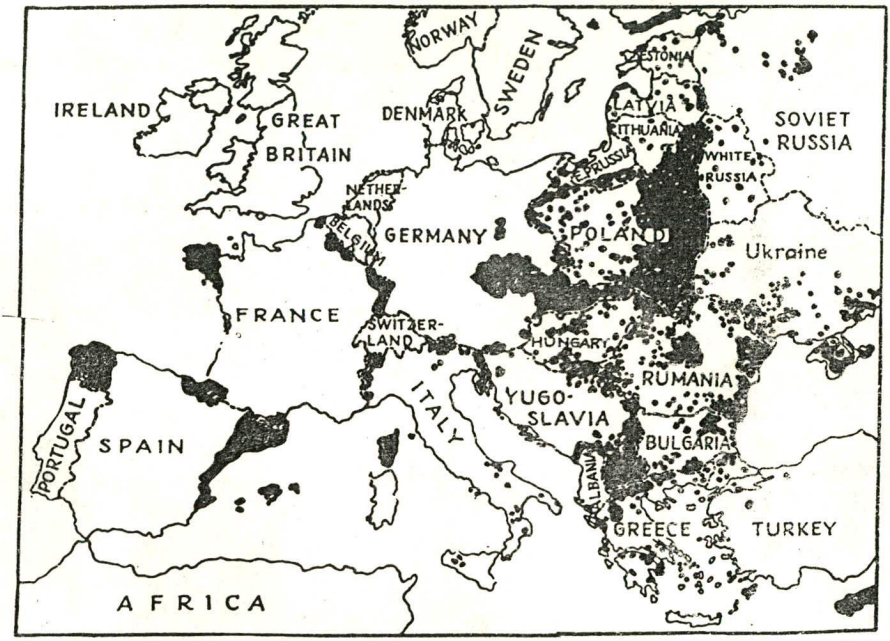
don (1932) reveal the seriousness of the situation. Estimates indicate that 30,000,000 people were unemployed in the world and that the price of raw materials had depreciated more than 50 per cent. Nothing was accomplished, and each nation proceeded on an independent policy, trying out a number of experiments. The English turned to tariffs and subsidies, while in the United States the New Deal was promoted. In other states, such as Germany and Italy, more drastic action was taken. Economic nationalism figured prominently in bringing about a state of chaos and plunging the world into another war within two decades.

Minorities. One of the main weaknesses in the application of the principle of nationalism is the impossibility of segregating nationalities into well-defined geographical limits. The protection of minorities dominated by an alien government constitutes a major problem. They frequently are subjected to the stern rule of the majority, although the minority may constitute a large percentage of the total population. The Germans in the Polish Corridor were suppressed by the Poles. Austrians living in the Tyrol chafed under the restrictive regulations of the Italian government. The Chinese were threatened with the loss of their national existence by Japan. Prior to World War II, approximately 8,000,000 Germans, 3,000,000 Magyars, and 1,500,000 Bulgars constituted minority groups in various states, most of them harboring ambitions to regain allegiance to their rightful governments and ready to go to extremes in order to do so, thereby furnishing a constant threat to world peace.[1]

Discontent and Disillusionment. Those who imagined that World War I had swept aside the evils of the past and had paved the way for enlightened contentment were doomed to disappointment. Pessimism soon reigned in the place of optimism. The specific cause for this is difficult to determine, but much of it can be traced to the devastating effects of war experiences. All war has a demoralizing effect on the individual and on society as a whole. The terrible anxiety and the abnormal existence take toll of noncombatants, as well as of the soldiers in the trenches. Add to this the social and economic disorder that follows war, and you have something that shakes the very foundations of human relation-

[1] The whole problem is discussed in an excellent book by O. Junghaun, *Nationalistic Minorities in Europe* (Covici, Friede, 1932).

ship. The depression, privation, hunger, and feeling of insecurity that faced such masses of people destroyed ideals, ambition, and hope. Idealism, eloquently expressed in the rhetoric of Wilson, characterizing the war as a "most holy and idealistic world conflict," was submerged when the true causes became apparent. The postwar treaties contained all the venom that can be found in earlier attempts at treaty making.



Where Europe's principal minority groups are. (*Courtesy, Foreign Policy Association, Headline Series, H. C. Wolfe, "Human Dynamite."*)

Challenge to Democracy. Democracy and nationalism, which were considered the ultimate ideal in politics, have been questioned and found wanting by many. The weakness of democracy has become manifest. Disillusioned people have been disappointed in its operation and seek to substitute something else for it. Most thinking individuals believe that it has not been given a fair chance, and that time will remedy the defects. However, impatience is an inherent human characteristic. The average individual demands immediate satisfactory results and, if they are not forthcoming, desires a radical change. Economic insecurity has been one of the chief causes for criticism of democracy. People are willing

to surrender liberty on the promise of a return to prosperity. They are likely to give their consent to the establishment of a dictatorship if economic security is promised. Almost every post-World War I dictator rose to power with the consent of the people expressed at the polls. Both Mussolini and Hitler pointed with pride to the fact that they held unlimited power at the expressed wish of their countrymen.

Dictatorships. Dictatorships became the order of the day, superseding the absolute monarchies and popularized constitutional republics whose doom was written by World War I. England, France, and the United States (if we except Russia with her revised constitution) were the only important powers to maintain a democratic form of government. Although the occasions for this sudden change in attitude are many and varied, in most cases the fundamental causes are similar in many countries. Wherever a dictatorship had risen to power, the former government had been faced with economic chaos. Inflation, rising prices, unemployment, and scarcity of food served as convenient levers for the use of would-be dictators in their prying into government affairs. The feeling that a common menace threatened national security provided another convenient excuse. Mussolini posed as a David ready to slay the ugly dragon of Communism. Hitler pointed an accusing finger at the Jews, charging them with plotting to destroy the German nation. Democratic governments were condemned as being incapable of handling the problem. Seized by fear and disillusionment, the people flocked to a leader, someone with a program and an ideal for them to follow.

In order to understand the rise of dictators and the way they maintain their hold on the people, one must take into consideration psychological factors. Dr. Wilhelm Stekel, the great Viennese psychiatrist, made an extensive study of dictators.[1] He concludes that all dictators are abnormal and that most of them are neurotics. He points out that the neuroticism of dictators and the willingness of people to submit to their domination can be explained by an "authority complex." This results in a tendency to overthrow traditional restrictive measures and to seek a substitute for them in an individual dictator. The people are inclined to be spurred on by a confusion of fear and love. The individual is overcome by the

[1] A brief resume is contained in Gunther's *Inside Europe* (Harper, 1936), 20–23.

general acceptance of a deliverer and joins the mob in "a psychic epidemic of adoration" that ends in submission to a dictator. The latter gains prestige through impressing upon the people that he fights not for himself but for the fatherland. In this struggle, the people identify themselves with the leader. "Obedience and defiance, love and hate finally combine, and the dictator is accepted as the savior."

2. SOVIET RUSSIA: A CHALLENGE TO TRADITION

The 20th century bids fair to become one of the challenging epochs in human history. Though less than half its course has been run, the changes affecting almost every phase of life that have been crowded into this brief period produce, in the minds of the curious, a bewilderment as to what the succeeding years may have in store. The Russian Revolution of 1917 appears to be one of the most important events since the great French Revolution of 1789. Certainly nothing has let loose such a deluge of condemnation and eulogy and nothing has so completely challenged orthodox theories since the French revolutionists overthrew the Bourbons. The Russians, in a few years, have set up standards for a new way of living and thinking. Whether those standards will be successful in Russia and, if so, whether they will be accepted by the outside world, time will be the judge.

Fall of the Romanovs. The government in Russia under the Romanovs was similar in many respects to that of the Bourbons in France in 1789. The nobility of Russia lived in one world while the Russian people lived in another. Luxury and extravagance surrounded the former and misery and privation marked the daily existence of the latter. Czar Nicholas II, like Louis XVI, was a man of good intentions, but weak in both mind and body. Ill-fitted to be the absolute ruler of millions of Russians, he was swayed by unscrupulous associates, the most notorious of whom was Rasputin, "The Holy Devil." Rasputin was immoral, filthy, and repulsive, but he possessed a curious magnetism. He dominated the Czarina, and through her directed the government of Russia. Ministers were appointed and dismissed at his command, and government policies were directed by him in a most selfish and unscrupulous fashion. Immorality, corruption, and degeneracy gripped the government like a giant octopus. World War I broke

the tiny threads that held the government intact and not only ended the absolute rule of the Romanovs but also introduced an entirely new form of government.

The People of Russia. Some understanding of the Russian people is necessary before the revolution and the subsequent developments can be comprehended. First of all, the Russians are Orientals and cannot be judged entirely by European standards. The mass of the Russian people were backward, and illiteracy was very high; but it would be incorrect to say that they lacked intellectual capacity. An intellectual minority distinguished itself for achievements in literature and art before the revolution, and since 1918 the general intellectual progress has kept pace with the rest of the world. The Russians are slow but thorough, and they are unusually patient. They bore the burden of Romanov oppression for generations and they have submitted with fortitude to the ordeal that Communism placed on their shoulders. Thousands starved to death while the new government was getting on its feet. The people are patient with promises and failures and are willing to forget the burdens of today if relief is promised for future generations. If the Soviet experiment succeeds, much of the credit should go to the patience and fortitude of the Russian people.

Approach to Revolution. The Bolshevist revolution was not a mere sporadic outbreak in March, 1917. The path that led to the overthrow of czarism, winding through centuries of history, is covered with blood. There were attempts to democratize Russia fully two centuries before it made noticeable progress. Many Russians saw the weakness of the government and tried to reform it. In 1905, there was a general strike and a delegation of workers appeared before the Czar, not with a threat of destruction, but with the following petition for reform:

> We come to thee, Sire, to seek truth and redress. We have been oppressed; we are not recognized as human beings; we are treated as slaves, who must suffer their bitter fate and keep silence. The limit of patience has arrived. Sire, there are many thousands of us, all are human beings only in appearance. In reality, in us, as in all Russian people, there is not recognized any human right, not even the right of speaking, thinking, meeting, discussing our needs, taking measures for the improvement of our condition. Sire, is this in accordance with the divine law, by grace of which thou reignest? Is it not better to die, better for all the toiling people of Russia, and let the capitalists, the exploiters of the working class, officials and robbers of the Russian people live? Do not refuse assistance to

thy people. Destroy the wall between thyself and thy people and let them rule the country together with thyself.

This pitiful appeal was met with a volley of shot, and hundreds of unarmed workmen were slain in cold blood.

For twelve years, the bloody suppression continued. World War I increased the misery, which was due, to a great degree, to lack of leadership, training, and equipment. As many as 1,700,000 men were killed and over 5,000,000 were wounded. In March, 1917, a revolt among the workers in Petrograd, among the peasants, and among the soldiers occurred. That proved to be the beginning of the end of the Romanovs.

Revolution. Alexander Kerensky, a moderate socialist, tried with the support of the Allied Powers to establish a liberal democracy. However, the Social Democrats were divided into two groups: the moderate minority, or Menshevists, and the aggressive majority, or Bolshevists, and a bitter civil war ensued, with the radical element steadily gaining power. Their cry, "Peace! Bread! Land!" rallied the masses to action. The Bolshevists won, and Lenin was elected president of a newly formed council; Tchitcherin was made commissar of foreign affairs; and Trotsky as a commissar was put in charge of the army and the navy. They signed the treaty of Brest Litovsk with Germany, withdrew from the war, and began the organization of a new government.

Lenin. Lenin (Vladimir Ilich Ulianov, 1870–1924) was the overtowering figure in the Russian Revolution. History has few examples of a single individual who had so much direct influence on the course of events, and still fewer who succeeded in the face of such overwhelming obstacles as did Lenin. Most of his early life was spent in exile because of his socialistic activities, but his time was not wasted. He mastered the works of Marx and other writers. Month after month he spent in the great libraries of Europe, digesting information that he could apply when the day arrived. He was convinced that the czar and the aristocrats were responsible for the poverty and oppression of the people of his native land. He organized revolutionary bodies inside and outside of Russia. The Germans aided in his return to Russia, with the hope that he would be able to destroy the Russian government. Lenin appeared on the scene not only with a conviction, but also with a program worked out in great detail. He spoke thus to the Russian people:

Comrades, laboring people, you are now the state's supreme power. From now on, your soviets are the organs of the state, with full power to decide and to act. Make them strong. We must maintain the strictest revolutionary order, and suppress mercilessly all attempts at anarchy. We must establish the most rigid control over production. Imprison and turn over to the revolutionary tribunals all those who injure the cause of the people. Comrades, working men and women, soldiers, peasants, take over all the power in the hands of your local soviets. Be careful with the land, the food, the factories, the tools of production, the transportation facilities; be anxious to guard them as the pupil of your eye, because they are yours, completely yours, the property of all who work in productive creative labor. The revolution has put meaning into life for us just as it will for millions around the world who now see no meaning in their eight-hour labor in someone else's factory, at monotonous toil at someone else's machines. We would free man from his enslavement by man.

For seven years Lenin labored almost without rest. Fatigue, ill-health, and a bullet wound finally led to his death in 1924. His work was not finished, but he left a lasting impression on the Russian people. Perhaps for his own reputation and for the strength of the movement that he set in motion, his death was opportune. He became a martyr for his cause and has been immortalized as the true spirit of Bolshevism. After death, he was even more of a force in Russia than he was when alive.

Trotsky and Stalin. Trotsky and Stalin were two of Lenin's capable lieutenants. Trotsky, who stepped into power when Lenin died, came from a middle-class Jewish family and had a university education. He was a stanch revolutionist, intent on carrying out a world revolution for the destruction of capitalism. Stalin, who was much more conservative and practical although less brilliant than Trotsky, altered the Bolshevist program when he came into power in 1927. With the aim of completing the revolution in Russia before undertaking to remake the world, he adopted a milder internal policy and, instead of waging ruthless war on foreign states, entered into agreements with them. Russia became a member of the League of Nations, against which Trotsky swore vengeance. As a result of these changes, many capitalistic ideas have been introduced into the Russian economic system.

Stalin is a different type of dictator from Hitler or Mussolini. He is not an orator and does not care for show. His strength seems to be in his ability to handle men and to devise a political system par excellence. Whether or not Stalin is a traitor to the ideas of Lenin is a much-debated question, but Russia seems to be progressing under his rule.

Theories. The government provided for in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.) was very different from other forms of government. In theory, it disregarded nationalism and emphasized class control, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin stated that there should be "the complete right of self-determination of all nations." Finland, Estonia, Lativia, Lithuania, and Poland were allowed to separate from Russia and to establish their own governments. People were permitted to speak any language they wished, which was a distinct contrast to the Romanov demand that all the people speak Russian. In theory—although, one must admit, not in practice—the various republics exercised independent authority. The central government maintained jurisdiction over foreign and internal trade, economic matters, transportation, communication, the military establishment, land, justice, labor, education, and foreign affairs. A broad interpretation of these powers would leave very little authority for the individual republics. Nominally, the government was democratic, as the right to vote for members of the local soviet was granted to anyone who was eighteen years old or over, and who either was engaged directly in productive work or was enlisted in the army.

Political Structure. The Council of Deputies (the Soviets) was the basic element in the political structure. These bodies were made up from three types: village, urban, and factory. Representation in the soviets was regional and functional: unorganized voters exercised their franchise by geographic districts, while the organized voters, workers, collective farmers, and employees, vote where they were employed. Voting was a privilege reserved for the workers, which excluded those who lived on an unearned income or those who hired labor for profit. Delegates were elected to regional congresses from the Soviets and they in turn elected representatives to the All-Union Congress. The All-Union Congress had a membership of about 2,000 and was constitutionally the supreme body in the Soviet Union. This group, however, was too large for efficiency. It met only once every two years, but there was an inner group, called the Central Executive Committee (TSIK), which met on an average of three times a year. Actually, there was a group within the Central Executive Committee, the Presidium, composed of from 2 to 20 members, which exercised most of the power. This body elected the members of the Council of People's

Commissars, which corresponds to the cabinet in most governments. There was no division of power. All the organs of government exercised both executive and legislative powers.

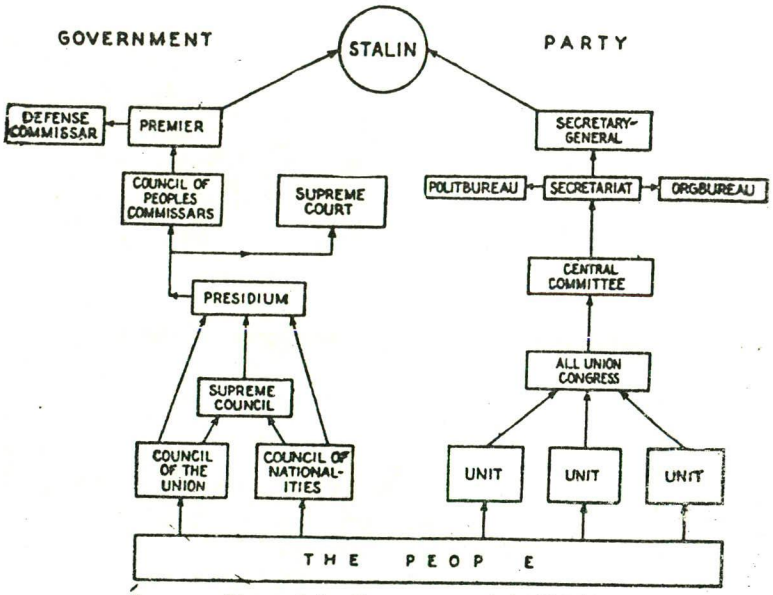


FIG. 49.—Chart of the Government of the U.S.S.R.

The Party. The Communist party, although not mentioned in the government organization, constituted the real means of government. Stalin frankly admitted:

> To all responsible positions in the government the Communist party tries to nominate its candidates, and in ninety-five out of a hundred cases those candidates are elected. . . . Therefore a direct Communist leadership results. . . . Here in Russia the Party openly admits that it does guide and give general directions to the government.[1]

The party had an elaborate organization[2] with Stalin holding the position of general secretary, which in practice gives him the power of a dictator. It was the only party allowed to exist in Russia, and it virtually controlled the government. All the People's Commissars and about 70 per cent of the members of the Congress of Soviets belonged to the Communist party and were bound to carry out its decisions. Membership was limited and discipline was rigid. Youths

[1] Quoted in Barnes, *op. cit.*, II, 994.

[2] See Achorn, *European Civilization and Politics since* 1815, 520.

were trained for membership, which was granted as a reward for accomplishment. In 1938, there were only a few more than 3,000,000 members

Domestic Policy. Soviet domestic policy caused more interest and favorable comment than any other phase of the program. Social welfare and universal education were emphasized to further the welfare of the workers. Factories were equipped with rest and recreation rooms, and the workers were supplied with amusements, lectures, and hygienic supervision. Medical service reached the point where the rest of the world began to take note. Doctors were paid salaries by the state. Sex education, child-guidance clinics, and care for mental cases have been pursued with diligence and intelligence.

The government has undertaken a huge housing program, which, if carried out, will provide Russian workers with desirable living quarters. In eight years, from 1928 through 1935, Russia added about 1,250,000,000 square feet to its housing space, or approximately 7½ square feet per person. The sum of 11,000,000,000 rubles, or about $2,200,000,000, was spent on new buildings, which would accommodate 5,000,000 people. Owing to lack of experience, many of the buildings were poorly constructed; sometimes doors would not close and windows would not open; but there has been notable improvement in later developments. Social insurance, old-age pensions, insurance against illness, and unemployment have been provided.

Education, or "public enlightment," as the Russians call it, was recognized to be essential. On Oct. 1, 1930, universal education was decreed and schools for adults were established. At that time. less than 10 per cent of the Russian population was illiterate, while in 1914 about 70 per cent could neither read nor write. Today, Russia is one of the greatest producers and consumers of literature in the world. Every factory, cooperative, and party cell has its own library. At the same time, along other lines Russia has taken steps that the world deplores. Her antireligious policy has been extreme. The determination to uproot the Russian Orthodox Church, which was closely associated with the Romanov government, had been responsible for some of the drastic steps taken. In recent times, there has been a gradual relaxation in the attack on religion. The campaign to make Russia an atheistic nation has

become less and less conspicuous. Ease of divorce has been criticized, but more and more the government has gone back to the generally accepted Western ideas about marriage.

Aim of the Soviets. Economic development has been considered by the Soviets to be their most important activity. Their economic theories are based upon Marx's economic interpretation of history. Russian leaders have followed the basic socialistic doctrine of a planned economy that permits the state to control the natural resources and means of production and to plan for production and distribution. Complete industrialization, without the evils of capitalism, is the transformation that they hope to accomplish. This would provide the means by which Russia could liberate herself from other states for capital and manufactured goods, establish a socialized economy for the collaboration of industrial workers and peasants, and enable the country to surpass the economic level of capitalistic states.

The Problem. Russia, it must be remembered, was economically one of the most backward countries in Europe and was predominantly agricultural. World War I caused an almost complete breakdown in what existed in industrial and agricultural organization. Disorganization, when the Bolshevists came into power, was complete. There was no money or credit and there was a general shortage of food. In addition, the greater part of the population was hopelessly ignorant about the most elementary details of industry. Most of the people had never seen a gasoline engine and many thought that the electric light was the product of a magician's charm. This was the Russia that the leaders undertook to transform into a modern industrial state. The new economic policy required patience and time. Even the leaders were not sure of the plan that they advocated. Lenin found it necessary to compromise with the old economic order by permitting individuals to own and operate small business under the supervision of the state, instead of carrying out the proposed confiscation. Numerous failures have been encountered and innumerable changes have been made in original plans, but progress has been surprising to the skeptical.

The Five-Year Plans. The so-called Five-Year Plan (1928) was a step toward a planned economy. According to Stalin, the Five-Year Plan was "to change the backward and, in some respects, medieval technology of our country into a modern

technology . . . to transform the U.S.S.R. from a weak, agrarian country, dependent upon the caprices of capitalistic countries, into a powerful industrial country quite able to stand on its own." The plan was more than a form to regulate national economy; it was a goal, to be exceeded wherever possible. It was received with enthusiasm and many people adopted the slogan: "The Five-Year Plan in Four Years." It included more than economic reconstruction. An entire pattern of conduct, including habits, traditions, and mentality, was to be built. It gave the people a task and a responsibility for its success. They were not mere onlookers in the drama of reorganization, but actors on the stage, and they took pride in the success because each individual felt that he was a contributing factor.

Remarkable progress was made under the first Five-Year Plan in the production of heavy machinery and in mining, but advancement in transportation and in the production of food supplies lagged far behind schedule. Waste and inefficiency were common, but no more so, perhaps, than might be expected under the existing conditions. The Second Five-Year Plan (1933) emphasized the production of consumers' goods, in order to increase the standard of living for the workmen. The plan included a threefold increase in foodstuffs and other necessities and the reorganization of agriculture. More and more emphasis was put on eliminating laxity and inefficiency on the part of managers as well as workers. Industries were called upon to show profits without government subsidy and workers were permitted (April, 1936) to obtain a small share of profits, greater social insurance benefits, and longer holidays, if the industry in which they were working proved profitable. On the other hand, workers were warned that they would lose their jobs if they were found guilty of inefficiency.

The third Five-Year Plan (Jan. 1, 1938) contained the same basic principles as the previous plans. Molotov announced that "the completion of the building up of a classless society and the gradual transition from socialism to communism" was the principal goal of the new program. He announced that 99.8 per cent of the gross output of industry came from state enterprises and 98.6 per cent of agricultural products came from the collective farms. With the growing world crisis, more emphasis was placed on the manufacture of armaments. In fact, this practically monopolized indus-

try. The indications are, however, that they have done a creditable job in the face of great difficulties.

Agricultural Revolution. In Russia, the socialization of agriculture has presented a more serious problem than has the socialization of industry. As industry was comparatively new, there were few traditions or entrenched interests to combat. Agriculture was different. Thousands of peasants lived on small holdings that had been handed down from generation to generation. They were set in their ways of living and resented government intrusion. However, Soviet leaders were convinced that the socialization of agriculture was necessary in order that Russia might be enabled to proceed with modernization.

Private ownership of land was abolished by a decree of Nov. 7, 1917. Agriculture was made a state monopoly, and the produce above what was needed for the producer and his family was taken over by the state. Many peasants refused to cultivate the land and killed and ate their livestock rather than turn it over to the state. In 1921, there was a decrease in food production of approximately 50 per cent from what it had been in 1915. Repressive measures by the government failed to improve conditions and a serious famine followed. Lenin was forced to introduce the New Economic Policy, which made a concession to the "petty bourgeois" and the "petty capitalists." The nationalization of land continued, but the peasant was allowed to rent land, to hire labor, and to sell the surplus grain to private leaders.

The kulaks (landrenters) took advantage of the opportunity and stimulated grain production on the profit basis. This endangered the socialization of land and resulted in a bitter attack against the kulaks. However, this time the government chose to prove to the peasant the advantage of the new system, without taking drastic steps. Collective farms (kolkhoz), a union of individual peasants' holdings, and state farms (sovkhoz), consisting mostly of great estates confiscated during the revolution, were supervised by the government. Machinery and experimental agriculture were introduced with considerable success. This won over many of the Russian peasants. In 1933, the kolkhoz and the sovkhoz embraced about 85 per cent of the tillable land in the country. Efficiency in production has been noticeable; the harvest of 1933 was the largest on record in Russia. It made possible the

abolition of food rationing and raised the morale of the Russian peasant.

Industrial Progress. Since 1927, industrial progress in Soviet Russia has been steady. The period of strife, ten years following 1917, resulted in little advancement. In 1920, production was considerably below the 1913 level. When once the preliminary difficulties were overcome, advancement moved forward rapidly. Pig-iron production in 1934 was 10,440,000 tons, more than two and one-half times what was produced in 1913. The steel output in 1934 was 9,600,000 tons. At Kramatorsk, in 1934, a machine-building plant was opened that can produce 60,000 tons of castings annually. Coal and oil production for the same period reached 93,500,000 tons and 25,500,000 tons, respectively.

Electrical output, one of the most emphasized phases of the industrial program, has reached amazing proportions. Electrical power plants were constructed in the most advantageous points throughout the country. The huge plant at Dnieprostroy on the Dnieper River could generate 900,000 horsepower. The electrical output in 1934 was twenty times that of 1913. The production of cotton cloth has increased from 2,238,000,000 meters in 1913 to 2,711,000,000 meters in 1934, and in the latter year 69,200,000 pairs of shoes were manufactured.

Transportation facilities are steadily improving, after getting off to a bad start. Modern railways and good roads were lacking almost entirely in Russia before the present program was undertaken. As late as 1933, there were only 50,000 miles of railway, 20,869 locomotives, 542,620 freight cars, and 31,940 passenger cars, and they were in a poor state of repair. Lack of transportation facilities has been one of the greatest problems in connection with carrying out the Five-Year Plans. Railroad construction was given prime consideration in the second Five-Year Plan. Disproportionate attention has been devoted to aviation, for military as well as for commercial reasons, with the result that Russia developed one of the largest air forces in the world and there is little sign of relaxation in the building program.

Trade, both wholesale and retail, has increased steadily as the purchasing power of the peasant has risen. Taking everything into consideration, Russia has progressed from medieval economy to a great industrial power in a few years and has surpassed some of the

great industrial nations. She possesses vast stores of raw materials and natural resources and, if these are properly developed, industrialization can go much further than the point already reached. It should be remembered that these advances have been made in a period of depression. While industrial activity in other countries lagged far behind the prewar level, Russia forged ahead.

Labor. Critics of Russia have shown that workers are paid starvation wages and that the state, being the sole employer, can export products at "dumping prices." There is much truth in the assertion, but labor conditions, it should be noted, are improving. In addition to wages for services, the worker receives social insurance, vacations with pay, and in some cases free housing, light, and fuel. Another charge is that Soviet labor is "forced." The government insists that "he who does not work shall not eat." Drastic precautionary measures have been taken to coerce nonconformists. Many have been exiled into Siberia and treated as convict laborers. Workers are forced frequently to do tasks not of their own choosing, but this is to be expected in a regimented society such as Russia is building. The Russian workers certainly do not have the privileges that are enjoyed by workmen in the United States. However, they seem to be generally better off now than they were under the old regime. We cannot, at this time, pass judgment on what is being accomplished.

The New Constitution. The adoption of a new constitution (1936) has aroused great interest and may be taken as a pretty good indication of the general trend of affairs in Russia. The constitution, a document of 146 articles, with about 8,000 words, is intended to supplant the constitution of 1924 and to incorporate new ideas that have been tried and accepted. Article I emphasizes the fact that there is still a distinction between workers and peasants. State and collective forms of socialized property are defined. Properties of the socialist state include land, forests, mines, factories, banks, means of transportation, and communication.

Under the collective, the basic means of production and the working livestock belong to the organization, but each member is allowed to possess his own house with a plot of ground and domestic livestock (cows, pigs, and poultry). The state guarantees "the personal property of citizens in their income from work and in

their savings, in their dwelling house . . . domestic articles and utensils as well as objects of personal use and comfort." Provision is made for those not members of collectives or state enterprises, to allow "small private farms and other enterprises for individual peasants and homeworkers based upon their personal labor and precluding the exploitation of the labor of others." Complete equality is guaranteed to all nationalities, just as it was recognized in earlier constitutions.

The powers of the central government are defined to include: foreign relations, defense, currency, foreign trade, economic planning and budgets, control of transports and banks, and criminal and civil codes. All powers not enumerated are reserved to the republics. Direct election of officials, including the power of recall, is put in the hands of voters. The Supreme Council with two chambers (Council of the Union and Council of Nationalities) represents the supreme authority of the state. Members of the Council of the Union are elected on the basis of one representative per 300,000 population (about 600 members), and members of the Council of Nationalities are elected on the basis of 25 for each union republic, 11 for each autonomous republic, 5 for each autonomous province, and 1 for each county. The main purpose of the Council of Nationalities is the representation of the specific interests of national minorities, while the Council of the Union represents the common interests of all toilers, irrespective of nationality. When not in session, the Presidium represents the authority of the Supreme Council. The People's Commissars have actual charge of the administration of defense, foreign affairs, communication, food, agriculture, internal affairs, justice, and health. Both executive and legislative powers are administered by all organs of the Soviet administration. The Supreme Court is an organ of the government to protect the state against hostile elements (see diagram, page 642).

There is no separation of legislative, executive, and judicial functions. Judges are elected by secret ballot. Freedom of speech, press, and assembly are guaranteed. "No person may be placed under arrest except by decision of the court or with the sanction of the state attorney." A citizen is expected to maintain labor discipline, safeguard public property, and serve in the defense of the country, if necessary. The lack of separation of powers, which

is confusing from our point of view, creates very little difficulty in Russia. The whole administrative setup is subordinated to the single control of the Communist party.

The Third International. One characteristic of Russian Communism that has caused a great deal of concern is the Third International. The Third International (Comintern) is the third of similar organizations previously set up. The International Workingmen's Association was organized by Frederick Engels in 1864, and the Second International in 1889. The Third International was composed of representatives of Communist parties in 58 countries, with headquarters at Moscow, a Mecca for Communists throughout the world. The program called for a world system of Communism to replace capitalist economy. In the policies of this organization, the Russian Communist party played a dominant role. Lenin's idea was to bring about world revolution through the Comintern, but Stalin limited its scope to what he called "building" socialism at home. After Hitler threatened to conquer the world, the Comintern favored the formation of a "Popular Front," including all the various Socialist parties throughout the world, to oppose Fascism and Nazism. More recently, Stalin saw fit to disband altogether the Comintern. There is no definite explanation of this act available, but it is thought generally to have been a gesture to promote better understanding between Russia and her allies, at least while the war lasted. Whether or not Russia, with her ideology, can associate on agreeable terms with democratic governments is one of the unanswered questions.

Foreign Policy. For several years, the foreign policy of the Russian government encountered serious obstacles. The revolutionary program led to an almost solid opposition from capitalistic powers. The United States did not give formal recognition until 1933. After Stalin came to power, a much more friendly relationship was established. Stalin, although committed to support an eventual world revolution of the proletariat, has followed a policy of retrenchment, hoping to complete the revolution at home and allow Communism to run its natural course in other countries without active interference on the part of Russia. Russia made many concessions to Japan in an effort to avoid an open break. She sold her share in the Chinese Eastern Railway at a sacrifice price, rather than defend her rights against a Japanese invasion.

The *rapprochement* with outside powers was due partly to the need for economic support. Without this aid, Russia would have been forced to continue her backward agrarian economy, with an indefinite postponement of industrialization. Economic necessity was allowed to dominate communistic theory. At first, Russia turned to the defeated powers and considered France as the bitter enemy of the Soviet system. The Treaty of Rapallo with Germany (1922) and a close understanding with Italy (1924) placed Russia on the side of the powers opposed to the treaty of Versailles. The rise of Italy under the banner of Fascism, which had as one of its chief aims the destruction of Communism, changed Russia's relationship with the Western powers. France and Russia were brought together in their common opposition to Germany. France engineered the admission of Russia into the League of Nations. The enemies of Fascism regard Russia as the chief bulwark against its expansion. After the surrender at Munich, the Comintern followed Moscow's course of condemning England and France. What the eventual postwar policy will be is a matter of grave concern to democratic countries.

Evaluation. The historian should not pass final judgment on the situation in Russia at the present time, as the whole process is in a formative stage. Trotsky, in 1932, stated:

> In the Soviet Union there is no socialism as yet. The situation that prevails there is one of transition, full of contradictions, burdened with the heavy inheritance of the past, and in addition under the hostile pressure of the capitalistic states. The October Revolution has proclaimed the principles of a new society. The Soviet Republic has shown only the first stage of this realization.

Stalin seemed to have about the same idea. Russia has become more prosperous than she was in 1914, illiteracy has been reduced, and she can boast of some first-rank artistic accomplishments. Stalin summarized the program that has been undertaken as follows:

> 1. No power in private hands over the basic means of production and distribution.
>
> 2. No classes. The toilers of industry and agriculture will be united into one stratum of toilers.
>
> 3. No great state power but free associations of toilers with national planning so as to effect the greatest economies.
>
> 4. A development of technique of industry to the highest point.

5. Distribution . . . to each according to his need, from each according to his ability.

6. Maximum development of culture and art.

7. Since there will be no economic need all talented individuals and scientists will have every opportunity to develop abilities.

8. When there are no longer capitalistic states then armed force will be done away with.

There are many things in the Russian program to which one cannot subscribe, but, on the other hand, the Russians have attacked and sought substitutes for many of the recognized evils in modern society. "We may detest the pernicious activities of Soviet Russia and at the same time admire her social and humanitarian advances."

The Influence of World War II. The effect of World War II on Russian internal and external policies is not certain. That numerous changes have occurred both in Russia's outlook on foreign powers and in the attitude of foreign powers toward Russia is beyond question. The gallant stand of the army and the civilians against the Nazis at Stalingrad and the subsequent defeats of the invader focused world attention on Russia, which, as one of the great world powers, continues to exert great influence in world affairs in the postwar period.

Certain fundamental trends that are important enough to outline here are apparent in Russia. There seems to be a return to certain nationalistic practices, rather than a complete disregard of them, such as was originally advocated by the Communists. Less emphasis is placed on proletarian world aims. A national myth, instead of a class myth, is now being publicized. Peter the Great and Ivan the Terrible, heroes of an earlier age, are being designated as national heroes. This and other similar developments may help Russia to fit into the society of other nations instead of playing the role of a "lone wolf."

After the surrender of both Germany and Japan, Russia joined with England and the United States to form a combination for handling the complicated problems in the immediate postwar period. Cooperativeness has been shown in many instances, but difficulties and differences of opinion on several basic issues have occurred. There is evidence that Russia is reviving some of her old territorial ambitions in both Europe and Asia, and a state of true

harmony among the "Big Three" is a hope rather than an accomplished fact.

3. ITALY: THE PIONEER FASCIST STATE

The Fascist experiment in Italy offered another proof that the 20th century is an age of revolutions. Any experiment as bold and challenging as Communism was bound to arouse an organized attempt to oppose it. Fascism represents the most important movement to accomplish this. In addition, Fascism raised a protest against democracy, which is branded as a failure. Fascism was another experiment that was presented to a disillusioned world.

Background. The Italians, although they were allied with the victorious powers, emerged from World War I a defeated nation. Their greatest humiliation was at the Congress of Versailles, where Italy was denied land that the Allies had promised her at the Conference of London (1915). Disheartened by being deprived of rewards and faced with a budget deficit of over 1,200,000,000 lire, the people turned against the government. Terrorist groups sprang up throughout Italy. One group, Fascist by name, became one of the most prominent. The Fascists condemned the Socialists and the weak policies of the government. In November, 1921, the Nationalist Fascist party was formed. It adopted the black-shirt uniform, the Roman salute, the lictor's rod, and appropriate songs. It appealed to the ex-soldiers, to the unemployed, and to property owners, who feared the rise of Communism. A march on Rome, to take over the government, was organized in October, 1922. The king accepted Mussolini, the leader of the Fascists, as Prime Minister.

An electoral law, passed in July, 1923, decreed that the party obtaining the most votes in an election would be given two-thirds of the seats in the Chambers. After much intimidation and stuffing of the ballot boxes, the Fascists won. Matteotti, a socialist leader, protested, and was murdered. Mussolini, after a bitter struggle, gave up all pretense at conciliation and cooperation with the opposition and declared war on all non-Fascists. The press was muzzled, and opponents were either exiled or imprisoned. With the title "Head of the Government," Mussolini assumed control over the armed forces and was made responsible to the king, not to parliament. A Fascist dictatorship had been established.

Fascist Theory. Fascist theory was based upon a number of doctrines borrowed from many diverse sources, including Mussolini's own personal experiences. Fundamentally, it had a three-point program: hatred of Communism, opposition to democracy, and intense nationalism. Intellectual Fascism can be traced to Machiavelli's *Prince*, where the idea of the preservation of the state justifies recourse to force and where politics is classed as distinct from ethics. Mussolini, picturing himself as the Prince of Machiavelli's dreams, found excuse for his strongly centralized government, not only in the writings of Machiavelli, but also in the works of Dante and, ultimately, in the precedent set by Imperial Rome.

Mussolini, before his rise to power, attended the lectures of a famous Italian economist, Vilfredo Pareto, at the University of Lausanne in Switzerland. Pareto taught that the "demagogic plutocracy" of the 19th century would disappear and that something would have to be substituted for it. Gentile, Minister of Education in Mussolini's first cabinet, advocated a true Italian *risorgimento*, on the basis of nationalism, liberty, and the necessity for sacrifice. Individual liberty he branded as merely an excuse to undermine the constructive activities of the group. Gentile advocated one of the most fundamental and one of the most criticized principles of regimented society when he declared that "only by subordinating himself to the law of the group can the individual attain through cooperation those constructive ends which constitute liberty." . . . "The maximum of liberty always coincides with the maximum strength of the state."

The individual, according to Mussolini, owes a duty to the state. The preeminence of duty is the highest ethical value in Fascism. "The government is at the orders of no group. The government stands above all groups in that it represents not only the political consciousness of the nation today but also what the nation will constitute in the future." Fascism, unlike Communism, had no program and held no promise of a millennium. "Fascism as an idea is indefinable. It is a fact which is taking place." It condemned speculation and emphasized facts rather than theory.

Mussolini. Mussolini constituted the heart and soul of Italian Fascism. The whole structure was so personal that it inevitably fell to pieces when his energy, personality, and leadership were

removed. Believing that fate had chosen him to create a new and greater Italy, he aroused a dynamic spirit that raised the people from the depths of despair to a point bordering on frenzy. "Our battle," he declared, "was directed primarily against a state of mind, a mentality of renunciation, a spirit always more ready to avoid than to accept responsibility."

The story of the rise of this leader reads like fiction. His father was a blacksmith by vocation, but by avocation an internationalistic Socialist. His mother was a deeply religious woman. In his youth, Mussolini was an average but a restless boy. A college graduate, he became a teacher, and later a journalist. He was at one time considered a radical Socialist and was imprisoned for his opposition to what he branded an imperialistic war in Tripoli. In the early stages of World War I, he favored neutrality, but later conducted a campaign in favor of entering the war with the Allies. He served for a time in the Italian army as a corporal. In March, 1919, he formed the first *Fasci di Combattimento*, a small group of ex-soldiers. "We survivors who have returned," wrote Mussolini, "demand the right of governing Italy."

The Party. Italy, like Germany and Russia, had but one party. The National Fascist Party was "a voluntary militia placed at the services of the nation, committed to order, discipline, and hierarchy." The Grand Council of the party, including the state ministers, totaled about 20 members. The chairman was the prime minister of the country, *Il Duce*. The Grand Council, in practice, was the government of Italy. It had to be consulted on all matters affecting the constitution, the royal succession, relations between the church and the state, and matters pertaining to foreign affairs. To enforce decisions, a special Fascist militia and a tribunal of Fascist magistrates were at the disposal of the Grand Council. Mussolini, as chairman of the Grand Council of the Fascist party and as prime minister of the state, had command of both at his fingertips. He held six important portfolios of office in the cabinet, besides being prime minister. He alone commanded a cabinet majority.

Membership in the party was carefully selected. A candidate for admission took the following oath: "I swear to follow without discussion the orders of *Il Duce* and to serve the cause of the Fascist revolution with all my strength and, if necessary, with

blood." The youth were trained for membership in carefully organized and supervised groups—the *Balilla* for boys from eight to fourteen; the *Avanguardia*, from fourteen to eighteen; the *Fascist Youth*, from eighteen to twenty-one; *Piscole Italiane*, girls from eight to fourteen; and *Giovani Italiane*, girls from fourteen to eighteen.

Government. Theoretically, Italy had a monarchical form of government with a king and a parliament. In practice, however, Mussolini merely tolerated the king and dominated the parliament, which virtually ceased to exist. "Should the monarchy attempt to resist," wrote Mussolini, "we would have to abolish it, as it would be a question of life and death." The constitution and the representative body were shoved into the background. The Head of the Government was responsible to the king alone, and the king showed no inclination to oppose him. Mussolini denied that any constitution is immutable. "Are we dealing with archaeology or with politics . . . ?" he inquired when defending his attack on the Italian constitution. The Fascists, from the beginning, took steps to discard the representative political institutions. In 1926, the outlines of the Corporate State began to appear. Mussolini announced, in the spring of 1936, that the experimental stage was past and that the National Council of Corporations would supersede the Chamber of Deputies. The basis of representation was to be economic rather than political.

The Corporate State. The Corporate State was built upon a number of syndicates, or occupational unions, of persons having a common economic interest. Employers had their organization, similar to, but separate from, the organizations of the workers. Membership was open to loyal Fascists. Dues were fixed and collected by the government. The various local syndicates were grouped into federations, which, in turn, were presided over by a National Council of Corporations, made up of about 160 members. This was the body that superseded the Chamber of Deputies. The National Council of Corporations shared with the Fascist Grand Council the right to determine the policies of the Italian national government. The Fascist party dominated the Council of Corporations from the lowest syndicate to the highest office. Consequently, the reins of power were brought together in the hands of Mussolini.

The Charter of Labor. The relation of workers and employers to each other and to the state were defined in the Charter of Labor,

issued on Apr. 21, 1927. It emphasized the superiority of the nation to individuals or groups that compose it. Labor was defined as a social duty, to be safeguarded by the state. Conflicts between workers and employers were recognized, but they had to be subordinated to the interests of the state. Producers were responsible to the state, and the latter might intervene, when it was deemed necessary, on any question. Strikes and lockouts were made penal offenses. However, certain guarantees were made to the laborer. Nightworkers were to receive more than dayworkers. Sunday was made a legal holiday, and every worker was to have an annual paid vacation. Labor contracts were not be be broken if a factory changed ownership, if a worker was called for military service, or if he was absent because of a brief illness.

The Church. Mussolini was the only important dictator who came to an agreement with the church and who was not at odds with religion. He fell heir to the conflict between the Italian government and the Vatican, which dates back to 1871, when Pope Pius IX refused to accept the terms offered by the government, and went into voluntary captivity. His successors sustained the same attitude. Mussolini was anxious to end the controversy. On Feb. 11, 1929, a treaty was signed and on the following day the pontifical banner and the Italian flag, for the first time, flew side by side on St. Peter's Church. Italy, by the terms of the treaty, recognized the sovereignty of the Vatican and accepted the Holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion as the state religion. Religious instruction was made compulsory in both elementary and secondary schools.

Numerous disagreements occurred after the settlement, but no definite break was made. It hardly seemed possible that the Italian government and the Roman Church—the one nationalistic and somewhat anticlerical, the other universal and claiming the obedience of its followers—could get along together for any length of time. By recognizing the church, Mussolini increased his prestige and that was what he hoped to accomplish.

Economic Difficulties. Economic conditions presented the most perplexing problems to Italy under Fascist rule. The land, although it possesses few natural resources, has a teeming population. The Italian government was financially bankrupt when Mussolini came to power and, while economic conditions improved, the rising costs of the Fascist program strained the resources of the

country almost to a breaking point. Mussolini planned to increase the production of food supplies. The "battle of wheat" aimed to extend the acreage and to increase the yield per acre; his effort in this direction was successful. In 1932, the consumption of wheat was only 8 per cent above the amount produced at home.

A shortage of raw materials, including iron and fuel, was more difficult to overcome. Foreign trade increased considerably but, in spite of this, the budgetary problems became more and more acute. Mussolini, with his dictatorial powers, reduced the interest rate on the national debt from 5 to 3½ per cent; state employees' salaries were reduced from 6 to 20 per cent; and wages, rent, and prices were lowered. Failure to relieve financial difficulties by these measures led to more drastic steps. The value of the lira decreased, and the gold reserve in the Bank of Italy was reduced, in 1934, by some 1,300,000,000 lire. The government ordered the banks to cede all their foreign credits for government use; all citizens were asked to declare to the Bank of Italy their foreign credits and to turn over to the National Institute all holdings that might be used for settlement of foreign debts. No one was allowed to leave Italy with more than 2,000 lire. Still the financial situation remained critical.

Foreign Policy. Italian foreign policy experienced many difficulties and disappointments. Since 1870, the government has experimented with two irreconcilable ambitions: to secure control over European lands occupied by Italians and to establish a great African empire. The first brought Italy into difficulty with Austria before World War I, and the second led to strong opposition from France. Aspirations in the Adriatic finally led Italy to forego designs in Africa and to join France against her former allies. The Entente Powers during World War I offered Italy Trieste, the Tyrol, part of the Dalmatian coast, compensations in the Near East, and "rectifications" of the African frontiers. The war proved disastrous for Italy and at the Congress of Versailles her claims were thwarted by Wilsonian idealism and French reluctance to permit Italy to dominate the Mediterranean. Later, France joined Jugoslavia to oppose Italy in Dalmatia. Turkey, France, and England blocked Italian ambitions in the Near East. In the minds of Italian patriots, they had won the war but had lost the peace.

In taking advantage of this disillusionment to win support for

Fascism, Mussolini was successful; emotional patriots ardently supported him. He sponsored a war psychology, declaring war to be an "eternal law of mankind. War alone brings up to its highest tension all human energy and puts the stamp of nobility upon the peoples who have the courage to meet it." Posing as a symbol of the Rome of the Caesars and promising to restore the ancient glories, Mussolini publicly assured his people of territorial expansion at the expense of neighboring countries. The Mediterranean Sea should become an Italian lake, according to the Italian dictator. The results of this policy will be discussed under a subsequent heading.

Estimate. The original impetus of the Fascist Revolution produced what was apparently a general improvement in Italy. A new spirit of pride stirred the people. Through Fascist ideals and training they saw a new dignity, a new faith in the grandeur and destiny of Italy, and they made an earnest response to the call to support the government. Order was restored, agriculture improved, and industry expanded; schools were supported and illiteracy was reduced; public improvements gave people work and improved the general appearance of the whole country. Fine roads, luxurious ships, and elaborate buildings were monuments to Fascist success; while a large army and military victories seemed to be evidence of the birth of a new Italy.

Nevertheless, Mussolini soon encountered difficulties. Most of the economic activities proved to be artificial. Huge debts were incurred and stringent government regulations strangled private industry. Military defeats demonstrated that the dream of power was an illusion. Mussolini became involved in international complications the result of which made Italy a Nazi vassal state. The leader who had been riding high upon the crest of success, at a time when his thunderous voice made the world shake, saw at last the tide of fortune turned against him. He had to drink to the bitter dregs the cup of defeat and was doomed to die in utter disgrace.

4. GERMANY: A NAZI EXPERIMENT

In spite of the fact that Germany, which followed Italy on the road to dictatorship, had established an excellent form of government in the Weimar Constitution, she was unable to meet the many pressing problems under a democracy. The uni suffered

severely at the hands of the negotiators who drew up the treaty of Versailles. She lost a great deal of territory, including all her colonies; but, worst of all, the German people were humiliated and disillusioned. They felt not only that they were unjustly treated, but also that the Allies had not lived up to their promises for concessions. A new generation of Germans, grown to maturity, refused to shoulder the humiliation imposed upon them by the victorious Allies. They disliked the republic because they felt that it had been forced upon them by the victorious powers. For better or for worse, a great part of the responsibility for the Nazi government can be traced to the Treaty of Versailles.

Background. Economic chaos in Germany in the years following the war was inevitable. She was saddled with huge reparation payments that could not be met. Trade had been reduced to a vanishing point and currency inflation had destroyed credit at home and abroad. The republic was attacked by both the left and the right. The left drifted toward Communism and the right demanded a stronger and more centralized government than the Weimar Constitution afforded. Most of the people expressed a willingness to follow almost anyone who would promise national regeneration.

Despite all the unfavorable circumstances, the republic survived from 1919 to 1933. A coalition party of Socialists, Centrists, and Democrats managed to control a substantial majority in the Reichstag and to keep an upper hand in the government. Much of the credit for the success of the republic was due to the statesmanship of Stresemann, who pleaded for moderation from all factions and who secured several concessions from foreign powers. Loans were obtained, reparation payments were reduced, and Germany was admitted to the League of Nations. The world depression cut short the period of brief prosperity in Germany and divergent political interests drew further and further apart. The Communist party, under the leadership of Thalmann, was organized and a close relationship with Soviet Russia was established. In the election of 1932, the Communists polled almost 6,000,000 votes. The Conservatives were afraid of the ultimate establishment of Communism under the domination of Russia. Under the leadership of the Prussian aristocracy, the Nationalist party was formed. Hindenburg, a Prussian squire and a national

hero, was elected president in 1925. He supported the Republicans and kept the government alive, in spite of almost universal dissatisfaction.

Nationalist Socialist Party. Hindenburg's leaning toward liberalism was a great disappointment to the Conservatives, and the death of Stresemann (1929) broke the last connecting link between them and the republic. The grip of the depression forced many people to seek another political affiliation to restore order because, in their estimation, the democratic government had not proved successful. The Germans, by training and tradition, demand order. "This excellent people has no real sense of freedom. It loves authority, it desires to be governed, it resigns itself and wants only to obey."[1] The man of the hour proved to be Adolf Hitler. Under his leadership, the Nazi party gained steadily. In 1932, 13,800,000 people declared their affiliation. Hitler was appointed Chancellor of the Reich by President Hindenburg in January, 1933. Apparently, Hindenburg had despaired of keeping order and, rather than face chaos, which he detested more than anything else, he turned to Hitler.

Power behind Hitler. Hitler was not the only dominant figure in the Third Reich. There were at least three others: Goering, Goebbels, and Schacht. These diversified personalities did not agree on many important points and there were numerous instances of deep-seated rivalry. Some observers believe that all, even including Hitler, were puppets in the hands of an unseen power.[2] There is no doubt that the large industrialists aided Hitler in his rise to power. Thyssen, the steel magnate, gave him support, as did von Papen. The latter really spun the plot that put Hitler in office. The combination included Thyssen, the industrialist; Hugenberg, the ultranationalist publisher; and Hitler, the mob hypnotist. Hindenberg, falling for the scheme, appointed Hitler Chancellor, von Papen Vice-chancellor, and Hugenberg Minister of Economics. The Reichstag was dissolved and an election was ordered. When, a week before the voting took place, the Reichstag building was burned, the Communists were blamed for the act. The Nazis won an overwhelming victory in the ensuing election. After the election, eliminations were made, through "blood

[1] Walter Rathenau, quoted in Wertheimer, *Germany under Hitler*, 7.

[2] See, for example, Henri, *Hitler over Europe* (Simon Schuster, 1934), Part I.

purges," of certain figures, including Roehm, von Schleicher, and others. Finally, Hitler stood supreme as the leader in Germany.

Program. While Hitler was in prison, he outlined the Nazi program in his book, *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle). One reads with amazement the bold statements made there, but considerable progress toward the realization of these aims was actually accomplished. Hitler predicted the formation of the Third Reich (the first dated from 1871 to 1918; the second covered the period of the republic). He proposed the creation of a greater Germany, which would unite all Germans in Austria, Holland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Alsace. Jews were branded as aliens, and all persons not of German blood who had entered the country after 1914 were to be expelled. Reforms and plans were enumerated in a long list, including the abrogation of the Treaty of Versailles, the refutation of war guilt and drastic revision of reparations, the return of Germany's prewar colonies, governmental assurance of employment, abolition of unearned income and the confiscation of war profits, the nationalization of trusts and large department stores, prohibition of speculation in land values, old-age and health insurance, and equality with the other great powers in armaments. The aid of Italy was to be sought in fighting France and Russia, the common enemies of Germany and Italy. Numerous references are made to anti-Semitism and to Nordic supremacy.

Hitler's "Drives." Hitler pushed his campaign to control Germany on all fronts. The Jews and the Communists were charged with the country's misfortunes during and after World War I. A boycott was sponsored against Jewish shopkeepers and professional men. University professors, schoolteachers, officers in the army, judges, and policemen were all to be "Aryans." Thousands of Jews and Christians with Jewish blood were forced to relinquish their positions, and many had to flee from Germany. At the same time, a campaign was waged against Communism. All Socialist and Communist trade unions were abolished and their funds were confiscated. The next move was to drive out all political opposition. All the German states were put under "governors," who were made responsible to Hitler. The police force of the Nationalist party (*Stahlhelm*) lost its identity and was incorporated in the Nazi Storm Troops.

In June, 1933, all other parties were forced to dissolve and

become affiliated with the Nationalist Socialist party. On July 14, Hitler's government promulgated a law that prohibited the formation of new political parties. All the parties were thus united into one, the parliament was devoted to Hitler, and all opposition forces were either destroyed or driven to cover. The Nazi party emblem, the *Swastika*, was made the official emblem of the Third Reich. Hindenburg was still president, but he was dying and with him were expiring the last vestiges of the republic. After his death, Hitler assumed the title *Reichsführer* and abolished the office of president.

Government of the Third Reich. Backed by a huge mass movement that was organized with true German thoroughness, Hitler was able, in a very short time, to change the fundamental structure of the German government. The Nazi concept of the state was totalitarian, with the interests of the people completely subordinated to those of the state. The form adopted was a centralized regime, based on the "leadership principle," in which Hitler was the supreme head. The Enabling Act (Mar. 23, 1933) gave him complete control of finances and of foreign affairs. The Reichstag, while it continued to exist, had no power whatsoever; and the Reichsrat, the upper house, was dissolved on Feb. 4, 1934. The German states, excepting Prussia to a degree, were governed by Reich agents personally appointed by Hitler. After Hindenburg's death, and the election that resulted in Hitler's victory, there followed a drastic program to establish personal control. Justice was made purely a political matter. People's courts, presided over by judges appointed by Hitler, had jurisdiction over high treason. Men and women could be imprisoned or sent to concentration camps without trial or legal procedure.

Intellectual Coordination. Hitler resorted to a well-organized propaganda machine under the direction of Goebbels, in order to expedite the transformation in Germany. A relentless barrage of ideas and arguments was spread over the country. Freedom of speech and of the press was abolished. Schools, including universities, became agencies for political propaganda, and all critics of the government living abroad were made subject to loss of citizenship and confiscation of property. If they persisted in their criticisms, their relatives in Germany might be held as hostages. In order that these decrees might be enforced, Goering was made minister o

police. He ordered that all officials and employees who criticized the government were "to be treated as camouflaged Marxists." Goering was further instructed "to trace and fight all political activities dangerous to the state." More than 15,000 people were arrested and imprisoned in Prussia and Bavaria in six weeks' time.

Alfred Rosenberg was made "supervisor of the party's educational and spiritual work." He was expected to expound the "gospel" and detect "heretics" among intellectuals. An attempt was made to bring religion under the control of the state. Hitler even contemplated the creation of a pure "Aryan" religion, but so much opposition developed that this move was postponed indefinitely.

Economic Coordination. Economic reorganization was considered in the original Nazi program. Schacht, a prominent financier and president of the Reichsbank, was made virtual dictator in economic affairs. He had the confidence of the people and made a strong appeal for their support. "The German people know," he declared, "that they are in the midst of a prolongation of the war, which is being waged with far more insidious methods than a real war. But we shall conquer." In March, 1934, a Law for the Organic Upbuilding of the German Economy was passed, in order to simplify the organization of German business and to eliminate destructive competition. The new economic policy inaugurated by Schacht provided for control of imports and exports; fixing prices; an extensive program for the elimination of waste; reclamation of land; and the development of *ersatz*, or substitute, products, such as rayon, oil, rubber, metals, leather, and foods. Schacht soon proved to be too conservative and was dismissed. Clearly, the Nazis were interested more in guns than in butter and subjected their economic program to preparation for war.

The Nazis introduced some fundamental changes in agriculture. The Hereditary Farms Law was intended to create an independent class of farmers. All estates of less than 278 acres, from which a family could secure a living, were to pass undivided to the eldest son upon the death of the owner. They were not to be sold, mortgaged, or attached for debts. It was hoped that this would stimulate agriculture and make Germany more independent of the outside world for its food supply. Although the economic position was improved, there were many unsolved problems. Much of the indus-

trial activity was devoted to the making of armaments, which had to be paid for with borrowed money.

Labor. The Nazi government was pledged to reduce unemployment and, with that in mind, the Law for the Organization of National Labor was put into effect in May, 1934. It established the rights and obligations of both employers and employees. The labor groups were controlled by an employer-chairman who was responsible to Nazi officials, and industries were told how many workers they were to employ. Labor camps were established and the unemployed were ordered to work in them. A large public-works program absorbed many of the unemployed. There was less unemployment, but conditions were far from being ideal from the point of view of the workman.

Foreign Policy. Hitler promised a restoration of the prestige of Germany when he came to power. The immediate aim was the attainment of equality in armaments and the establishment of the *Reich* as one of the recognized world powers. The ultimate goal, as announced in Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, was to unite all Germans into one great Germany. Rearmament and the arrangement of military alliances were announced as the first step. "Oppressed people," wrote Hitler, "are never freed and unified in a common empire by means of flaming protests, but through a sharp, unsheathed sword. The forging of this sword and the securing of military allies is the task of the leaders of its foreign policy."[1]

Hitler's greatest interest was in the realm of foreign policy—a field in which he became almost a master. Power politics was basic in his concept of German foreign policy. He based his actions on two major concepts—racial supremacy and "living space." Spineless and decadent democratic people, he claimed, are on the verge of falling under the Germans and the Japanese. The fulfillment of this dream would necessitate world domination. A mighty military force was necessary, but apparently he hoped that world supremacy might be attained without actual warfare. In his estimation, the world awaited his leadership.

To most foreigners this appeared to be an idle dream. The enemies of Communism saw in Hitler a possible aid to escape the Communist threat and gave him passive support. Such was the hope of Chamberlain and Daladier, who tried appeasement.

[1] *World Affairs Pamphlets*, 8, 40.

They underestimated the leader's real power and their own weakness. Hitler, marching onward, engulfed the world in another war.

Effects. Hitler succeeded in reviving a strong national sentiment in Germany so that much of the gloom and despair that had shrouded the German nation in the years following World War I disappeared. He kept the fervor of the Germans at a high pitch by pointing out that a foreign "menace" of other powers surrounded them, waiting for a favorable opportunity to destroy their Fatherland. Although there were evidences of great economic activity in Germany, much of it was artificial. Hitler's dictatorship plunged the country into costly and devastating warfare, which brought about his own undoing and the near-destruction of the people who had put their faith in him.

5. MILITARTY DICTATORSHIP: JAPANESE STYLE

The Background. In a previous chapter (page 530), early developments in Japan were noted. One significant fact, in particular, should be recalled—the Japanese have possessed for many decades the primary elements of a military dictatorship. All that they had to do in order to bring it up to date was to adopt modern instruments of war. From very early times, Japan was ruled by the sword. The power of the state was the military power and the ruling classes were the military classes. *Bushido* taught that the sword of the samurai was the soldier's honor, dearer to him than his life. The sword was a symbol of God.

The emperor's being a deity played a convenient part in support of a military dictatorship. What Hitler and Mussolini tried to accomplish in proving themselves supermen with divine intervention was accepted generally with regard to the Japanese emperor. The third article of the constitution of 1889 pronounced the emperor to be "sacred and inviolable." According to Prince Ito, "The emperor is Heaven-descended, divine and sacred." This the Japanese people have accepted, and military leaders have used it to further their interests by secretly dominating the emperor. In times of national emergency, it was used for concentrating the will of the people upon the task of the government. By constitutional authority (Article XII), the emperor had supreme command over the army and the navy; but military advisers were expected to counsel him on acts concerning the

military forces. This gave them access to the divine head of the state, and if the military leaders dominated the emperor there was no check on their authority. In support of this situation there was an almost limitless number of secret societies. Most of them were dominated, either directly or indirectly, by the military class. The school system was carefully planned to promote the military spirit and terrorist societies, so as to maintain discipline.

Ideology of Japanese Militarism. The ideology of Japanese military dictatorship followed the same general pattern as those in the Occident. That ideology is based upon two major assumptions: first, that Japan has a mission to perform in Asia; and second, that the state is in grave danger from enemies both abroad and at home. In the first, it is assumed that the Japanese people are superior organizers and have the responsibility of giving symmetry and stability to their weaker neighbors on the mainland of Asia. The second assumption follows a familiar pattern. Communism and foreigners are branded as enemies of the state, waiting and ready to destroy it if the opportunity should present itself. Soviet Russia and the United States were regarded as mortal enemies of Japan against whom she had to defend herself.

Aside from these practical and matter-of-fact ideas, there was the conviction of benevolent destiny to support national expansion through military force. The invasion of Korea was justified on the ground that the emperor of Japan was the *de jure* lord of the whole earth. In 666 B.C., an imperial edict proclaimed: "The imperial rule shall be extended so as to embrace all the six quarters (north, south, east, west, zenith and nadir; that is, the entire world) and the universe into one family." "The whole world under one roof" has been accepted as the mission of Japan and the ideal of the Yamato race. The imperial edict, Sept. 27, 1940, announcing to the Japanese people the consummation of the Three-power Pact between Germany, Italy, and Japan, opened with these words: "To enhance justice on earth and make of the world one household is the great injunction, bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, which we lay to heart day and night." In 1939, the minister of war wrote: "Since the foundation of the Japanese Empire, it has been the yearning of all Japanese to unite all the races of the world into a happy society. We regard this as the great mission of the Japanese people. We strive also to clear away from the earth injustice and

inequality and to bring everlasting happiness to mankind."[1] Such convictions provide limitless scope for undertaking military conquests.

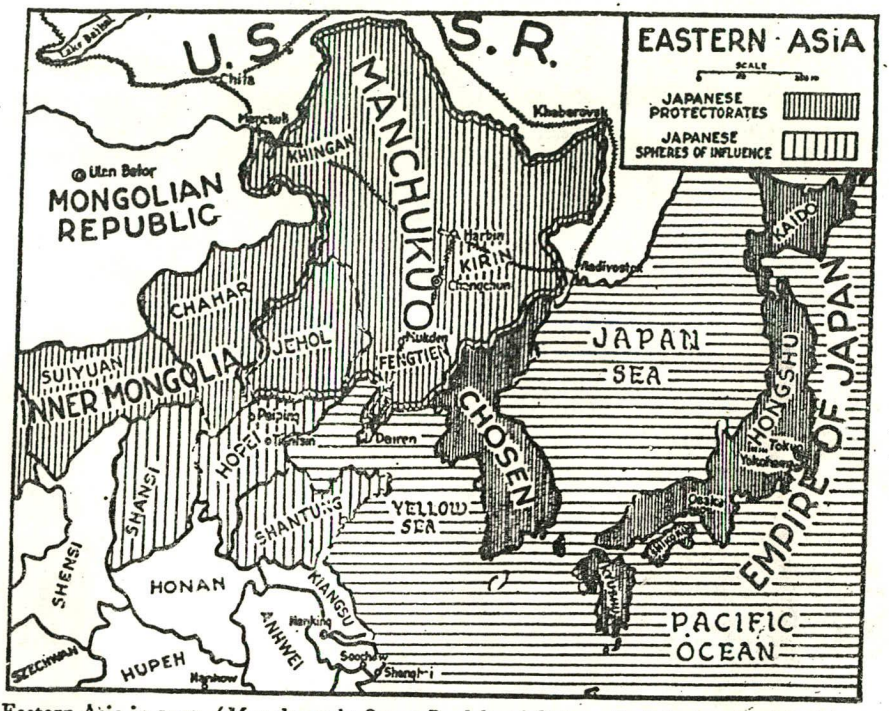
Militarism in the Saddle. The Japanese government represented the supremacy of a system rather than the glorification of an individual, as was the case in Germany and Italy. This provided a stability and a permanency that otherwise would be lacking. Military leaders come and go, but the militaristic system remains. Careful planning was made for military domination. As early as 1931, the Minister of War announced that action in Manchuria was immimenit. Opposition developed from many quarters and threat of open rebellion was recognized. It was a supreme crisis for the militarists. Success of Japanese arms swung the tide. General Araki, the War Minister, ignored parliamentary criticism of the expenditures of huge sums to carry on military preparations. He announced that "the appropriations would increase in the future and the reasons were none of the outsiders' business." The budget was approved. Funds were more and more under military control and, with the appointment of Prince Konoye as head of the cabinet (1937), there was no question as to where authority rested. Pearl Harbor was the result.

Foreign Policy. Japanese foreign policy has been obscure to Occidentals; not until the attack on Pearl Harbor did it appear in true perspective. To a degree, the Japanese have copied the Western formula in planning for a great empire. It is now quite certain that, in making preparations for war, advantage was taken of European complications. Every Japanese move was timed to occur when other powers were too involved at home to take direct action. In the main, Russia and the United States were considered to be the principal obstacles; England one of lesser importance. Conversely, Germany was the most likely ally of Japan.

President Wilson incurred, for the United States, the hatred of Japan by opposing her aggression scheme in China after World War I. It was further accentuated by the Immigration Act of 1924, which expressly excluded Japanese from the United States. The Japanese officials swallowed the insult, but they did not forget it. The growth of a nationalistic spirit in China and the increasing

[1] Holton, D. C., *Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism* (University of Chicago Press, 1943), 22.

might of Soviet Russia spurred the militarists to aggression. A serious economic crisis in 1930 provided another excuse for military action. Manchuria was invaded in 1931, and the quest for empire was under way.



Eastern Asia in 1937. (*Map drawn by George Brodsky of Chicago for "International Politics" by Frederick L. Schuman.*)

Estimate. The progress made by Japan from a medieval economy to a highly industrialized state is a remarkable feat. The real ability of the Japanese has been demonstrated along many lines. The most unfortunate thing was the unbridled militarism that gripped the nation and the warfare that resulted. This was due mainly to their government setup. After the defeat of Japan, a provisional government was established by the victorious nations, with General MacArthur at the head, the main objective being to introduce the ideas of democracy to the Japanese people. If they can discard the yoke of oppression and emerge as a free people to develop their institutions and their culture, a favorable verdict will be due them.

6. OTHER EXAMPLES OF DICTATORSHIPS

The wrong impression would be made if Russia, Italy, Germany, and Japan were depicted as the only examples of dictatorships. In fact, the general trend all over the world after World War I was toward totalitarianism, although the more extreme examples were in the four countries above mentioned. Strongly centralized governments were not even new experiments everywhere they were to be found. In many places, the surge of democracy following World War I did not penetrate the citadel of autocracy.

Turkey. Mustafa Kemal, one of the most remarkable men of the 20th century, took charge of the government in defeated Turkey and proclaimed a republic in 1923. During World War I, he led the defense of the Straits against the British, defied the Allies by refusing to accept a harsh treaty (Sèvres) that they imposed, and forced an invading army to withdraw. All three acts, and many others besides, were accomplished in spite of incredible obstacles.

The new government was democratic in form, but Kemal tolerated no interference with his plan. His main objective was the modernization of Turkey. The traditional spiritual leadership of the Mohammedan world by the ruler was abolished. The church's power over education and the laws of the land were abrogated. An open attack was made on illiteracy. School attendance was made complusory until the student was sixteen years of age. The Gregorian calendar was introduced, along with Latin script and the Western numerical system. The veil for women was forbidden and womanhood in Turkey was, in general, raised to a position of dignity. A new capital was built at Ankara, and the whole political, economic, and intellectual system was modernized.

The dictatorship of Atatürk (a name goven to Kemal, meaning *Father of the Turks*) differed somewhat in practice from that of Mussolini and Hitler. The Turkish ruler used his power as a necessary means to bring about sweeping reforms that were necessary for his country. He did not resort to militarism, foreign conquests, and imperialism. Atatürk died in 1938, after having won admiration both at home and abroad for his constructive statesmanship.

Poland. In the history of European states, Poland has played a tragic role. In 1795, she fell victim to the territorial ambitions of her neighbors; and in 1939, she was the first to be ground into dust by the German military machine. Her immediate neighbors, Germany on the west and Russia on the east, have made a veritable no man's land out of this intermediate territory. In 1918, a republic was declared with Paderewski, the famous statesman and pianist, as premier. Internal strife, corruption, and economic instability spelled ruin for the experiment in democracy. Marshal Pilsudski engineered a *coup d'état* in 1926. For nine years, he held complete authority in the government; then, after his death, trusted lieutenants ruled Poland until the fateful September, 1939. The Polish dictatorship was one of the worst. It is true that numerous minorities within the country, a dominating landed and capitalistic group, and extreme poverty created problems difficult for any government to handle.

Hungary and Yugoslavia. Hungary, along with Austria, shared the humiliation of being an ally of Germany in World War I. A kaleidoscopic series of political changes followed that war. For a few months, a mildly liberal republican government was in power. This was succeeded by a Communistic revolution and many months of bloody strife. Nicholas Horthy, a former vice-admiral in the Austro-Hungarian navy, became "regent" in February, 1920. The Allies forbade the restoration of the Hapsburgs to the Hungarian throne, so Horthy remained in power as dictator. Two basic problems confronted the government. One was the necessity for economic reconstruction, and the League of Nations loaned the Hungarian government some money. However, Hungary was plagued by the poverty of the peasantry. The country was essentially agricultural, and most of the land was controlled by wealthy landed gentry. No adequate reform had been made to remedy this condition before World War II engulfed the country. The other basic problem was her foreign policy. Hungary was surrounded by hostile countries. Rumania plundered much of her territory during the civil wars, and Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia had been allowed to annex some Hungarian lands. Consequently, the drift was toward Germany and Italy. In 1927, treaties of friendship were signed with Italy and Germany, and in 1938 Hungary was awarded some territory, with the dismemberment of Czechoslo-

vakia. The land of the Magyars subsequently became a willing German satellite.

An assortment of Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins, and many smaller groups made up Yugoslavia, the largest of the Danubian states. Internal strife was continuous. A long series of riots, murders, and disorders was climaxed in October, 1934, with the assassination of dictatorial King Alexander I by a group of Croat terrorists. Prince Paul, the King's cousin, assumed complete authority, acting as regent for young Peter, Alexander's son. Germany managed to worm her way into virtual control of the economic system and thus had an entering wedge already inserted in the Balkans before Nazi troops made their appearance there.

Rumania, Bulgaria, and Greece. Rumania emerged after World War I greatly increased in size and prestige. Transylvania was acquired from defunct Austria-Hungary and Bessarabia was taken from Russia. Rumania was doubled in size, and its population was tripled. Extensive oil fields, far-reaching wheat lands, forests, and many other resources were at hand; yet with all these assets, Rumania never reached security or prosperity. Land ownership was limited to a small group of ultraconservatives, so the peasantry remained poor and suppressed. Besides, large minority groups, especially Hungarians, were troublesome. Much of the responsibility for Rumania's misery can be placed on the rulers of that unfortunate country. The exploits of King Carol disgraced himself and his country, his dictatorship being one of the most corrupt and stupid in all Europe. Anti-Semitism was publicly sponsored by a Nazi Iron Guard under the patronage of the king. Germany, having forced her hand into Rumanian affairs, dominated the whole economic system by April, 1939.

Bulgaria's position after World War I was anything but enviable. She had been reduced in size to 40,000 square miles, with a population of less than 6,000,000 people, among whom resentment and economic privation prevailed. King Boris made an intelligent effort to bring order out of chaos but failure confronted him at every turn, and in 1934 he assumed complete dictatorial powers. The economic influence of Germany was prevalent, and in 1936 she controlled more than half of the foreign trade of Bulgaria. Greece, another Balkan state, followed the same general pattern of dictatorship. General Metaxas became the self-appointed pre-

mier in 1936, abolishing all opposition political parties, abrogating civil liberties, and establishing all the well-known machinery for suppression. The lot of Greece was thrown into the hands of Germany, which sealed her fate along with that of many other countries.

Austria and Spain. Austria suffered more from defeat in World War I than did any other country. Having lost 75 per cent of her land and population, she was reduced to an intolerable economic status; Austrians were faced with starvation. Although private philanthropy and financial assistance from the League of Nations prevented complete privation, the hopelessness of Austria induced a popular desire to become a part of Germany (*Anschluss*); however, this conspicuous example of "self-determination" was opposed by France and some of her former allies. That denial further increased the confusion already existing, and political factions battled for control of the government. The Social Democrats dominated Vienna for some time. Slums were cleared, dwellings were built for workmen, and clinics and kindergartens were opened. The conservative groups opposed these developments and were joined by Hitler's Nazis. When Dollfuss, who became dictator in 1934, tried to prevent dissolution, he was killed in an abortive Nazi *Putsch*, in July, 1934. Schuschnigg, who took his place, was supported by Mussolini; but the latter surrendered his control to Hitler in 1938, and the Germans moved into Austria. A plebiscite, held under Nazi supervision, gave 99.7 per cent of the votes in favor of union with Germany. Austria, after centuries of existence as one of the great powers of Europe, lost her identity and was absorbed body and soul into the Third Reich.

Spain, another old-line country in Europe, yielded to the lure of a dictatorship. Spanish history during the last two centuries is a story of decadence and impoverishment. More than half of the tillable land was owned by 1 per cent of the population, and illiteracy reached the appalling figure of 48 per cent. Privileged classes sapped what wealth there was in Spain. For example, there were over 21,000 high officers in an army of 125,000 ordinary soldiers. Conditions became so bad that, in 1923, Rivera took complete charge, with the blessing of King Alfonso XIII. Rivera, faced with a rising tide of republicanism, resigned in 1930. The following year the king abdicated, making way for a republic,

over which Zamora presided. Noticeable advances were accomplished. Universal suffrage was proclaimed, the church and state were separated, free public education was provided, and the status of privileged classes was abolished. However, trouble for the new republic arose in many quarters. The Pope denounced the government for the separation of church and state. Extremists on both wings were dissatisfied. In July, 1936, civil war broke out, spreading to North Africa, where General Franco assumed leadership. Directly supported by both Mussolini and Hitler, the new regime was a dictatorship modeled closely after the Fascist type.

Other Examples of Dictatorships. Dictators appeared to be the order of the day, with democracy definitely on the wane. In Central and South America, dictators had been the general rule for a long time. The Baltic republics of Latvia, Lithuania, and Esthonia now slipped into dictatorial forms of government. In 1926, a group of army officers promulgated a revolution in Portugal. Salazar, who took charge of the new government, proved to be unusually capable of handling economic problems and brought order and a degree of prosperity to his country.

7. DICTATORSHIPS: AN EVALUATION

In the preceding pages we have tried to give a picture of the leading dictatorships and what they have accomplished. Note has been made, also, of the prevailing trend toward this type of government in all parts of the world. It seems altogether opportune here to point out some of the dangers and shortcomings of dictatorships. It should be kept in mind that they have done great good in countries where they have been tried, but the question to be answered is: Does the good compensate for the evil?

Individualism. One of the most devastating charges that can be brought against a regimented society, which comes with a dictatorship, is the curtailment of individualism. Fascists and Communists alike believe that sovereignty resides not in the people, but in a society organized as the state. Individual self-expression and initiative—the most prized possessions of a democracy—are sacrificed, and man must fit himself into a mold prepared by the state. Dictatorships demand unquestioning obedience, which is substituted for individual opinion. History teaches us that the best in art, literature, government, and philosophy have

come from nonconforming individuals. If individualism and the right of self-expression are wrong, then the whole trend of intellectual progress has been misleading and we must start all over again and disregard a thousand years of struggle for the attainment of these ends.

Class Antagonism. Class consciousness and rivalry between groups are further characteristics of dictatorships that are at variance with democracy. The masses are divided into antagonistic groups on the basis of race, religion, or occupation. The Jew was harassed in Germany and the capitalist was persecuted in Russia. One class was given supremacy over another, the result of which was an evident return to the class stratification that characterized the Middle Ages. The subjected group was not by any means always the inferior, but was reduced to subserviency because of political or economic expediency. If this is justifiable, then the religion, ideals, and hopes of enlightened people for centuries have been in vain.

Dangers of One-man Rule. History is filled with examples of the ineffectiveness of one-man rule. No one person is equipped, either physically or mentally, to rule arbitrarily a great nation of people. Even if such a superman could be found, his rule could not reach beyond the span of his life. Who is to take his place? An incapable man might be chosen and, once he was in power, years of bloodshed and chaos might result before be could be driven out. A democracy is weak in many respects. It may be inefficient and clumsy, but it does provide for peaceful political and economic experimentation. Democracy may profit by accepting some of the principles of Fascism and Communism, but its own fundamental ideas still offer the greatest opportunity for everyone. Benedetto Croce, an Italian, made the following noteworthy observation on democracy:

> Coming to our own times, I see the future that liberty promises always a beacon; I do not see any light in the future promised by authoritarianism. In the past, under the forms of theocracy, of monarchy, or of oligarchy, authority had at least a background of religious mystery. Modern humanistic thought had dissipated the mystery, replacing it by simple humanitarian ideals.
>
> But authoritarianism in our times, in those we see looming ahead, is irreligious and materialistic, despite its pretenses and rheotoric, and comes down to a brutal rule of violence over people who are prevented from seeing and knowing what is

going on, and who are forced to submit to leadership and give unquestioning obedience to it.

To lend glamour to this obedience by associating it with the noble and heroic, it is usually called military discipline, which has been extended, or should be extended, to the whole of society. But military discipline has its function only as one aspect of the social order. If instead of being contained within the society, it is itself the containing body or is coextensive with society, it can no longer be called military discipline, but is a general process of fostering universal stupidity. An artist with the face of a corporal, a scientist with that of a sergeant, a politician who waits for his orders and blindly carries them out, is no longer an artist, a scientist or a politician, but an imbecile.[1]

Militarism. Militarism and dictatorships seem to go hand in hand. Every dictator feels the necessity of the support of a large army. He needs it to suppress internal dissension and to make a show to the other powers. The desire for more land seems to be an obsession that most dictators have. Foreign conquest is one of the most generally accepted means used by a dictator to maintain power. It fires the people with enthusiasm and keeps alive the tradition that the dictator is a superman. Dictators almost universally idolize war. In Germany, Goebbels declared, "We took precaution on the principle that the League of Nations is good, but air squadrons and army corps are still better." The chief characteristic of all dictatorships was the autocratic state, which depends upon force for its existence. War mentality dominated modern dictatorships. Life was put on a war footing, and sacrifice was the badge of patriotism. At the same time, war was the Achilles heel of the dictator. Although it served as a temporary expedient to avert disaster, it proved to be a certain road to destruction.

8. PERSISTENT DEMOCRACY

The violent attacks made against democracy by the dictators and the apparently dormant status of its exponents tended to conceal the persistent functioning of free institutions in a few countries. Disillusionment and economic chaos led to violent attacks against the citadel of democratic government. The virtues of popular administration were still supreme, but it must be admitted that there were too few people who openly defended them. Democracy became static; too many recipients of its blessings rested on their oars. Because of this indifference, dynamic selfish interests took

[1] Croce. "The Future of Democracy," *New Republic*, Apr. 7, 1935, 255.

control. To a degree, this has been true even in the countries where representative government managed to stay in power. The trend everywhere, prior to the outbreak of World War II, was toward more centralized government control. In the preceding pages, we have referred to the more extreme cases. However, the story would not be complete without some mention of examples of those countries where democracy was not altogether abandoned.

The issues were not confined to politics. Perhaps the economic principle was more fundamental. The exponents of democracy based their faith upon the principles of individual liberty, representative government, and freedom in economic enterprise. Dictators condemned all these principles. The United States, Great Britain and the Dominions, France, the Scandinavian countries, and Czechoslovakia were conspicuous examples of persistent democracy.

The United States. This country emerged from World War I with considerable gain in experience and with some fundamental changes in her historic setup. Woodrow Wilson, as spokesman for the American republic, championed the cause of democracy in the war. The fighting had no more than stopped when the President became the object of severe criticism, voiced by a strong group of isolationists. Industrially the United States had climbed to the top and, at the same time, had become the world's greatest creditor nation. An industrial boom was thrown into the lap of the American people and a period of apparent prosperity became a reality. The League of Nations was forgotten, isolationalism overpowered internationalism, and liberalism suffered through the triumph of conservatism.

During the 1920's unrest spread through the country. Strikes, involving millions of workmen, were numerous. More than 600,000 coal miners and 300,000 railway shopmen refused to work at one time or another during 1922. Supernationalism and intolerance were manifest in a surge against socialism. The Ku Klux Klan, involving a membership of over 4,000,000 in 1924, attacked Catholics, pacifism, and the Jews.

The political reaction to all the various and sundry abnormalities of the preceding decade was an effort to "return to normalcy" in the election of Warren G. Harding as president of the United States in 1920. "Normalcy," however, proved to be isolationism

and ultraconservatism. Repudiation of the League of Nations and the passage of the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act (1922) were high spots in the administration's program. An ugly wave of graft and corruption swept through the country. One of the worst cases was the infamous Teapot Dome affair, in which the Secretary of the Interior pocketed a half million dollars. In the midst of investigations, President Harding died and Vice-President Coolidge was elevated to the presidency. The people were assured that everything was under control. A business boom followed and a wave of apparent prosperity provided an interval of encouragement.

Rumblings of an approaching eruption could be heard, however, even while prosperity ruled supreme. The Johnson Immigration Act (1924) restricted the admission of aliens to 3 per cent of the persons from any one country living in the United States in 1910. Japanese were excluded entirely—a ruling that increased the already growing enmity between the two countries. Bootleggers reaped a nefarious profit from illegal traffic in liquor. As early as 1923, a persistent depression had set in for the farmers. The election of Herbert Hoover, in 1929, seemed to assure a continuing of the Coolidge program; but everything went wrong for Hoover. The Smoot-Hawley Tariff (1930) increased rates far beyond all reason; farm prices continued to drop; our foreign policy was equally discouraging; most of our loans to European Powers had been repudiated; and the Japanese invaded Manchuria, in spite of our protests. In October, 1929, the stock-market crash paralyzed our whole economic system. Business failures assumed catastrophic proportions, and unemployment increased by leaps and bounds. When, in the midst of the chaos, Hoover was a candidate for reelection, he was defeated by Franklin D. Roosevelt, with his New Deal program. The details of the plan launched by the new president will be discussed later in this chapter.

Great Britain and the British Dominions. One of the oldest and most consistently democratic institutions in the whole history of democracy is the English parliamentary system. It sometimes appeared listless and without leadership, and not infrequently there were periods of "muddling through"; but somehow the English system seems to be able to rise to all occasions.

Lloyd George was at the helm of the English ship of state when the nation emerged from World War I. In his dynamic and super-

ficial fashion, he promised the people a land "fit for heroes returning from Flanders Field." Although there was, indeed, a brief period of prosperity, this was followed by a far-reaching depression. Foreign trade collapsed and the number of unemployed reached the unprecedented figure of more than 2,000,000 in 1921. Largely because of the depression, Lloyd George was forced out of office in 1922, and was succeeded by Bonar Law, a Conservative. A shift in the position of the Liberals to the support of J. R. MacDonald brought into office a Laborite prime minister in January, 1924. Owing to the great diversity of supporting groups, MacDonald had to move cautiously, and very little was accomplished to relieve domestic ills. He was forced out of office in less than one year, being succeeded by the ultraconservative Baldwin. Unemployment remained the major problem. Approximately one-fourth of all mine workers, shipbuilders, and employees in the steel and textile industries were out of work. For the second time, MacDonald became prime minister, and ruled somewhat ineffectually for two years (1929–1931). Stringent economic difficulties led him to abandon his party and assume leadership of a coalition government, composed of National Laborites, National Liberals, and National Conservatives.

The Laborite government proved to be a fiasco. The basic economic and social problems, specialities of this group, were not solved. The leader abandoned his party, and political confusion ensued. Generally, conservative policies held sway. By 1935, the economic condition had improved and that further entrenched the Conservatives. However, during the whole period, democratic government in England was not impressive. Old men and outmoded ideas dominated the entire government program. The capitalistic system seemed to be tottering, Russian Communism was making threatening inroads, and general dissatisfaction was far reaching. In the face of all this, a strong drift toward Fascism became apparent, Hitler and Mussolini being admired by many Englishmen. Democracy faced a real crisis in Great Britain.

British democracy found expression outside the home country in the dominion governments—those of Canada, the Union of South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, especially. Canada, which is larger than continental United States and which is abundant in natural resources, is destined to become a great

center of development. The government of Canada attacked the postwar depression with intelligence and vigor. While it cannot be said that the efforts were entirely successful, at least the Canadians took stock of their difficulties and the outlook is encouraging. Australia and New Zealand have been very progressive in social and economic experimentation. They have taken care of their internal problems with considerably greater success than many other countries. The spirit of democracy is well entrenched in these countries.

The matter of foreign affairs is one of the most interesting developments in the British government. During World War I, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia reached maturity. Having been very helpful to the mother country during the war, they deserved recognition. In 1926, a British Imperial Conference recognized the dominions as autonomous parts of the British Empire and equal in status. The Statute of Westminister (1931) provided the equivalent of a constitution for the British Commonwealth of Nations. Preferential trade agreements were made and a spirit of unity was evident.

France. Political turmoil gripped France after World War I. A conservative political group called the National Bloc came into power in 1919. This group, including ultranationalists such as Millerand, Clemenceau, and Poincaré, feared and hated both Germany and Russia. Plans for economic recovery were based upon reparation payments from Germany, but these were not forthcoming as had been expected. This upset the monetary situation and, together with the disastrous results of the occupation of the Ruhr, led to general turmoil. The Leftist group came into power in 1924, under the leadership of Herriot, who stood for a more moderate policy toward Germany and more governmental control over industry. Threat of inflation and the economic depression introduced a period of political demoralization. Rioting, political scandals, and strikes resulted in five changes in government leadership in a few weeks. Fascist organizations (*Croix de Feu*), Communists, and Monarchists maneuvered for power. At this point, the Popular Front, a coalition of Leftists—Radical Socialists, Socialists, and Communists—was organized to oppose the Rightists, or Conservatives. Premier Blum tried to restore order at home and stability abroad. Both big business interests and collectivism

were attacked. Being unable to hold the Socialists and the Communists together, Blum was forced to resign. The rift between the two factions provided an entering wedge for Nazi fifth columnists, which worked toward the defeat of France in World War II.

Democratic government had anything but an impressive record in France. The French people have a keen conception of their rights, but they have been far from successful in applying them. This has been due, in part, to the great number of political parties. A premier had to please too many factions to be able to stay in power if he sponsored a positive program. In two decades (1917–1937), France had 34 different cabinets.

Other Democracies. Largely because of the intelligent and energetic leadership of Masaryk, the people of Czechoslovakia enjoyed the benefits of a democratic government. They prospered under their new government, in spite of many handicaps. Among their advantages were much good soil and ample natural resources. Glass, chinaware, armaments, textiles, and toys were produced and sold in foreign markets. This country provided one of the bright spots in an otherwise dark part of Europe. Czechoslovakia was a veritable island of democracy in a sea of absolutism.

Finland represented another successful experiment in applied democracy. There was a vigorous effort to help in the establishment of a class of small farmers, and free education was provided for all classes. Denmark, Sweden, and Norway provided a standard of living for their citizens much higher than was available in most other countries. Cooperative enterprises to benefit both producer and consumer were encouraged. Sweden has been called a "middle-class paradise." Switzerland maintained most of the attributes of a democracy in the troublesome period between the two wars. Parliamentary governments continued to function in Holland and Belgium, especially in the former. Belgium's record was somewhat marred by the powerful Fascist group known as the Rexists.

Generally speaking, in this period, democratic institutions were on the defensive. In many cases, it looked as though the whole democratic idea were decadent. The aggressiveness of dictatorships overshadowed the persistent, but muddling, democracies. The two decades between 1919 and 1939 is a period that was marked by strong competition between ideologies. Late in 1939, the issues were carried to the battlefield. For some time, the

democracies appeared to be doomed, and it was only after disheartening reverses that the tide was turned.

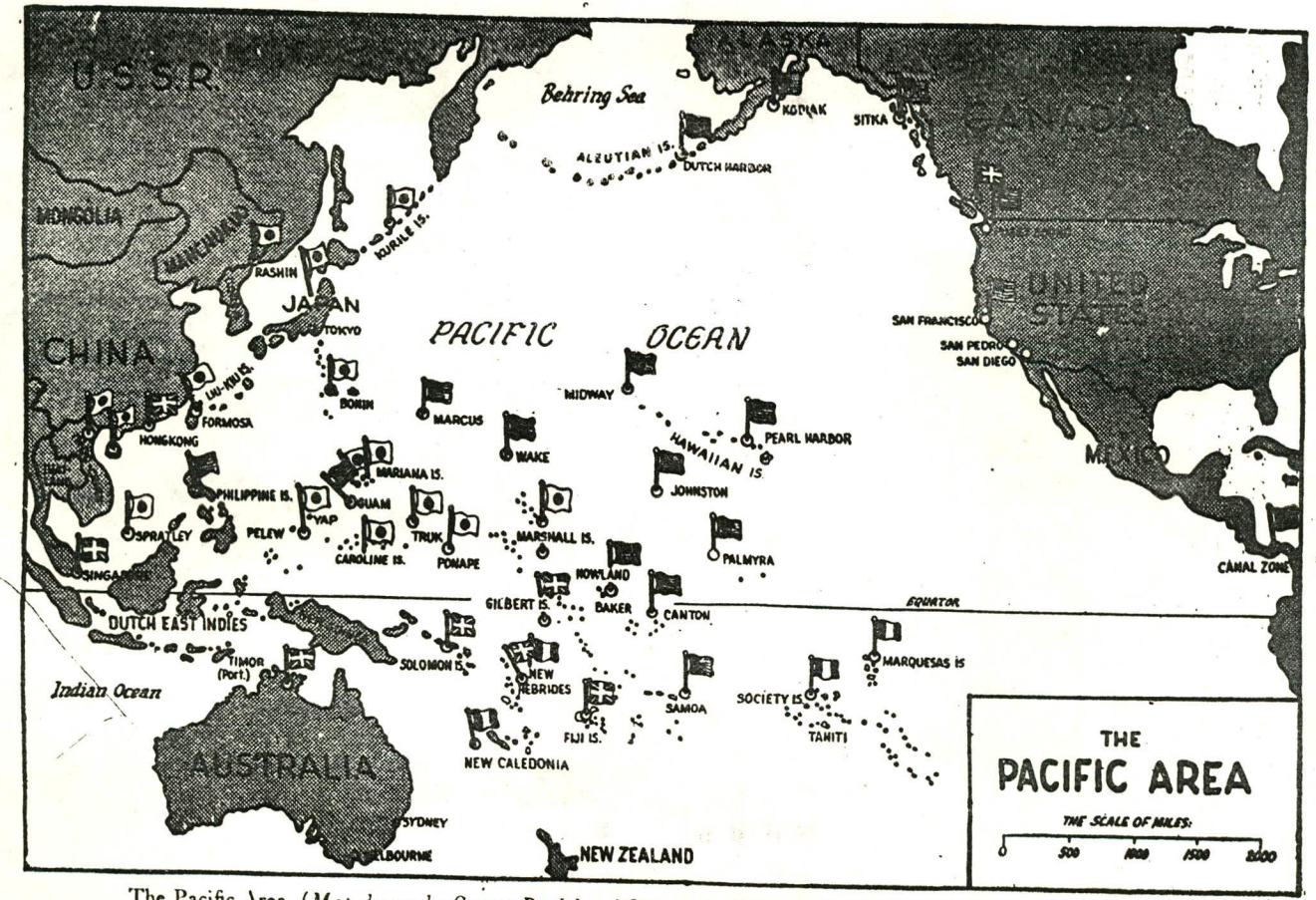
9. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: WORLD WAR II

Failure of the League. The failure of the League of Nations to function as an agency to promote international justice and maintain peace is a most grievous disappointment to international-minded people. However, the League was not a complete failure. It did much good and one might very well ponder on the question: What would have been the result if there had been no League in the critical period following the war? Nevertheless, its weaknesses are apparent, and the failure to settle the major difficulties that have arisen makes its value a question of serious doubt. Japan repudiated the League and no action was taken against her, in spite of condemnatory evidence presented in the Lytton Report. Germany withdrew from the League and proceeded to violate almost every article of the Treaty of Versailles. The severest blow of all was Italy's victory over the League in the conquest of Ethiopia. When Mussolini sent his troops into Africa, the League, on Oct. 6, 1935, invoked Article Sixteen. For the first time, a major power was formally condemned for violation of the covenant. Italy was declared an outlaw state and economic sanctions were voted, but Mussolini disregarded the League. Economic sanctions failed to stop him; now they are considered impossible to enforce against a great power.

The general chaotic condition in international affairs that followed the failure of the League of Nations was world wide. World War II is indeed properly named. In general, there were three regional phases of the conflict—Far Eastern, American, and European. Each had its particular individual characteristics, but finally they were all closely related. Each will be considered separately and then all will be treated collectively.

The Far East. Mention has been made of the general background for the conflict between Japan and China. The rise of Japan to the status of a world power and the general vulnerability of China constitute the major outlines of the picture. Other powers had interests in China, so Japan faced general opposition to her plans. Recognizing this, she planned accordingly.

To the Japanese, the year 1931 seemed a logical time to begin



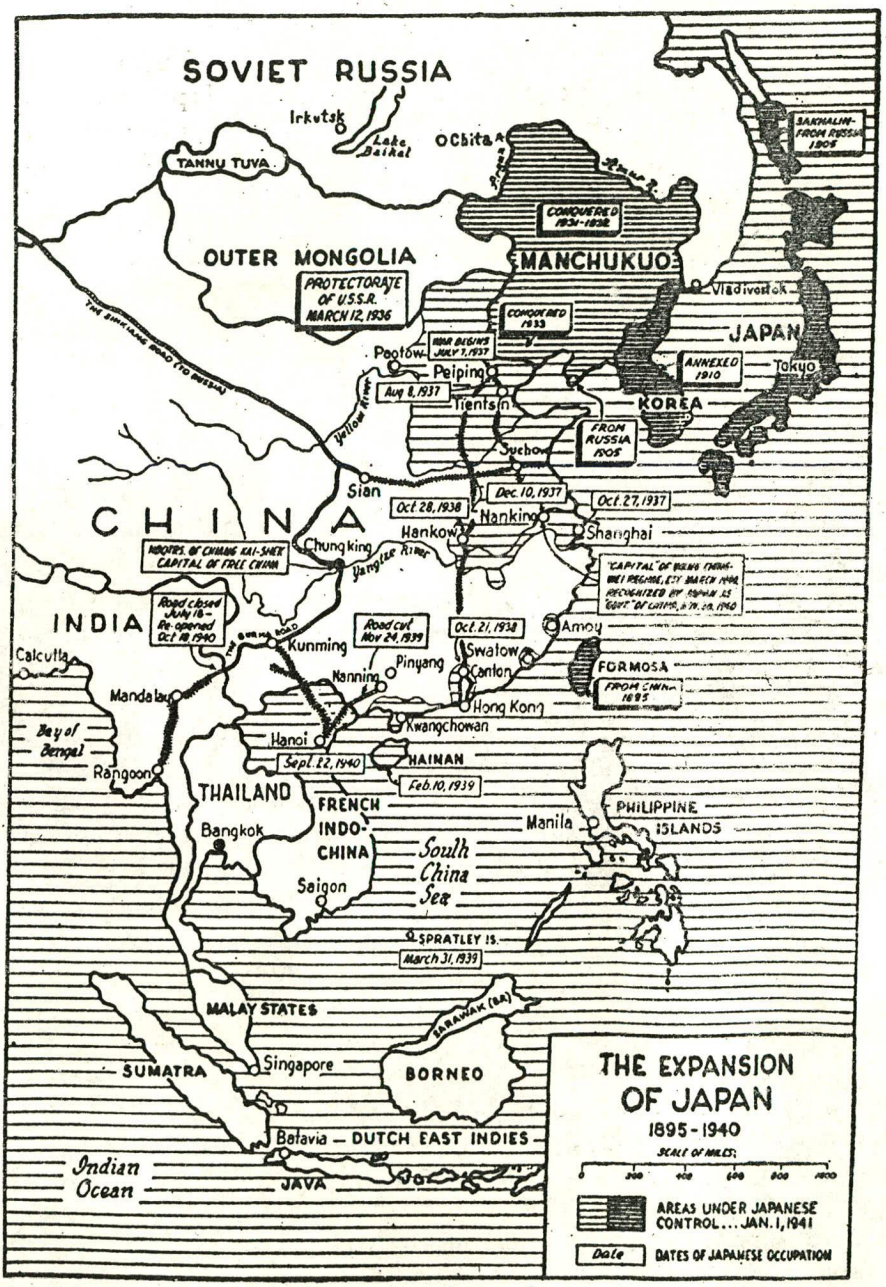
The Pacific Area. (*Map drawn by George Brodsky of Chicago for "International Politics" by Frederick L. Schuman.*)

hostilities in China. They posed before the Western powers as acting to "save Asia from Communism." The Chinese provided an opportunity for attack by bombing the tracks of the South Manchurian railway near Mukden on Sept. 18, 1931. The Japanese army moved. When China appealed to the League of Nations and the United States for support against aggression, the United States protested to Japan, but without beneficial results. Then Secretary of State Stimson formulated his "nonrecognition" policy and asked England's cooperation, but received no support. The League, which sent the Lytton Commission to conduct a leisurely investigation, did not take action on the report that was finally submitted. Meanwhile, Japan created the puppet state of Manchukuo.

The die had been cast. In 1933, Jehol was annexed to Manchukuo and, in 1935, Japanese troops occupied Chahar. Other neighboring provinces were added until, in 1936, Japan controlled most of northeastern China; yet only mild protests came from the Western powers. Japan's response to these was to withdraw from the League and renounce other obligations that might impede her progress. In April, 1934, Japan announced a "Japanese Monroe Doctrine," which stated that thenceforth she would be "guardian of the peace of the Pacific." In 1936, Germany and Japan signed the Anti-Comintern Pact, in which Italy joined a year later. The country of the Rising Sun now had the support of European allies.

As Russia had been aiding China, trouble with the former was imminent. During 1937, clashes occurred on the Russian border; but, although Japan suffered defeat in these encounters, neither side saw fit to continue hostilities. Japan continued her war in China and the Russians continued to aid the Chinese. The Japanese slaughtered millions of Chinese, destroying city after city. Shanghai and Nanking were occupied, but Chiang Kai-shek fought on. In 1939, South China was invaded and most of the coast line was occupied. While England, France, and the United States continued to protest, Japan continued to ignore them. Three American oil tankers and the gunboat Panay were destroyed on the Yangtze River. In June, 1939, Japanese forces blockaded British concessions in Tientsin.

The outbreak of war in Europe fitted neatly with Japanese plans. The fall of France, in 1940, enabled Japan to gain air bases



The Expansion of Japan, 1895–1940. (*Courtesy Frederick L. Schuman "International Politics."*)

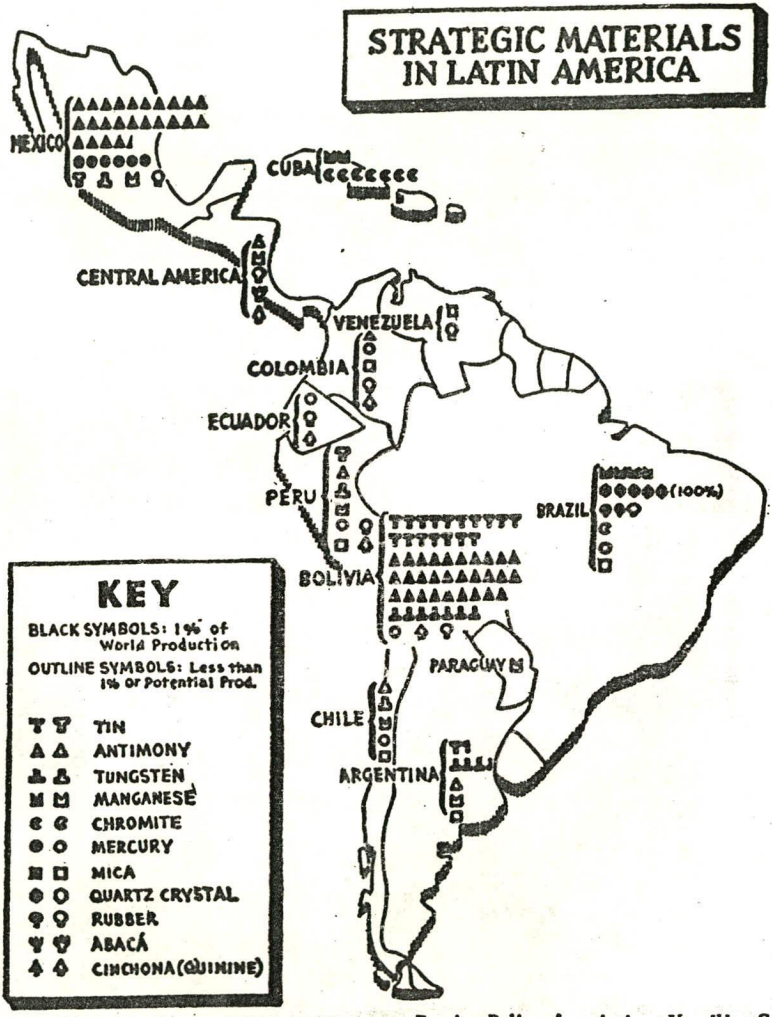
in French Indo-China. The United States retaliated with another $25,000,000 of credit to China and reopened the Burma Road, which had been closed to trade in arms to China. Japan answered by formal alliance with Germany and Italy in the autumn of 1940. Japan expected, as results of the peace settlement, the domination of China, the destruction of the British Empire, and the subjection of the United States and Soviet Russia.

Plans for the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis began to shape themselves through global strategy. Japan planned carefully but secretively. Thailand was pressed into line. In order to cover up well-laid plans, a new ambassador was sent to Washington, carrying an olive branch. While he was negotiating a peace plan with Secretary of State Hull, Pearl Harbor was attacked. The hand—a bloody one—was exposed and the United States declared war. Cooperation between Tokyo and Berlin could be seen in the German declaration of war against the United States, a few hours later. Churchill joined Roosevelt in branding Japan, whose long-conceived plans were now put into operation. The Philippine Islands, Singapore, Burma, and the Dutch Indies fell before blows for which they were ill prepared.

The Americas. The traditional attitude of the powers in the Western Hemisphere was isolationist. Participation in World War I had marked a break in the policy, but the United States withdrew into her shell immediately thereafter and no appreciable change was evident until the election of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. His Democratic administration tried, with little success, to reach an agreement over world finances. Secretary Hull succeeded in negotiating a series of reciprocity trade agreements; but Congress, which was mainly isolationist, refused even to accept membership in the World Court.

The Roosevelt administration continued a persistent, but cautious, foreign policy aiming at world cooperation. Soviet Russia was recognized in 1933, and a trade agreement was concluded in 1935. The military force, especially the Navy, had been strengthened by the expenditure of $1,000,000,000 annually by 1937. Latin-American relations received special attention to overcome obstacles that were numerous and of long standing. A number of congresses were held, inter-American peace machinery was discussed, and a joint neutrality policy was considered. In December, 1938, the

Eighth International Conference of American States met in Lima, Peru. Hull, pleading for common measures to resist invasion, was opposed by Argentina, in which pro-Axis inclinations were well



Strategic Materials in Latin America. (*Courtesy, Foreign Policy Association, Headline Series, J. Raushenbush, "Look at Latin America."*)

rooted. A compromise was agreed upon that affirmed "continental solidarity" and "collaboration," but provided only for "consultation" in case the peace and security of an American republic should be threatened. The following year, at Panama, the 21

American republics set up a "neutrality zone," including North America south of Canada, South America, and Central America, and extending out to sea 300 to 1,000 miles. The belligerent powers



The Latin-American Republics. (*Courtesy, Foreign Policy Association, Headline Series, J. I. B. McCulloch, "Challenge to the Americas."*)

in Europe paid little attention to the American agreements. More and more it became evident to President Roosevelt that nothing short of Axis defeat would safeguard the Western Hemisphere.

The first real test of the Good-neighbor Policy between the

United States and the Latin-American countries was posed by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Considerable progress in that policy was revealed in the general spirit manifested at a conference held in Rio de Janeiro in January, 1942. However, there was not entire accord. When the United States asked for complete rupture with the Axis Powers, Argentina and Chile dissented, while 19 of the sister republics joined the United States. Lend-lease aid was provided to furnish industrial supplies. Active support came from several, and the threat of Axis domination of a considerable part of the Western Hemisphere was averted.

American neutrality was put into law by the Neutrality Act of Aug. 31, 1935. It aimed at cooperation with the League states and the signatories of the Kellogg Pact, but also, in case of war, at ensuring American noninvolvement. Arms, ammunition, and implements of war could not be exported to a belligerent state. Futility was written all over the law. Its effect on Mussolini's war in Ethiopia was convincing to all but a few die-hard isolationists. Our position with regard to the Spanish Civil War further demonstrated the futility of neutrality. The administration began to chart a new course.

It became increasingly evident that if the Axis Powers attacked England and France our "neutrality" would assist Hitler and Mussolini and deprive their enemies of much-needed assistance. American interest was certainly against the Axis Powers, while in practice we were an economic ally to the aggressor. A long and painful congressional investigation began; and on Nov. 4, 1939, President Roosevelt signed a new act repealing the neutrality law. The war in Europe assumed alarming proportions, with the fall of Norway, Belgium, Holland, and France. Warnings and planes were sent to the aggressors by Roosevelt and Hull, but the Axis steam roller moved ahead. Congress changed its mind and voted billions of dollars for the Army and the Navy. England granted bases in Newfoundland, in Bermuda, and in the West Indies for American defense, in return for fifty 1,200-ton destroyers. The "lend-lease" bill opened the way for direct aid to England.

This course was not a declaration of war, but it was the nearest approach to it. Later developments showed the wisdom of President Roosevelt's preparations and made the final blow somewhat less of a shock. Initiative in precipitating hostilities was left to

Berlin, Rome, and Tokyo. They accepted this responsibility, leaving the United States no choice in the matter after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

European Alliances and Alignments. The background for World War II consists of a complicated tangle of diplomatic intrigues. Diplomacy, of course, presents only part of the picture. It in turn is the result of more basic trends. The immediate situation arose out of the failure of the League of Nations and the Treaty of Versailles. No adequate settlement was reached after the preceding war and there was no united effort to maintain order and fair play, culprits being permitted to operate unimpeded. Out of the chaos arose totalitarianism, a challenge to the old order. Militarism is an inevitable part of totalitarianism, and militarism results in war. For more than a decade, the dictators prepared for war, cultivating the war spirit and producing vast stores of armaments. While this was being done, the democracies were asleep at the switch, allowing internal dissension to destroy a united front. Although the principal instigators of conflict were Japan, Italy, and Germany, they had many sympathizers in other countries who were willing and anxious to aid in a general upheaval.

France, through the medium of the League of Nations, tried to construct a great system of alliances in Europe for maintaining order and security. She had understandings with most of the European powers, exclusive of Germany. It was obviously a scheme to isolate her former enemy and to control Europe. England remained aloof, somewhat concerned over the predominance of French influence. She still preferred a balance of power to the supremacy of any one state. Many Englishmen, including several government officials, were more alarmed about Communism than about Fascism, and Russia was a party to the French enterprise. A showdown came when, with French consent, Mussolini attacked Ethiopia.

The beginning of territorial aggression, however, was made in the Orient when, in 1931, Japan attacked China. This was a clear violation of the rights of a League member, but no strict action was taken. Japan had started upon the execution of a well-planned effort to dominate China. The smaller powers saw the handwriting on the wall. Siam (Thailand) approached Japan for an understanding, and Russia made a gesture to the Nipponese in offering to sell the much-contested Chinese Eastern Railway.

Japan's success greatly influenced Mussolini. Following the same pattern that had succeeded in the Orient, he sent his legions against Ethiopia. England protested, talked with Hitler, and put pressure on France. The latter had to withdraw her consent for Mussolini to attack Ethiopia; through England's influence, the League took action against Mussolini; but the whole thing fell flat. Mussolini ignored the League and completed his conquest of Ethiopia with a grand flourish. Two important results were immediately discernible: the League was completely discredited and the hold that France had on Europe was broken. All Europe stood on the verge of far-reaching changes.

Mussolini's star, already in the ascendant, was soon accompanied by Hitler's, which was an even brighter one. Hitler had plans similar to those of Mussolini. The confusion in international politics during the Ethiopian crises gave him an opportunity to take his first step, the remilitarization of the Rhineland. This was in complete contradiction to the Versailles and Locarno treaties. He gambled with an unprepared army, but England and France took no action. A bolder act was made in signing the Rome-Berlin agreement, when Mussolini signed Austria over to Hitler and Hitler recognized Mussolini's conquest of Ethiopia. The two also agreed to form a united front in Spain, to oppose Communism. Under their protection and with their aid, General Franco pursued a revolution in Spain. Again France and England did nothing. The hands of the French being tied, they sank into a stupor that resulted in defeat and enslavement. The English resorted to appeasement and to unfounded optimism, from the evil effects of which they did not recover until Dunkerque.

Hitler took immediate advantage of the situation. In 1936, he denounced international control of German rivers as provided in the Treaty of Versailles. When, in 1938, he moved into Austria, Chamberlain, who had recently been made Prime Minister of England, offered a mild protest. The next move was against Czechoslovakia. Chamberlain agreed that the Czechs would have to give up Sudetenland. This served as an entering wedge, but it was not enough to satisfy Hitler. Largely because of Chamberlain's influence, a conference was held at Munich (Sept. 29 1938) to which Italy, France, England, and Germany sent repres tives. They agreed that Germany should have one-fifth of Czecho-

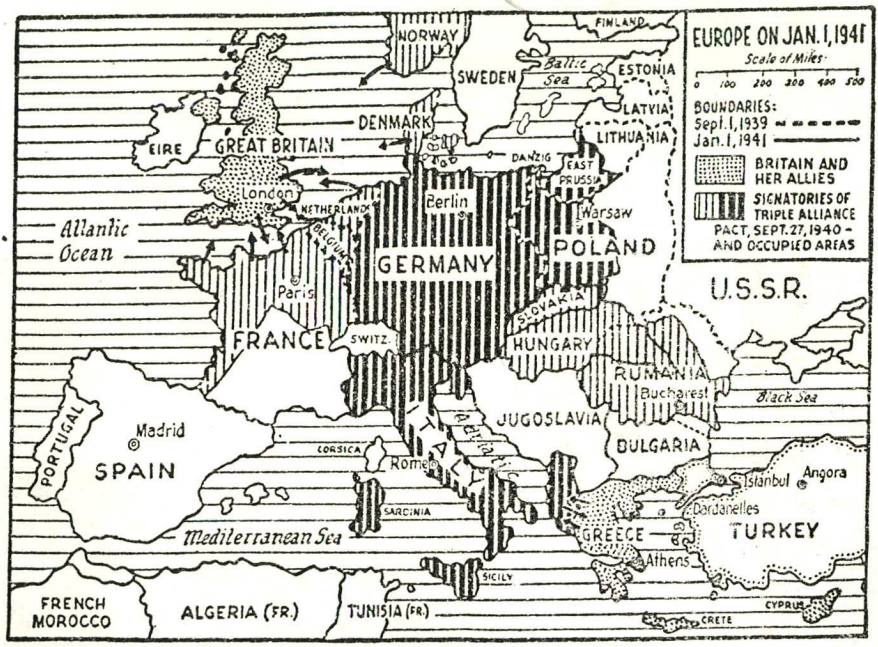
slovakia, including the principal industries and fortifications, and a military highway across the land. Czechoslovakia, the bastion of democracy in central Europe, was doomed, and Hitler's star climbed higher above the horizon. Chamberlain returned home with a document that, he claimed, would ensure "peace in our time." However, Hitler, who had a different kind of peace in mind, quietly prepared for the next move toward Poland.

Russia, it will be noted, was not a party to the Munich agreement, although she had a definite understanding with France to protect Czechoslovakia. It is clear that Russia was disgusted and that she perceived Hitler's intention. She bargained with him to enable her to make preparations for the war that was inevitable. On Aug. 22, 1939, a Russo-German nonaggression pact was signed. Hitler, believing that he had avoided a two-front war, felt himself better prepared to bring pressure to bear on France and on England. In fact, he thought that England and France would not dare to oppose him, with Russia as his ally. He could now move with impunity against Poland.

World War II. Hitler's army moved into Poland on Sept. 1, 1939. France accepted the English decision to go to war. Russia, seemingly in compliance with her ally, marched into eastern Poland and reannexed the Baltic states. She also approached Finland; but the Finns resisted, and war was declared on Dec. 1, 1939. Finland received some aid, but her cause was doomed; and this furnished a cue to what was in store for Belgium, Holland, Norway, and Denmark. On Apr. 9, 1940, the Germans invaded Norway and Denmark; in the following month, Belgium and Holland fell to the fury of the German *Blitzkrieg*. A week later, the French defense line was broken at Sedan and the English salvaged their army at Dunkerque. After the fall of France, Germany was in control of western Europe, ready to attack England.

Italy entered the war against France on June 10, under very dubious circumstances. Mussolini wanted to get in on the kill. In fact, he was much concerned over having been pushed into second place by his more aggressive ally, Hitler. In the armistice with France, Italy received permission to occupy Djibouti, in Africa, and to secure the use of the French section of the Djibouti-Addis Ababa railroad. Obviously, these concessions were far less than what Mussolini had expected. The Mediterranean and the Near

East were drawn into the conflict, partly because of Italy's entrance, and partly because of the expansion of Germany in the direction of the Balkans; Yugoslavia, caught between two fires, signed pacts with Italy and Bulgaria; Hungary adhered to the Axis alliance; and Rumania was brought into line. Mussolini then started his operations against Greece, without much success until Hitler moved down from the north. Further attacks were made



Europe on Jan. 1, 1941. (*Courtesy, Frederick L. Schuman, "International Politics."*)

against the English in Africa. One defeat after another dogged the Italian legions until Italy had lost most of her empire in Africa and a considerable portion of her fleet. Hitler came to the rescue, and the result was virtual occupation of Italy and the demotion of Mussolini to the status of a puppet. From the beginning, Hitler had had no idea of sharing too much with his Axis partner.

During the first two years of the war, victory seemed within the grasp of the Axis Powers. Opposition crumbled on every front, and all that England and her allies could have for consolation was the not-too-heartening consciousness that they had not been knocked

out altogether. Certain trends, however, were becoming manifest. The war had stretched out to a long war, and that was what German military leaders had wanted to avoid. Time was on the side of England and her allies. Hitler's attack on Russia proved another thorn in the side of the Nazis. They had hoped to knock out Russia with a grand flourish. Instead, years of warfare and the loss of men and equipment worked tremendous hardship on Germany. Russian opposition and the failure to invade England upset the Axis time schedule. The entrance of the United States into the conflict added another vital factor to be reckoned with. American indifference and inactivity had come to an abrupt close with the Japanese attacks on Hawaii. In World War II, as in World War I, the United States became the "arsenal for democracy."

The conquest of Norway and Denmark and the *blitzkrieg* in France, early in 1940, did much toward awakening the people of the United States to the dangers of a totalitarian victory. The struggle of Great Britain against the *Luftwaffe* attracted even greater attention. Arms were sent to help the struggling English and a rearmament program was introduced at home, under the direction of the National Defense Advisory Board. President Roosevelt and Premier King of Canada agreed to establish a joint board of defense for the two countries. The Selective Service Act became law in September, 1940, marking the first attempt in our history to provide conscription during peacetime. The first lend-lease bill became law on Mar. 11, 1941. British shipping losses necessitated the convoying of our ships to Great Britain. During July, American troops occupied Iceland. In August, Roosevelt and Churchill met somewhere in the Atlantic and drafted the Atlantic Charter, which is of sufficient importance to be quoted in full.

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

First, Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or otherwise;

Second, They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

Third, They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

Fourth, They will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

Fifth, They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic adjustment and social security;

Sixth, After the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

Seventh, Such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

Eighth, They believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

Hitler's failure to subdue England led to an unexpected and violent attack against his erstwhile ally, Russia. German *panzer* divisions, supported by Rumanian troops, pushed at the heart of Russia. The defenders gave ground, but inflicted many casualties, and the scorched-earth policy made it difficult for the German army to subsist. Russia was received as an ally by Great Britain, and the United States granted her lend-lease aid. At the end of the first summer. the Germans were within reach of Moscow, Leningrad was surrounded, and another Nazi spearhead struck at the oil fields in the Caucasus Mountains. Suddenly the tide turned and, by the end of December, the Germans were put on the defensive. Another effort was made to crush Russia the next summer, with a drive on Stalingrad; but again the enemy failed to reach its immediate objective. This time the defeat was more decisive—sufficient, in fact, to mark a definite turn in the tide. It was now time for Germany to retreat. Slowly the Russians proceeded back again, to reconquer their lost territory.

Meanwhile, the British achieved some success in being able to fight off the *Luftwaffe*. Syria was occupied and Iran was taken over, to keep out the Germans; and a large British army with American

lend-lease equipment was assembled in Egypt. Although a serious threat was made by the German Africa Corps under General Rommel, who drove to within a few miles of Alexandria, he was stopped and forced to retreat by the famous British Eighth Army. A brilliantly executed landing of British and American troops in North Africa doomed Rommel's efforts and opened the way for an invasion of Italy.

Progress of the War in Western Europe. German strategy included a giant pincers movement, developing through North Africa and through the Middle East, to join with forces striking into the Russian Caucasus from the north. Attainment of this goal would have sealed the fate of the whole Near East and possibly Africa, as well. The American and British success against Rommel in Africa and the gallant stand made by the Russians at Stalingrad not only ended this threat, but also marked the beginning of real Allied offensive against Germany and her allies.

Rommel managed to escape from Africa, but he was relentlessly pursued in Sicily and in Italy. Mussolini was forced out of office July 25, 1943, ending a 21-year regime in Italy. The Germans, fighting on in Italy, still held the northern sector when Germany finally surrendered. Meanwhile, the Russian military machine was pushing the Germans back over the land that they had conquered with comparative ease earlier in the war. Kiev was recaptured on Nov. 1, 1943. The siege of Leningrad was broken and Novgorod was recaptured. Little by little, the Russians surged toward the homeland of the Germans. Hitler was beset by a two-front war, to be fought in its final stages in the territory of the Third Reich.

Credit for much of the success of the Allies in Europe depended upon the defeat of the German air force, followed by unmerciful and routine bombing of German industries and transportation facilities. Berlin, Frankfort, Hamburg, Cologne, Essen, Leipzig, and Hanover were devastated. Another victory equally impressive was the elimination of the submarine as a serious threat to Allied shipping. While an average of ten ships a week had been lost in 1942, in 1943, the loss was reduced to two a week, and it gradually approached zero within the next year. Thus a constant flow of supplies from the United States reached the Allied armed forces in Europe. The struggle for the production of war materials in vast quantities in the United States resulted in another impressive

victory. From United States ports, 60,000,000 tons of cargo were sent to the United Nations. The tonnage of our warships more than doubled. Our merchant shipping built in 1941 amounted to 1,163,000 tons; in 1943, we had 19,000,000 tons.

The Defeat of Germany. American, English, and Canadian troops stormed the beaches of Normandy (June 6, 1944) in one of the greatest amphibious operations ever undertaken. Hitler's Atlantic Wall was pierced. On June 12, General Montgomery announced, "We have won the battle of the beaches." Further operations, most of them on a scale never before undertaken, continued methodically. Ports had to be captured and restored in order to facilitate the landing of supplies. This was one of the most hazardous and difficult of all the many problems. The First American Army under General Bradley captured St. Lô on July 18. Ten days later there was a general break-through, and the Allied occupation of France took on the characteristics of a *blitzkrieg*. Paris fell on Aug. 25, after four years of Nazi occupation. France, Belgium, Luxembourg, and a part of the Netherlands were liberated. Germany's territory was invaded on the west by British, American, and French troops, while on the east the Russian armies pushed ever nearer to the Third Reich territory.

Hitler's great empire, which had been won without much opposition, was dwindling rapidly. Rumania ceased hostilities against the United Nations. Bulgaria withdrew, a few days later, and that forced the Nazi army to withdraw from Greece. Albania and Yugoslavia were liberated by the early autumn of 1944. Hungary fell into Russian hands in February, 1945, and Czechoslovakia received her liberty a short time later. The battle of Germany then was ready to begin in earnest.

The capture of Aachen, after one of the bloodiest battles of the war, prepared the way for an all-out offensive, by the middle of December. This was delayed by the German General von Rundstedt, who decided on an offensive himself. The critical Battle of the Bulge followed, ending finally in victory for the Allies. Combined retaliation against Germany followed from both fronts. The West Wall was pierced, Cologne was captured, and the historic Rhine River was crossed. The industrial Ruhr was destroyed and occupied, and this resulted in one of Germany's worst military debacles of the whole war.

The German government realized that the end of the war, with ultimate defeat, was a question of time. An offer for partial surrender, which came from Himmler on Apr. 24, 1945, was refused, because Russia was to be excluded from the settlement. Military collapse followed. Mussolini, captured in Italy, was unceremoniously executed by his own countrymen. On May 1, the Hamburg radio announced Hitler's death, "fighting to the last breath against Bolshevism." Berlin was captured by the Russians the following day. Two days later, all German forces in the Netherlands, Denmark, and northwestern Germany surrendered. After practically all German forces had been cut to pieces, an inclusive unconditional surrender was signed at Reims, on May 7.

The Tide Turns in Asia. The first really encouraging news for the Allies in the Eastern sector of the war was the defeat of the Japanese fleet in the Coral Sea on May 8, 1942. The battle of Midway Island, in early June, gave definite demonstration of the superiority of the American fleet over the Japanese. The United States forces, with naval superiority, began to close the circle around Japan, cutting off numerous pockets and drawing ever closer to Japanese homeland. Meanwhile, the American submarines and the air force whittled down Japan's merchant marine, which was vitally necessary for holding together the newly won, far-flung empire.

A long list of hard-won victories followed a carefully planned and well-executed American plan. Marines stormed ashore on Tarawa and on Makin. The former had an excellent airfield and the latter a good harbor, with wharves and a seaplane base. By the middle of April, 1944, many of the Marshall atolls were occupied, and Japan's outer defense area in this part of the Pacific had been pierced. The inner defense of the Japanese homeland was dented by the occupation of Saipan in the Marianas, which was less than 1,500 miles from Tokyo. This was followed by the reconquest of Guam and Peleliu, and by a crowning achievement in General MacArthur's return to the Philippines in October, 1944.

Japanese Surrender. The surrender of Germany, in the early summer of 1945, rendered the military position of Japan hopeless. The addition of the military might that had defeated Germany to the already demonstrated power in the Pacific would, under any circumstances, crush Japan in the course of time. Within only a

few weeks, Okinawa was captured. Naval resistance of Japan was reduced to *Kamikaze* air attacks, which, while costly, were never decisive. Russia, possibly seeing that the end was near, but still in compliance with her earlier promises to the United States and Great Britain to enter the war within 90 days after the end in Europe, took the final step on Aug. 8, 1945.

Japan, on July 25, had asked for a peace less severe than unconditional surrender. The United Nations, at Potsdam, drew up the conditions that they would accept, and no sign of leniency was shown. On Aug. 6, the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, and three days later a second one was released on Nagasaki. On the same day, President Truman sent a warning to Japan: "We shall continue to use it [the atomic bomb] until we have completely destroyed Japan's power to make war. Only a Japanese surrender will stop us."

Events moved rapidly. On Aug. 10, Japan sued for peace on the basis of the Potsdam surrender ultimatum if the prerogatives of the Emperor were not prejudiced. The Allies accepted, with the reservation that the Emperor take orders from the Allied Supreme Commander. Also, his tenure would depend eventually on his acceptance by the Japanese people at a free election. In August, World War II ended. General Douglas MacArthur was appointed Supreme Commander to administer Japan and, under his direction, formal surrender terms were signed and an occupation force landed on the Japanese homeland.

10. TOWARD A NEW WORLD ORGANIZATION

Background. Every thinking person who followed the events of the war, even in the most cursory fashion, saw the need for action to prevent another war. This has happened during other wars, but never with so much backing as was manifest in World War II. In World War I, aside from the efforts of Wilson and his immediate associates, very little was done. In comparison, there was a beehive of activity during and after the recent war. The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, the Harvard-Radcliffe Bureau of International Research, the Foreign Policy Association, and the Institute of Pacific Relations are private or independent organizations that have been active in the United States. Within the government, the National Resources Planning

Board, the Federal Reserve Board, the Treasury, and the State Department have carried on extensive planning and research.

President Roosevelt, like Wilson before him, pleaded for an international security system for the prevention of another war that might include the United States. "There can be no middle ground," he declared. "We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration, or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict." Wendell Willkie, Republican aspirant for the presidency in 1940, concurred without reservations. Three years later, the Republican party's leaders declared, "We must do our full share in a program for permanent peace among nations." Similar activity came from other powers fighting Germany and Japan. There appeared to be a world-wide sentiment for proper precaution against wars.

New and terrible instruments of war, such as the rocket plane and the atomic bomb, brought the necessity for an enforced peace very much into the limelight. England suffered severely from robot bombs, just before Germany surrendered. The crowning achievement in destructiveness was the atomic bomb, the first of which, dropped on Hiroshima, contained the equivalent of 20,000 tons of TNT. It would have taken 2,000 bombers to carry enough TNT to do what this single atomic bomb did. Hiroshima, a city of 300,000 inhabitants, was more than two-thirds destroyed. Such destructiveness in the hands of bandits would change our concept of war, perhaps even our concept of sovereignty. Bare survival even might be questionable.

Relief and Rehabilitation. Among the most necessary steps to be taken in the immediate postwar period were measures for the relief and rehabilitation of devastated lands. In compliance with this belief, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) was formed in 1943. Fuel, food, clothing, housing, medical, and other essential services were to be provided for the peoples as they were freed from Axis control. The first meeting was held in Atlantic City, on Nov. 12, 1943, when representatives of 44 nations convened. The financial aspects of recovery were discussed at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, in July, 1944.

Two agencies were recommended to facilitate international financial administration: an International Monetary Fund and a Bank for Reconstruction. Four major objectives were outlined:

(1) to provide means for a proper exchange rate for each major country; (2) to guarantee orderly variations in exchange rates when such are needed; (3) to make available short-term credit to aid countries over short-term balance-of-payment difficulties, and to make possible a breathing period to enable fundamental adjustments necessary to bring imports and exports into balance; (4) to provide a clearinghouse for continuous international consultation, for encouraging research on world monetary problems, and for making surveys to encourage a balanced world trade.

Much of the cause for international friction has been due to economic problems, many of which could be averted through careful, intelligent, and cooperative approaches. The successful operation of the Bretton Woods plan would enable all countries, including the "have-nots," to go forward with greater confidence in world trade. Thereby, one of the fundamental causes for war would be eliminated.

The Chicago Civil Aviation Conference. The kaleidoscopic development of air transportation in World War II led to a consciousness of some problems that will arise in peacetime activities. Working in the direction of seeking a solution, representatives of 54 nations met in Chicago in November, 1944. Agreement was reached on the absolute sovereignty of every state over the air above its territory and a recognition of the exclusive interest of each country in its own internal air services. Numerous essential technical matters were made uniform on a world-wide basis. Of greater importance still, more than 50 nations promised to work together on a consultative, rather than a "planned-economy," level to promote nondiscrimination, to arbitrate differences, and to promote international civil aviation throughout the world.

Plans for the Prevention of World Chaos. Many ideas have been current as to what should be done. Everything, from the old, outmoded isolationism to a glorified world state, has found support in varying degrees. The Hemispherists' plan to divide the world into regional groups has much support. The Geopoliticians advocate alliances between states whose interests are parallel, in order to maintain a balance of power. Both these plans repudiate membership in any world organization.

International Organization. The more advanced thinkers seem to favor international organization, in spite of the conspicuous

failure of the League of Nations. The first great move in this direction, after the outbreak of World War II, was the dramatic meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill somewhere in the Atlantic and their pronouncements in the Alantic Charter. Both the United States and Great Britain were pledged to work for "the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security." Slowly but surely we were drawn closer and closer to England. This development was climaxed when we entered the war as an active participant. We then found ourselves to be allies of all enemies of the Axis Powers. More elaborate plans had to be drawn, first to win the war and second, to reach an agreement for a postwar world.

Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran. From the point of view of ideology and entrenched bias, cooperation between the United States and Russia appeared difficult, if not impossible. The Nazi attack changed the situation somewhat, but much careful groundwork had to be done before a workable alliance could be realized. In October, 1943, Secretary Hull from the United States and Anthony Eden from England paid an official visit to Moscow to confer with Commissar Molotov.

The discussions held and the agreements reached between the foreign secretaries of the three powers at Moscow were secret, for obvious reasons. Evidently, special emphasis was given to plans for combined military strategy against Germany and Italy. Mr. Hull reported that the military discussions "were in the direction of facilitating closer cooperation between the three countries in the prosecution of the war against the common enemy." The Moscow Conference paved the way for the forthcoming meetings at Cairo and at Teheran.

United military action against the Axis Powers was difficult, because Russia, then not at war with Japan, obviously wanted to avoid hostilities in the Far East. As a result, two sets of negotiations and agreements had to be consummated. China was brought into the official circle at Cairo, Egypt, in November, 1943, when Chiang Kai-shek met with Roosevelt, Churchill, and Eden. The communiqué, issued on Dec. 2, emphasized determination to punish Japan and to take away all her conquests acquired since 1895. The powers solemnly denied any plan for territorial gains and the

Chinese representative was received on equal terms with Roosevelt and Churchill.

The heads of Russia, England, and the United States met at Teheran, on Nov. 28, to continue planning for operation against Germany and Italy. For four days, discussions were held, and on Dec. 1 a Declaration of the Three Powers was issued. Details of plans for military strategy were not published, but unity of purpose was proclaimed. "No power on earth can prevent our destroying the German armies by land, their U-boats by sea, and their war plants from the air. Our attacks will be relentless and increasing."

Dumbarton Oaks. The first concerted effort to reach an international agreement on some plan for world organization, since the outbreak of World War II, was under way at Dumbarton Oaks in October, 1944. Here the preliminary exchange of views on steps to be taken to ensure international security were officially stated. In the quiet surroundings near Washington Cathedral, experts representing England, Russia, and the United States attacked the problem from all angles. They agreed upon certain basic principles:

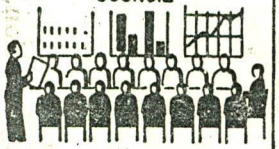
1. Peace is possible only when peace-loving nations are prepared and united to defend it. An organization should consist of a General Assembly in which all member states are to be represented on an equal footing and a Security Council with eleven members, the five most powerful states to be permanent members. The actual prevention of wars, it was agreed, should be primarily the work of the great powers possessing dominant physical powers—the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, and France.

2. Two phases of war prevention were stressed: (*a*) steps necessary to prevent wars and (*b*) steps necessary to suppress wars. A Court of Justice was to be organized. Forceful means to prevent or to suppress wars were to be the last resort. However, if pressure of a nonmilitary nature is ineffective, the council has the power to call for military action. The member states are to keep armed forces and facilities ready in case of call.

3. There is to be an active program for building peace, which essentially is the work of the General Assembly. An Economic and Social Council is to be created for the purpose of solving international economic, social, and other humanitarian problems. In the same way, an International Labor Organization, a United

THE UNITED NATIONS: STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL



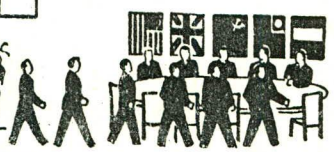
EIGHTEEN MEMBERS, CHOSEN BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY. IT WILL COORDINATE THE WORK OF AFFILIATED EXPERT ORGANIZATIONS WORKING TOWARD THE EVENTUAL ELIMINATION OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ROOTS OF WAR.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY



EACH OF THE UNITED NATIONS IS TO BE REPRESENTED ON THIS BODY WITH ONE VOTE. THE ASSEMBLY WILL HAVE THE RIGHT "TO DISCUSS ANY QUESTION OR ANY MATTERS WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THE CHARTER," AND MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE COUNCIL.

SECURITY COUNCIL



TO BE COMPOSED OF BIG FIVE AND SIX MEMBERS ELECTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. IT WILL INVESTIGATE INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES; FOSTER PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS; TAKE DIPLOMATIC ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ACTION AGAINST POTENTIAL AGGRESSION.

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE



THIS 15-MAN BODY, WHICH WILL MEET IN PERMANENT SESSION TO DECIDE LEGAL DISPUTES BETWEEN NATIONS, WILL BE PRINCIPAL JUDICIAL ORGAN OF UNITED NATIONS. MEMBERS MUST COMPLY WITH ITS DECISIONS.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION



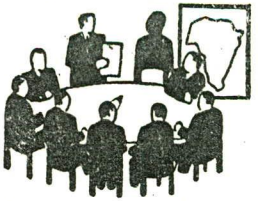
IT WILL INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVES OF GOVERNMENTS, EMPLOYERS AND WORKERS AND WILL SEEK TO RAISE THE WORLDS LABOR STANDARDS.

INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION



DRAFTED AT BRETTON WOODS MEETING AS A MEANS OF PROVIDING FUNDS FOR POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION AND CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT.

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL



TO BE COMPOSED OF THE BIG FIVE AND REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER STATES ADMINISTERING COLONIAL AREAS. IT IS DESIGNED TO ENCOURAGE ECONOMIC SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL ADVANCEMENT OF PEOPLE OF THESE AREAS.

MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE



TO BE COMPOSED OF CHIEFS OF STAFF OF U.S., BRITAIN, U.S.S.R., CHINA AND FRANCE. WILL DIRECT FORCES AGAINST AGGRESSOR IF ASKED BY COUNCIL.

INTERNATIONAL CONTINGENTS OF ARMED FORCES



TO BE COMPOSED OF A QUOTA OF FORCES READILY AVAILABLE FROM ALL MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATION FOR USE IN PUTTING DOWN ANY THREATS TO PEACE.

SECRETARIAT



TO BE COMPOSED OF A SECRETARY-GENERAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF. IT WILL MAKE ANNUAL REPORTS TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, BRING TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL ANY MATTER WHICH MIGHT THREATEN INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.

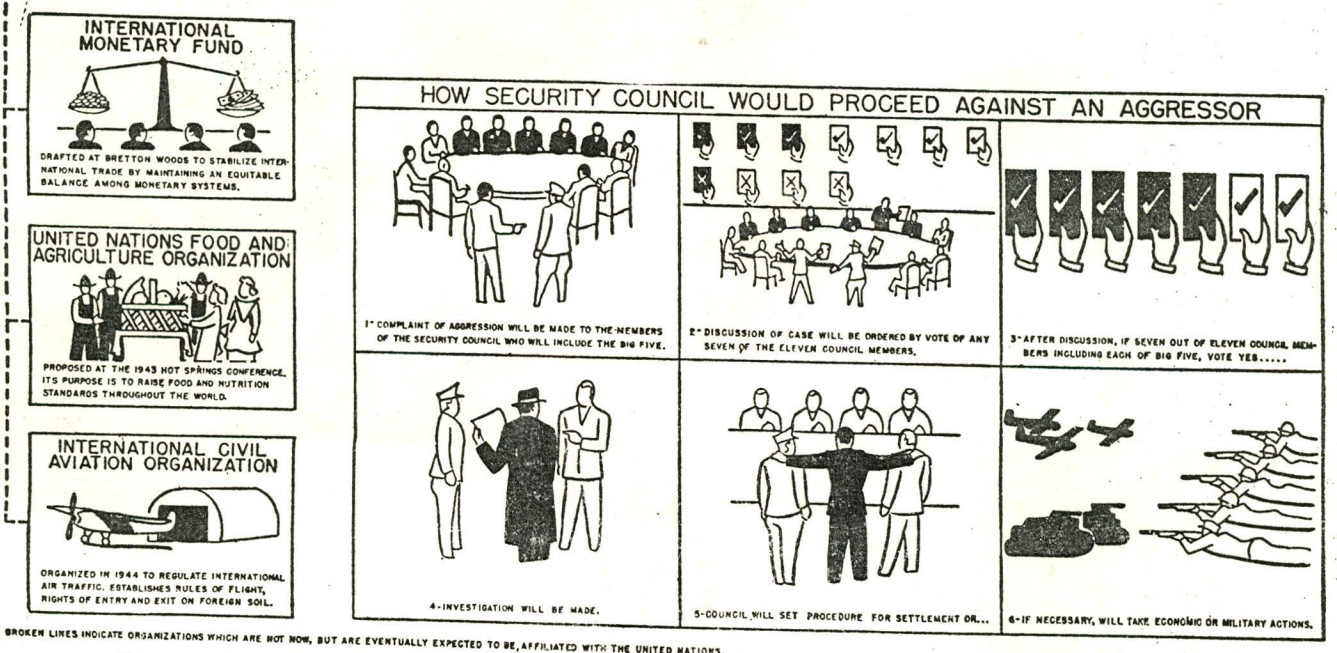


FIG. 50.—Chart of the United Nations: Structure and Function. (*Graphics Institute for The New York Times.*)

Nations Food and Agricultural Organization, an International Monetary Fund, and an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development were to be created.

4. An edifice for the promotion of peaceful international relations was to be erected. Armaments were to be systematically reduced under general observation and in accordance with a preconceived plan.

San Francisco Conference. Russia would not agree to the Anglo-American proposal to eliminate the veto power of a permanent member on the Security Council, if accused of aggression. Roosevelt and Churchill visited Stalin at Yalta, in the Crimea, to iron out the points of friction prior to the opening of the all-important United Nations Conference at San Francisco in April, 1945. Delegates from 40 governments participated in the impressive ceremonies held in California.

The world was shocked when President Roosevelt died on the very eve of the opening of this congress. His influence in world affairs was recognized generally and his death caused a shadow to creep across the whole program. President Truman capably stepped into the driver's seat, opening the session in these words: "You members of this conference are to be the architects of the better world. . . . If we do not want to die together in war, we must learn to live together in peace."

The final signing of the new charter was accomplished on June 26, 1945. It contained four principal agencies: (1) A Security Council with authority to investigate international disputes, to attempt peaceful settlements, and to take action, if need be, against the aggressor. Permanent members were to include representatives from the Big Five—the United States, the United Kingdom, Russia, China, and France. (2) A General Assembly, representing all member nations, with authority to discuss any matters coming within the scope of the charter and to elect six of the members of the Security Council. (3) An Economic and Social Council, to study and offer solutions for basic problems that might cause wars. (4) An International Court of Justice, sanctioned to decide legal aspects of issues between nations.

Estimate of the New Charter. The San Francisco Charter certainly did not please everyone. It has some questionable features, such as the powerful influence of the "Big Five" at the expense

of the "Little Forty-five"; but, at least, an impressive start had been made. In striking contrast with the treatment of the League of Nations, the San Francisco Charter was ratified by the United States Senate with a most impressive vote. General acceptance by most of the other powers was certain.

In the various sessions of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the five great powers and in the meetings of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization, there was much friction and many noisy accusations. Progress in the direction of an ethical treaty seemed out of the question. It looked as if, although another war had been won, another defeat at peacemaking was threatening.

Peace Negotiations. There is a tendency to give too much prominence to the quarrels that take place in the various conferences. Reporters are given free access to what is happening. The differences that have occurred at former peace conferences have never been so publicized. It was planned deliberately to avoid one big conference for settling all matters, such as that held at Versailles in 1919. The peace treaty to follow World War II was attempted as a series of agreements, which began while the war was yet in progress.

A year passed between the establishing of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Potsdam (July, 1945) and the conference that met in Paris on July 29, 1946. Russia acquired substantial territorial gains, including 274,000 square miles of land and 24,000,000 people. Furthermore, there are certain trends that may be more important than either the agreements or the disagreements on specific issues. There is the basic difference in the ideals and the objectives between the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and Great Britain and the United States, on the other. The United States, by virtue of her position, has been assigned the position of leader in the opposition to Russia. There is also the old problem of an extensive divergence between the great powers and the lesser states, which gives rise to difficult situations. Russia, having become conscious of her newly won prestige, moves slowly but with determination to drive a hard bargain.

The extensive concessions made to Russia indicate a variance from the idealistic principles for which the war was fought. The complete significance of this will be determined in later trends. The big territorial problems for consideration are (1) the status of

Germany, (2) the status of Central Europe, and (3) the future of the Far East in general and of China in particular. Underlying all these issues and serving as a basis for future negotiations is the controversial issue of the United Nations trusteeship and its relationship to the desires and wishes of the great powers. If a workable procedure is produced and if it is generally accepted, then a new era in international relations is at hand.

The Paris Conference. After more than three months of hectic activity, the Paris Conference adjourned on Oct. 15, 1946. In all, 233 articles and 33 annexes were voted on, article by article, by the 21 nations that had fought together to destroy the Axis Powers. There was a regional division between the East and the West, which was indicated in the frequent bloc voting, with 15 pro-Western states taking side against the 6 pro-Russian delegates, the former group maintaining a two-thirds majority and thus winning on the more important controversial points. While victory for the Western Powers was assured on such issues as the Trieste status and the freedom of navigation on the Danube, there was still a very uncomfortable cleavage between the two points of view that endangered the prospects for peace. However, according to Premier Smuts of South Africa, the conference achieved "a larger measure of success . . . than was anticipated." Meanwhile, the Big Four in the Council of Foreign Ministers convened in New York City to continue the prolonged task of peace making and to wrestle with such things as the control of atomic energy and the limitation of armaments.

II. ECONOMIC TENDENCIES

1. THEORIES AND PROBLEMS

Causes for Unrest. Recent economic theorists have turned against the laissez-faire idea of economic control, largely because of the world depression and the general collapse of economic enterprises. There has been a marked reaction against what Veblen called "bookkeeping economy," which measured results quantitatively through an investigation of the amount of pecuniary profits that a concern made. The accountant determined the excellence and the desirability of industrial effort in volume of profit, instead of in excellence or adaptability of the product. This may be consid-

ered a marked criticism of modern economy, but economic inequality and industrial insecurity are much more generally attacked.

Dr. W. I. King in June, 1927, published in the *Journal of the American Statistical Association* a summary of the distribution of wealth in the United States. He showed that in the upper bracket 2 per cent of the people owned 40 per cent of the wealth, while the "poor," which composed 65 per cent of the population, owned only 15 per cent of the wealth. The National Bureau of Economic Research reported that, in 1918, 39 per cent of those receiving incomes obtained less than $1,000 per annum, 72 per cent received less than $1,500, 86 per cent received less than $2,000. In summary, 86 per cent of the population drew only 60 per cent of the total income for their share. On the other hand, 1 per cent, the high-income receivers, acquired 14 per cent of the national income. The year 1928, now considered a prosperous year, showed that only 4,000,000 people out of approximately 45,000,000 gainfully employed individuals filed income tax reports, although it was compulsory that such reports be filed by married individuals with an annual income of over $2,500 and for unmarried individuals with an income of over $1,500 annually. Of this group 25 per cent (over 1,000,000) reported incomes under $2,000, while 511 reported incomes of $1,000,000 or over. These figures were not impressive until misery and privation led numerous people to take stock of where they stood in relation to their fellow men.

Discontent was not limited to people who had always been poor and who could have little hope for their improvement. Many who were at one time considered wealthy or at least were in comfortable circumstances, but who had seen business ruined and savings disappear, joined the ranks of critics of the old economic order. Thousands of people retired from active business with the hope of living on their savings, only to find themselves, in old age, reduced to privation. Many men with well-established businesses, in 1928, were forced to witness their profits dwindle and, in some cases, to see the fruits of years of toil slip through their helpless hands. All these groups and many others lifted up their protest and demanded some kind of reorganization. The return of prosperity silenced most, but not all, of them.

Evolution of Economic Theories. Recent economic thought furnishes an interesting climax to the economic evolution from

earliest times, which we have traced briefly in previous chapters. The Greeks and the Romans believed that the end or goal of life, and not the means of living, were important in the economic order. In the Middle Ages, men accepted class divisions dominated by an authority that rested upon divine sanction. "Just price," a mixture of ethical and economic values, governed the commodity value. The voyages of discovery, the development of commerce, and the rise of nationalism led to the establishment of mercantilism. The government began the regulation of trade and industry, in order to develop the self-sufficiency of the state. The rise of individualism and its application to economy spelled doom for the mercantilist, and freedom from restrictions increased the activities of the individual. He insisted upon the protection of his rights and demanded freedom in the pursuit of his enterprises.

Schools of economists invented naturalistic explanations for economic procedure. Adam Smith and the physiocrats introduced the classical school of economics, which included Bentham, Malthus, Ricardo, and John Stuart Mill. They defended the new capitalism on the basis of natural law and natural liberty. The nationalists and the Socialists attacked the cosmopolitanism, the free-trade doctrines, and the exploitation of labor that capitalism made possible. Classical economy was revived late in the 19th century, notably by Alfred Marshall (1842–1924), in what is called the neoclassical school. The neoclassicists added to the classical doctrine allowance for relativity and change and the adoption of a marginal utility as a factor in value. They believed that a scientific law to govern economy would prevail and that man's actions should be governed by social forces that would result in a normal equilibrium. World War I and the depression brought to the fore the idea of institutionalism and universalism. Nationalism and Socialism revived many of the principles of mercantilism, with all kinds of experiments before which the individual of today stands hesitant as to which path he should follow.

Range of Solutions. There is, quite naturally, a wide variation in opinion as to the course to be followed in attempting to solve present-day problems. Many of the foremost economists believe that there are in the capitalistic system virtues that surpass anything offered by its critics. Most of the adherents of this school believe that there are many weaknesses in capitalism that should

and can be remedied. To them, effort along this line is preferable to facing the dangers and mistakes that would come with a revolutionary change. They hope for the revival of a "neoclassical school," more scientific than the former, yet possessing its basic economic principles. Historically, this reasoning is sound, but from all appearance it is the choice of the minority. Trade-unionists accept capitalism, but they attempt to raise wages through collective bargaining—a course that most capitalists believe will be destructive to the system. Socialists and syndicalists propose the complete destruction of the capitalistic system. In general, the younger economists, in their approach, have turned from philosophy to labor problems and to human legislation. They are engaged in collecting facts, observing tendencies, and diagnosing particular situations, rather than philosophizing on general principles.

Present-day Schools of Economic Thought. There are several important schools of economic thought, members of which are engaged in formulating theories for economic and social reorganization. The *value economists* (Marshall, Clark, Taussig, and Carver) regard the law of supply and demand as the basic economic principle and consider that the equilibrium between production and consumption will be governed by subjective and objective values. The *price economists* (Cassel, Fisher, and Davenport) take value for granted, consider demand and supply as price-determined quantities, and accept the quantity theory of the value of money. The *welfare economists* (Hobson, Fetter, and Pigou) disregard costs, emphasize wants of indiviudals, divorce the problems of distribution and value, and consider wages from the point of view of the welfare of laborers, rather than a wage scale determined by demand for and supply of laborers. The *institutional economists* (Veblen, Mitchell, and Tugwell) believe that, inasmuch as men are governed by instincts and are subject to customs and social institutions rather than to rational actions, statements of tendency cannot be formulated. They contend that economic life should be governed by social planning through experimentation.

Veblen occupies an important place in the development of modern economic thought. He was convinced that laissez-faire policies would not remedy the defects in an industrialized society, but he was not a revolutionist. He attempted to distinguish

between "business" and "industry." He believed that industry represents the organization of the technological ways and means by which the material wants of mankind are taken care of, while business is the attempt of individuals to obtain as large an income as circumstances permit. He assumed that collective control of industry would be necessary and demonstrated the impossibility of free competition in a machine age.

The Socialists, in general, advocate the abolition of private ownership of capital and the social control of industry as an ultimate end. They recommend rewarding individuals in some manner other than on the basis of exchange value. The Marxists present a labor-cost theory of value. The romanticists believe in an organized society under the control of the government, as a substitute for individual initiative and competition. The individual should be subordinate to the state, which is considered as an articulated organism. Money is interpreted as merely national credit, and value as a "just price," similar to the idea accepted in the Middle Ages. It is rather evident that economists are groping in the dark for a means to rescue economic stability. Many of the old theories have become obsolete and discredited. The gold standard seems to be a thing of the past, bankrupt states keep on spending with comparative ease, and some governments have repudiated their debts without completely destroying national credit.

2. PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES

Business Cycles. A long-range view of economic history reveals a succession of periods of prosperity, each of which is followed by a seemingly inevitable depression. Since the beginning of the 19th century, there have been 16 economic depressions in the United States. Professor Lightner states that, "of our one hundred thirty years as a nation, thirty-three years have been wasted in disastrous and ruinous depression and perhaps an equal number have been marked by overspending, extravagance, and waste of wealth.[1] The remainder have been years of normalcy." A leading American economist, W. C. Mitchell, wrote, "a crisis is expected to be followed by a depression, the depression by a revival, the revival by prosperity, and prosperity by a new crisis."[2] No two of the various

[1] *History of Business Depressions*, 7.

[2] *Business Cycles and Unemployment* (University of California Press), 5.

business cycles have been exactly the same in cause, intensity, duration, and effect, but they have enough in common to allow considering collectively their general characteristics.

Phases of a Business Cycle. There are four rather distinct phases in a business cycle: a period of prosperity, a period of liquidation, a period of depression, and a period of gradual recovery. The period of prosperity is marked by bold action in expansion on the part of the enterpriser. New securities flood the market and are grabbed by investors, wages gradually rise, commodity prices assume a definite trend upward, bank loans and deposits increase rapidly, interest rates rise, and there is a prevailing optimism. When this phase has run its course, the more cautious begin to retrench and purchase only goods necessary for their livelihood. This eases the demand for certain commodities, factories slow down, and workers are dismissed. The period of hesitancy is followed by one of panic. Ready cash is scarce, bargain sales are made, prices drop, securities are liquidated, and business becomes stagnant. Pessimism prevails, factories are closed or operated on part time, and the unemployed fill the bread lines. Eventually, there is a shortage of basic commodities and the wheels of industry slowly begin to turn. A demand for other commodities becomes evident and production gradually increases. Normalcy, returning slowly, re-creates optimism, and finally there is a return to another boom. Thus the business cycle continues.

Explanations. There are numerous explanations for so-called "business cycles." The *physical cause* as an explanation is based on the phenomena of nature: sun spots are said to cause crop failures and floods, which lead to business depressions. Sun spots appear approximately every 11 years—a length of time that has conformed, in a measure, to the recurrences of business slumps. The *overproduction* theory, sponsored chiefly by Socialists, contends that the glutting of markets in periods of prosperity causes depressions. They believe that too large a percentage of income goes to capitalists, who do not spend it for consumers' goods. *Self-generating* theorists maintain that each depression is the outgrowth of a preceding phase in the business cycle. Mitchell commented as follows:

> An incipient revival of activity, for example, develops into full prosperity; prosperity gradually breeds crisis; the crisis merges into depression; depression

becomes deeper for a while, but ultimately engenders a fresh revival of activity, which is the beginning of another cycle.[1]

Advocates of the self-generating theory believe that capitalism can never rid itself of business cycles, as they are inherent in the system. Furthermore, these economists contend that depressions have a wholesome effect, in that they bring about a general readjustment and cause the elimination of many evil practices.

The Depression of 1929. Great impetus to the study of business cycles resulted from the depression of 1929. In some respects, it was typical of depressions in general, but it had its own individual characteristics. It was greater in intensity and in duration than any other depression the United States had ever experienced. Furthermore, it was not confined to America, but reached practically all the industrial and commerical countries in the world. We have noted its effects in some of the European countries. The changes brought about by the depression in the United States were not so drastic as those that occurred in some other countries, but from the point of view of an American, they were revolutionary.

N.I.R.A. The Roosevelt administration, which came into power in March, 1933, after having won the election with a proposed "New Deal" program, undertook some drastic changes in the American system. The National Industrial Recovery Act (1933) attempted to end the depression by means that were a distinct departure from traditional methods. The act proposed business regulation, to enable fair competition and to provide workers with a living wage. It called for public works and for raising revenue to meet the expenses involved. Codes for fair competition were organized for industries and provision was made to refuse license for a company to operate if it violated the rules of the code. Price fixing was not specifically included, but through production supervision, indirect control over prices was possible. Child labor was prohibited, and employees were given the right to organize and bargain collectively. Minimum wages, maximum working hours, and standard trade practices were arranged for in the act. Section Three (the power of the government to fix hours and wages, and to make codes) was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court (1935) in the Schechter Poultry Corporation *v.* United States of America case.

[1] *Business Cycles* (University of California Press), 449.

Difficulties. The National Industrial Recovery Act was not given a fair chance to prove its worth before it was declared unconstitutional. Passing over the much-debated question of its constitutionality, we can make some evaluation of the experiment. It seems unlikely that any attempt that would raise costs of production and at the same time limit profits could do much to stimulate economic recovery in a capitalistic system. Profit is, after all, the main incentive in business enterprise. The adjustment of production to demand means an almost inevitable curtailment of production, for real demand grows from it. The basis of "fair competition" is exceedingly hard to determine. The act stipulated that selling below "cost of production" was unfair competition, but the determination of the costs of production for all producers proved difficult. If the government assumed this obligation, it would end a free competitive system. Even if this could be avoided, there were so many loopholes that unscrupulous manipulators could utilize that enforcement would be next to impossible.

A.A.A. The farmer was one of the most grievous sufferers from the depression of 1929. For the American farmer that depression started in 1923, five years before its weight was felt in industry. Overproduction in agriculture began to affect the world market before a similar condition existed in industry. Farm production is difficult to control, because there are more producers and each producer is more of an individualist than in most other occupations. If farmers worked harder and raised more crops, the value was thereby reduced; and if they curtailed their efforts, farm incomes tended to decrease.

The realization of this plight led to the passage of the Agricultural Adjustment Act (1933). The purpose of this act was to increase the buying power of the farmer by voluntary crop restriction, in order to raise the price of farm products. Price increases were to be achieved through a reduction of acreage and production. The Secretary of Agriculture was authorized to make marketing agreements with producers, processors, and distributors of a number of basic farm products. A tax was levied on the first domestic processing of these products. Taxes on imports of farm products might be levied, in order to protect domestic markets. Funds thus obtained were to be applied to making benefit payments to farmers who had complied with the regulations. The Supreme Court de-

clared the act unconstitutional (1936) on the ground that Congress had infringed the rights reserved to the states and had, through the authorization of the collecting of processing taxes for payment of benefits to farmers, violated the "general-welfare" clause of the Constitution.

Criticisms. The Agricultural Adjustment Act was admittedly a piece of emergency legislation, enacted to help tide the farmer over the worst part of the depression. It is a moot question whether the act was really responsible for the betterment of the financial standing of the farmer. His status continued to improve after the act was declared unconstitutional, but this does not disprove that the upturn may have been started by the effects of the act. Other conditions worked for the benefit of the farmer. Drought reduced the size of crops, and a general upturn in business increased the purchasing power of the consumer. Fundamentally, the assumption that there was overproduction in agricultural commodities cannot be substantiated. The problem was one of underconsumption, rather than one of overproduction. Crop production has not kept pace with growth in population since 1921. The secret, if it could be called a secret, is that many people did not have the funds to buy the necessities of life. The subsidizing of one class of people by taxing another is a questionable economic procedure. If this is done for one class, what is to prevent another from demanding the same thing? Carried to the extreme, this would cause national impoverishment.

C.C.C. The establishment of the Civilian Conservation Corps was another attempt to relieve an acute labor problem during the depression. Candidates for the camps were selected on a population basis; each district was given a quota. Camps were established and about 200 men were chosen for each. They were paid a base cash allowance of $30 per month, a portion of which was sent to the dependents of the men engaged. Members of the camps were put to work on various jobs, mostly in reforestation and in the prevention of soil erosion. They planted 1,000,000,000 trees in national forests, constructed over 3,000,000 check dams, treated 3,800,000 acres in soil-erosion control work, and built more than 85,000 miles of truck trails and minor roads. This is a phase of American economy that has been sadly neglected. The

whole plan was a godsend to over 2,000,000 boys who were unfortunate victims of the depression. The illiterate were taught to read and write and special courses were provided for those interested in preparing for some trade. Approximately 60 per cent of all the boys affiliated with C.C.C. camps took some kind of special course to fit them for an occupation.

Public Works. President Roosevelt saw the possibility of providing incomes by increasing the amount of productive work. The Civil Works Administration distributed money to local authorities to put men in the neighborhood to work. In less than a month, the C.W.A. had 4,000,000 men on the pay roll, necessitating the expenditure of $50,000,000 a week. This was too expensive and a Public Works Administration was organized. The P.W.A. was criticized also as being too costly, and most of the work done yielded no return to the government. The Tennessee Valley Authority was an exception. In May, 1933, an enactment gave the government authority "to improve the navigability and the flood control of the Tennessee River; to provide for the reforestation and the proper use of marginal lands in the Tennessee Valley; to provide for the agricultural and industrial development of said valley; to provide for the national defense by the creation of a corporation for the operation of government properties at and near Muscle Shoals." Results were encouraging and great improvements were made. There was considerable opposition from private electro-power corporations but the Supreme Court decided in favor of T.V.A. in a test case. Many are fearful that private business may be hindered by further expansion of such government projects.

Future of the National Recovery Program. The national recovery program in the United States did not have a very impressive record. Many of the mistakes were due to the hasty manner in which the projects were introduced and executed. However, a carefully planned long-range program has possibilities of success. It seems altogether possible that some such program, at least in part, may be necessary in the future. There is a danger in trying to carry the idea too far. Political democracy and freedom of enterprise are jeopardized in regimentation. The two principles are incompatible and one must give way to the other.

State Ownership. There have been several successful experiments in state-owned and state-controlled industries other than the extreme practice of Communism. Sweden has demonstrated the utility of state control of forests. Forests have been conserved and a good profit is realized by the state from the industry. Mines are carefully supervised by the government in Sweden, water power is under state control, and rural electrification has progressed rapidly. Several states control railroads, in whole or in part. State monopolies have been established for the control of such items as liquor and tobacco. State liquor control in Sweden has been effective, both from the point of view of profit and in the curtailment of excessive consumption. The amount of liquor that a person may purchase depends upon his position in life and upon his conduct. Passbooks are given out that state the amount the holder may purchase; if the customer misuses intoxicants, the passbook is recalled. There were 62,519 books issued in 1930, and it was found necessary to revoke only 5,975. Government control of the post-office system has been successful in most countries, and there are many who believe that extension of the power of the state in such matters is a logical solution to many economic problems.

Government Activity in Economic Life. The general trend, over the last two decades, has been in the direction of increased government interference in economic life. General economic chaos following World War I was the underlying cause for the trend. Aggressive nationalism and class struggle invited increased government control. The desire to build up the nation's economy in preparation for war gave statesmen an excuse to control the nation's resources. The struggle between capital and labor and the threat of revolution led to state intervention. The totalitarian powers went the full way to economic control and, to a lesser extent, the democracies have followed. "Economic planning" became the order of the day. Governmental planning commissions were created and experts were herded together to give rulers technical information. Business concerns were brought together in trade associations, so that governmental orders could be executed. The imminence of war was largely responsible for the trend. Previous wars have demonstrated the necessity for such action. However, one should bear in mind that the trend was well under way before war clouds darkened the horizon.

3. COOPERATIVES

An Old Idea Reintroduced. The economic changes and the proposals for change to which we have referred are all, more or less, based upon the belief in the necessity of a fundamental change in existing systems. The experiments in Russia, Italy, and Germany, and, to a certain extent, the New Deal in the United States were steps toward regimentation, the elimination of competition, and the expansion of government control. They threaten to destroy capitalism and democracy and to take a course quite different from the whole trend and development that states have pursued for centuries. One decided exception to this generalization can be found in the cooperative movement. Cooperatives are not new; they have existed, in one form or another, as long as there has been organized society. The cooperative idea is not revolutionary or destructive. It does not call for totalitarianism, as do Communism and Fascism; it does not aim at a state monopoly; it tolerates many of the principles of capitalism, and it is flexible enough to meet the individual needs of different localities. The cooperative system does not call for an autocratic control of production and prices by the central government, but it does provide for a democratic administration in which the people—both producer and consumer—are permitted to participate.

Definition and Aim. The organization, the method, and the objectives of cooperatives are extremely simple. They substitute group for individual action in the production and distribution of economic goods, and they aim to maintain quality in articles produced and low prices for the benefit of the entire consuming population. They emphasize production for use rather than for private profit. Dr. J. P. Warbasse defines a cooperative as

> . . . a voluntary association in which the people organize democratically to supply their needs through mutual action, and in which the motive of production and distribution is service, not profit. In the cooperative movement the ultimate tendency is toward the creation of a social structure capable of supplanting both profit-making industry and the compulsory political state.[1]

Cooperatives declare war on no organization or idea except the middleman and the wastes of a competitive system. In place of destroying capitalism, they aim to halt its excesses, to prevent

[1] Warbasse, *Cooperative Democracy* (Harper), 7.

extravagant monopoly and too much concentration of wealth—tendencies by which capitalism tends to destroy itself. Capitalism and monarchism still exist in Sweden, where cooperatives are well advanced and where both have "worked."

Early History. Robert Owen experimented with cooperative projects at Harmony in England, and in the United States at New Harmony, Indiana. An Equitable Labor Exchange, a store in which persons could deposit anything they made and receive for it paper money in accordance with the number of hours of labor they put into a commodity, was established in London in 1832. Every article wa exchangeable for any other articles of equal labor value in the s ore. The idea created considerable interest, but it lasted only two years. The first successful cooperative movement in England (1844) was the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers. Twenty-eight weavers invested £1 each and organized a store. The money was used to buy flour, oatmeal, butter, sugar, and other staple commodities, to be sold to members of the society. The goods were sold at regular market prices and at quarterly intervals a division of profit was made in proportion to the amount of the purchases. The success of the venture was immediate. At the end of the first year, there were 74 members, £187 in capital, and profits amounting to £22. Other similar organizations were formed. Societies were established in Oldham (where there were 3,000 members in 1860), Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and in other cities. In 1863, there were 454 cooperatives, with 8,000 members, doing an annual business of about £300,000. Varieties in types of business increased with the number of cooperatives. A bakery, a tailoring establishment, and a brush factory were established, in addition to cooperatives dealing in groceries, cloth, meat, millinery, and shoes. The Wholesale Cooperative Society was formed in 1864, in Manchester. The shareholders formed retail cooperative societies that supplied the capital and controlled the policies of the organization. Purchasing agents were scattered over the entire world. The society ran a cracker factory, a boot and shoe factory, a clothing factory, a cocoa plant, and a steamship company, besides operating a bank.

Basic Principles. Most cooperatives have followed the basic principles of the Rochdale Pioneers. Briefly, these are voluntary open membership; democratic control (each member has one vote, regardless of the number of shares held); capital invested to be

given interest of not more than the legal rate; goods to be sold at current market prices, not cost; and all earnings, after an amount is set aside for education and expansion, to be given the customers as a patronage fund. Nonmembers were permitted to buy at the cooperative store, but only members could share in the profits.

Production, Credit, and Profit Sharing. Experiments in cooperative production were begun in England about 1850. They tried to bring about a combination of employer and employee to settle mutual problems. The workmen were members of the company, drew wages, and divided the net profit. By 1882, there were 163 productive societies in England, but most of them did not last. Insufficiency of capital, lack of good management, and eagerness to expand too rapidly were causes for most of the failures. Credit cooperatives were formed in many countries, especially for buying land and for building. The general plan was for people to take shares and to pay into the treasury a certain sum each month. The members who did not borrow received a dividend. Borrowers and lenders became members of the same group. Members could get loans more easily than by going into the open market.

Cooperatives in Great Britain. Cooperatives have made great headway in Great Britain. Several organizations backed them, the most significant being the Christian Socialists, led by Maurice, Kingsley, Hughes, and Ludlow. The Cooperative Union was formed in 1869, for the purpose of education, propaganda, and protection. Membership in English cooperatives represents almost one-half of the entire population of England. The London Cooperative Society has a membership of 575,000 and its sales for 1935 amounted to £11,817,000. Manufacturing plants of the societies in Great Britain produced goods worth £73,900,000 in 1929. The Coöperative Wholesale Society owns thousands of acres of land throughout the British Empire, upon which tea, wheat, and vegetables are grown. Factories that produce soap, furniture, canned foods, and textiles are owned. The largest flour mill and the largest biscuit plant in Great Britain are the property of the cooperatives. The whole operation is financed by the Cooperative Wholesale Bank and its many branches.

Swedish Cooperatives. Sweden has made greater progress in the establishment and the successful operation of cooperatives than has any other country. Swedish cooperatives were begun on the

basis of the Rochdale scheme, but from the beginning, they emphasized the necessity of destroying monopolies and of operating independent of government intervention. The Swedish Cooperative Union was formed in 1899 and, for a time, it had a very slow growth. In 1904, the wholesale turnover amounted to only $75,000. The first task in Sweden (this is incidentally true in all countries) was to make the idea of cooperatives popular. Consequently, propa-

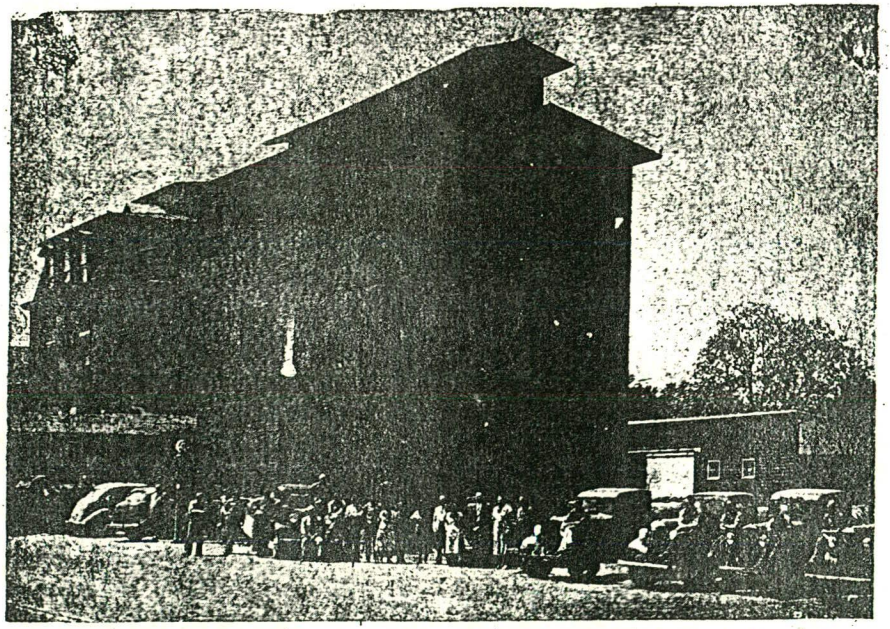


FIG. 51.—Parke County Farm Bureau Cooperative Association in Rockville, Indiana. Sales for this organization from Oct. 1, 1943, to Mar. 31, 1944, amounted to $447,075.17.

ganda has been one of the major activities of Swedish cooperatives. They do not paint a picture of a Utopia that they hope to build, but tell the people in plain language how they can save money in such necessities as bread, galoshes, housing, light bulbs, automobile tires, electricity, and insurance.

In 1935, more than 20 per cent of the retail and wholesale trade and about 10 per cent of all manufacture in Sweden was done through cooperatives. Over one-third of the householders in Sweden belong to cooperative societies. Low-cost housing is one of the greatest achievements of Swedish cooperatives. Whole towns have been constructed on a scientific basis, and workmen

with moderate salaries have been provided with homes that they can afford. It has been estimated that 15 per cent of the people in Stockholm live in houses built and financed by cooperative organizations. The new homes are modern in every respect, convenient, beautiful, and inexpensive.

Cooperatives in the United States. Cooperatives are just beginning to make headway in the United States. They have been

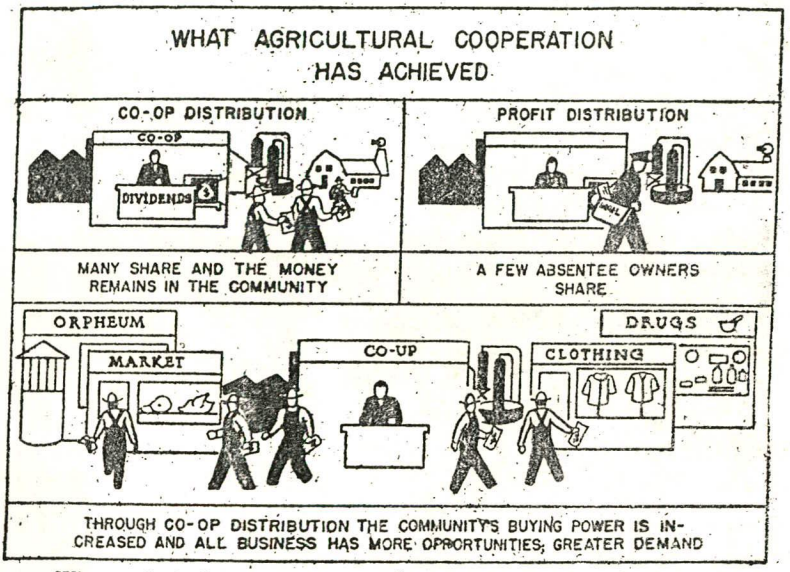


FIG. 52.—What Agricultural Cooperation has achieved. (*Graphic Institute for Cooperative League of U.S.A.*)

held back largely because of competition from mail-order houses, chain stores, and extensive installment selling by privately owned business concerns. The economic depression of 1929 was a boon to American cooperatives. Cooperative associations were established by unemployed groups, sometimes through aid given by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. The chief centers for cooperatives in the United States are in the North Central and the New England states. The Nothern States Coöperative League has about 50,000 members and the Eastern League has about 13,000 members. The Franklin Cooperative Creamery Association of Minneapolis handles products valued at $3,500,000 yearly. The Cooperative Wholesale of Wisconsin had sales amounting to over $2,000,000 in 1935.

The cooperative idea seems to be popular in agricultural states. Farmers have made substantial savings through cooperative buying of farm machinery, commercial fertilizers, oil, and seeds. Success in these fields has led to experimenting in banking and medical cooperatives, funeral services, marketing, and housing. The cooperative movement appears to be spreading rapidly in the United States.

International Cooperatives. International cooperatives are beginning to attract considerable attention. The first effort along this line was the establishment of the Scandinavian Cooperative Wholesale during World War I. The cooperatives of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark found it advisable to pool their interests for importing goods. In different parts of the world, they established buying centers where they bought coffee, grain, rice, fruits, margarine oils, bacon, and sirup. This was found profitable and has been continued. In 1931, the Scandinavian cooperatives began the manufacture of electric bulbs. They were able to reduce the price from 37 cents to 22 cents and, even at the lower price, can produce better bulbs. They have gone into the oil-refining business and into the manufacturing of cash registers. Early in March, 1937, the Consumers' Coöperative Association in America shipped a carload of lubricating oil, the third within a year, to the Scottish Cooperative Wholesale Society in Glasgow. Oil has been shipped by the same concern to France and Estonia.

The International Cooperative Alliance in Paris (fall, 1937) held a congress that was attended by 500 delegates, representing about 100,000,000 members of various cooperatives all over the world. They decided to set up an International Coöperative Purchasing Agency, in order to pool the purchases of the many national cooperative wholesale associations. An educational program was launched through the creation of an international youth cooperative, in order to teach the philosophy of the movement. International cooperatives seem likely to succeed and may be the means of ironing out many of the complicated problems that exist between states.

Estimate. The complete success of cooperatives remains very much in doubt, but their possibilities are great. The orderly procedure and the evolutionary character of the whole movement are appealing to peace-loving individuals who hesitate to throw

tradition overboard entirely. Cooperatives do lower the costs of living and help to raise the social plane of the common man. As the system is not foolproof, many have failed. One danger is the lack of skillful administration. It takes an unusual individual to handle other people's money and do it ethically and successfully. One of the secrets of the success of Swedish cooperatives was in the outstanding qualities of Albin Johansson, president and managing director. He has shown unusual ability and has worked for years at a nominal salary. Such men are not always available.

Too rapid expansion is a common weakness. Success in a limited field often leads to larger undertakings, which cannot always be properly managed. Some have grown so fast that they have become unwieldy and, being poorly managed, they have failed miserably. Nevertheless, the idea has spread very rapidly. The average annual business of consumer cooperatives in Czechoslovakia before the war amounted to nearly $100,000,000; in Denmark to about $63,000,000; and in France to $233,000,000. In Denmark, the producers' cooperatives control 85 per cent of the export of bacon, 49 per cent of the export in butter, and 39 per cent of the import of fertilizer. Briefly, the accomplishments include reduction in costs of retailing, promotion of thrift, control of monopoly, improvement in labor standards, and a better morale among members of the consuming public.

4. WARTIME ECONOMY

As the war became global in its scope, the economic and social problems became world wide, varying in intensity, but always far reaching in scope. One of the most crucial issues was production. Food, armaments, transportation, etc., loomed as tremenduous obstacles. The totalitarian economy of the Axis Powers, which was in use for some time before 1939, put them far ahead in material preparation for the war.

The rapid conquest of almost all Europe by Germany, and of the Central and South Pacific by Japan, deprived the Allies of many important commodities and placed untold wealth in the hands of the Axis Powers. Germany, by 1943, had most of the great industrial plants of Europe operating exclusively for her and under her direct supervision. Every insurance company, every foreign exchange, and every bank was seized. Even the industrial

output of neutrals, like Spain, Switzerland, Sweden, and Turkey, were geared to support Nazi economy. The universal confiscation of all usable goods in the occupied countries gave Germany huge stocks. Even in wartime, many German people were enjoying luxuries that they had not had in peacetime. The United States Board of Economic Warfare estimated that Nazi loot had more than paid for all war costs incurred by Germany from 1933 to 1939 ($36,000,000,000)

Fortunately for the rest of the world, there were certain basic weaknesses in the Axis economic system. In the first place, Germany and Japan both gambled on a short war, and their plans were made to promote a quick and decisive attack. When this failed to crush all opposition, weaknesses began to appear. Transportation was a major difficulty. Japan had a battlefront of more than 5,000 miles and an insufficient merchant marine to supply the far-flung fronts. Although Germany controlled the intricate system of transportation in Europe, it had to bear the brunt of Allied air attacks. Deliberate Allied thrusts at roundhouses, repair shops, freight yards, and junctions caused Nazi generals many headaches. The Allied blockade also deprived Germany of some necessary commodities, such as gasoline and oil. Time worked in favor of the enemies of the Nazis. As the war dragged on, year after year, a man-power shortage began to develop. Laborers were brought in from conquered countries, but many of them deliberately obstructed efficiency wherever possible.

When war had broken out, the Allied countries had been woefully unprepared. Their military machinery was both out of date and deficient in quantity. Industrial activity was far below par, still suffering from the deteriorating effects of the depression. Even Russia, with her totalitarian economic setup, needed outside help. The British managed to bring their industrial system to high-speed production, in spite of the German air attacks. With all due respect to efforts of our allies, the United States had to become "the arsenal of democracy." The transformation of our industrial system from creaking activity in the prewar period to full-scale output in 1943 was a tremendous task. This necessitated not only stepping up production, but conversion from peacetime commodities to war goods, as well. For example, the automotive industry changed the setup of the factories and produced war commodities

four times greater in value than what had been done before. In 1943, more than 90,000,000 tons of steel were produced in American mills.

Economic Problems Other than Production. Economic factors are fundamental in the promotion of war effort. To produce the great amount of material needed in modern warfare puts a terrific strain on any country. However, the production of articles for war constitutes only a part of the general economic problem. As a rule, the whole economic system is disrupted and many dangers and annoyances occur.

One of the greatest threats to be met in a war economy is that of inflation. When a war boom increases civilian purchasing power, there is a corresponding decrease in the amount of civilian goods. For example, automobiles, radios, and refrigerators were no longer being produced, after factories that had manufactured these items were converted for the production of war materials. The general tendency is toward a rise in price as buyers compete for a commodity. If, for any reason, in a production-consumption cycle, the producers get back more money than was paid out in production, inflation may prevail. If the government spends more than it collects in taxes, the remaining surplus purchasing power remains in the hands of the public. This constitutes what may be called the *inflationary surplus*. Inflationary pressure will tend to increase as long as there is a steadily mounting inflationary surplus, on the one hand, and a decreasing quantity of goods and services available for purchase, on the other.

Effort to Control Inflation. Inflation is one of the most destructive enemies of an orderly economic system. A rapid rise in prices undermines the economic security of people who have fixed incomes and accumulated savings. Furthermore, inflation results in an inefficient distribution of consumer goods when the supply is limited. This imposes a particular hardship on laborers. Workers are very sensitive to an increase in prices and demand higher wages, and that helps to accentuate the inflationary trend.

There are two principal ways of carrying out inflation control, the more effective being to increase taxes. Naturally, in a democracy especially, there is disagreement as to what form taxation should take. Labor would tax corporations and large incomes, but would oppose the imposition of pay-roll taxes. Corporation man-

agers would be inclined to take the opposite point of view. Government bond sales are intended to supplement the tax program by absorbing the inflationary surplus that is in the hands of the consumer.

The second recognized means of controlling inflation is through price control. This necessitates interference with the established system of money economy, which normally distributes goods according to purchasing power. Consumers can no longer bid against one another for the possession of scarce commodities. Distribution, consequently, must be controlled by rationing on the basis of prescribed rules.

Both of these measures, particularly the latter, constitute only temporary barriers against powerful inflationary forces. Political pressure from such groups as organized labor and agriculture blocks are likely to break down government restrictions. All this is a part of the bigger problem of government interference, which is a hotly contested issue.

Postwar Economic Problems. The transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy always has proved to be a most difficult task. Factories that were converted from peacetime functions to the making of implements of war have to be reconverted for producing commodities for civilian use. War production in many commodities will have been far in excess of what is needed for consumption during peace. Also, for certain articles there is sure to be a "backlog of demand" that will exceed the amount available. The forces back of inflation operate long after the fighting has stopped.

The absorption of the millions of men released from various branches of service into gainful occupation presents a major economic problem. To this group must be added workers released from wartime industries after such plants have been closed. Part of these may be absorbed into new industries and into older industries that are expanding, but the two never seem exactly to coordinate. The period of transition, even under the most favorable conditions, produces many hardships.

In contrast to conditions in wartime, peace brings about far-reaching facilities for producing goods, with a greatly restricted capacity for buying the commodities that can be produced. If the entire national income were spent either for consumption goods or for productive equipment, the problem would cease to be acute.

People acting in accordance with individual interests do not take an inclusive point of view. Some hoard a part of the money that passes through their hands. This is due, in some degree, to the lack of opportunity for investments. A recent trend is for the government to provide opportunities for people to invest their funds. This leads directly to continued government regulation and moves further and further away from laissez-faire economy.

The National Debt. War invariably saddles any participating nation with heavy indebtedness. The national debt of the United States at the conclusion of World War II was in the neighborhood of $250,000,000,000. The annual cost of the carrying charge of this sum is in excess of the entire federal budget of 1940. Price inflation might easily be the result, although not inevitably. Price controls, rationing, high taxes, and the sale of government bonds are counteracting influences. The real crux is the amount of the productive capacity existing after war is over and the extent of demand for the commodities.

III. SOCIETY AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

1. GREAT SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE 20TH CENTURY

Poverty. Social problems are, from necessity, closely associated with economic conditions. In modern society, the social position of the individual is determined by his economic status. Men who have wealth are able to purchase the necessities of life, but unfortunately a large percentage of the population is deprived of this privilege. By far the greater part of the group is dependent upon an income that does not permit the purchase of necessities of life. So long as an individual can hold his job there is no particular cause for alarm, but sickness, old age, and unemployment are nightmares to the average individual. In the midst of the "economy of abundance," absurd as it may seem, there is suffering and privation. While farmers were using wheat as fuel in Kansas because there was no market for it, people were on the verge of starvation in some of the large cities.

Poverty, which has been a persistent economic maladjustment and has furnished one of the chief causes for social unrest and revolution, is a chronic and, at the same time, an acute problem of economic society. In 1904, it was estimated that poverty in the large industrial cities rarely fell below 25 per cent. Recent census

reports indicate that the number of dependents in the United States who are in institutions amounts to almost 1,000,000. During the depression, dependents outside institutions amounted to several millions. The consequences of this condition are devastating. Morale is lowered, disease increases because of undernourishment, crime is more prevalent, family ties are broken because of loss of homes, and the general social order is threatened. A great amount of time and money is being spent on the scientific study of poverty, in the hope that some solution other than almsgiving may be found.

Crime. Crime is just as persistent and, seemingly, just as uncontrollable as poverty. In fact, relationship between the two is close. There always have been criminals. Crime is as old as human society. The discouraging thing is that there has been no consistent abatement in it, along with general progress in other lines. In fact, some contend that this evil is growing worse. Modern science is called in to help combat criminals, but at the same time criminals are using science to further their nefarious practices. Modern firearms, transportation, and large cities have increased crime and have made criminals more difficult to detect. There are many causes for crime. Poverty has driven men to desperate acts; greed and adventure have lured others into illegal practices; and poor home environments have trained youngsters in criminal activities. Emotional strain, leading to mental derangement, has been responsible for many violations of law. Alcohol and drugs are concomitants of crime. Years ago, the Italian, Lombroso, contended that crime was due, in many cases, to a biological reversion to a savage type.

The criminal presents a difficult social problem. The attempt to enforce law constitutes one of the greatest activities of the government. The estimated cost of crime in the United States in 1924 was $5,000,000,000. The question as to what should be done with the criminal after detection and conviction is still unsolved. The ancient theory of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" was superseded by imprisonment and isolation of criminals in more recent times. Many people believe, however, that a prison sentence is futile, as prisons are often overcrowded and youngsters are confined with desperate criminals. When a criminal has served his prison sentence, is he improved enough to be turned out into society? The number of those released who drift back into criminal

practices is appalling. Modern science may come to the rescue. Prison conditions have been improved and there has been some progress in the classification of criminals. Notable advance has been made in the treatment of those who are young; especially noteworthy was the work of Judge Lindsey. Perhaps our criminal law and method of judicial procedure are partly responsible for lack of progress. Former Chief Justice Taft once said:

> The administration of criminal law in the United States is a disgrace to civilization . . . . The trial of a criminal seems like a game of chance with all the chances in favor of the criminal, and if he escapes, he seems to have the sympathy of the sporting public.[1]

Crime is international as well as national in character. War is one of the worst crimes and the criminals responsible for war are hard to convict until it is too late. Aside from war, there is an international aspect to many crimes and their prevention. The counterfeiting of currency, traffic in women and children, and the sale of narcotics are controlled, in many instances, by international banditry. The framers of the League of Nations recognized the significance of this problem and set up means of controlling it. The failure of the League ended the undertaking, but the need for such action is obvious.

Disease. The battle to combat diseases is still raging, with the scientists gradually gaining ground. While the outcome seems hopeful, there is still room for concern. Man is subject to many diseases that are unknown while a more primitive state of society existed. Dr. Thomas Parran, Jr., Surgeon General of the United States, shocked the nation with information concerning the extent and devastating effects of venereal diseases in the United States. If the statistics are reliable, ours is one of the most afflicted countries in the world. Infant mortality has decreased, but the death rate among adults of middle and old age has not been materially reduced in the last half century. Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman, consulting statistician of the Biochemical Foundation of the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia, announced that there had been a decided increase in the death rate from cancer since 1916. The death rate from that disease per 100,000 of population in the United States from 1916 to 1920 was 81.6; from 1921 to 1925 it was 89; from

[1] *Reports of the American Bar Association*, XLVIII, 416.

1926 to 1930 it was 96; and from 1931 to 1935 it was 103.6. In 1944, the number was increased to 129. Death from heart disease, for the same year, was 315 and from tuberculosis 41 per 100,000 population.

Excellent hospitals exist, and there are numbers of well-trained doctors and nurses. In this country, 1,500,000 persons devote either all or a large part of their time to medical service. We have 7,000 hospitals and 132,000 pharmacists. The American people spend $4,000,000,000 annually for medical service. Nevertheless, for economic reasons many people are deprived of adequate medical care. Dr. Michael M. Davis, after an extensive study in 12 communities, declared that from 25 to 30 per cent of the relatively serious cases of sickness had no physician's care. Not only that, but many doctors are underpaid. Their expenses for equipment and for supplies, to say nothing about the time and money needed for schooling, are enormous. Nevertheless, it was estimated that, as late as 1929, one-third of all private practitioners had a net income below $2,500. This phenomenon well deserves serious consideration.

2. THE SOCIAL OUTLOOK

Dole. From the evidence presented it must be obvious that a large percentage of the population is far from being in a position of security or, for that matter, even of comfort. The unfortunate, for some time, were cared for through voluntary aid in one form or another. In more recent times, the government has started giving aid by drawing on the national treasury. In many respects, this is an improvement over voluntary contributions, but it presents difficulties. The party in power gives aid, many times unjustly, in order to win political support. Politicians always hesitate to withdraw aid for fear of loss of votes. Furthermore, what is most important, living on a dole has a bad effect on the individual. No intelligent or industrious individual can look forward to accepting indefinitely such support. He will, at the first opportunity, seek gainful employment; but for the shiftless, here is an escape from working. It seems altogether likely that, even with the return of normal conditions, a large number will still be in need of aid. This is a distinct threat against our social order and it presents a rather dark picture for the future.

Leisure Time. With changing conditions that provide more and more time for leisure, there develops an extensive problem of how best to direct the attention of people to harmless and constructive recreation. The wealthy have money to buy whatever form of amusement they choose. However, their choice is not always intelligently made. Luxurious living frequently results in immorality, injustice, and loss of the sense of duty. If leisure time is utilized in raising the standards of living, in establishing higher ideals, and in creating a will to approximate them, then it is a blessing and an impulse to progress. The crux of the problem rests in the lower stratum of society, among people who do not have the money to buy amusement. An individual in such a condition may be a burden to himself and to society. Too often, his time is wasted for the very lack of something worth while to do, and he may conceivably drift into crime and unwholesome activities. Depressions have shown the working of such a condition. Public libraries and amusement centers have been taxed to the limit to meet the demand placed upon them. Here is something that requires much intelligent study.

The Home. The outlook for social idealism is somewhat darkened by the gradual loss in prestige of the family as a major social institution. From time immemorial, the family has been the nucleus of social control, but there is reason for doubt as to whether it still performs that function. This may be accounted for, in part, by the social adjustment that often has taken the wife from the home to enter the industrial field; in part, by the fact that home life no longer furnishes the source of amusement that it did before the time of the motion picture, the automobile, and other forms of modern entertainment. For many, the home is merely a place for sleep. Meals are taken in public houses, and evenings are spent in some other spot than by the fireside in the home, if there is a fireside. Many children are no longer under the careful supervision of parents, and husband and wife may see each other at infrequent intervals. To this state of affairs may be attributed many evils: increase in divorce, adultery, crime, intemperance, and poverty. If the home is to cease playing the important role that it has filled for centuries, something must be devised to take its place.

Racial Bias. Racial conflict persists, in spite of numerous efforts to suppress it. In certain respects, it has become even more

accentuated. Some states—Germany for example—have flaunted racial superiority and proposed subjection of so-called "inferior" races. Racial conflict is frequently the result of economic competition. When an alien group in a state manages to forge ahead economically, racial antagonism is often encouraged to suppress it. Throughout centuries, the Jews have been victimized in many countries because of their ability to compete with native populations. Economic progress in Japan was responsible for much of the anti-Japanese feeling in the United States prior to the war. As long as an alien group is economically subjected, widespread racial controversy is uncommon. Some predict that, if the American Negro reaches the place where he is a serious competitor to the white man, antagonism against him will increase. Much racial prejudice is due to misunderstanding. Racial superiority, so often the excuse given for racial bias, is questionable.

Government Interference. Closely related to government control over economic activities is the acceptance of the responsibility for social welfare. One of the main arguments for government control of economic activities is for the betterment of social conditions among the masses. The totalitarian powers were loud in their acclaim of this. The results are questionable and the motives are usually selfish. However, such efforts do have some worth-while assets. In the democratic countries, the trends are the same, yet milder. President Roosevelt often spoke of the "forgotten man" and advocated social insurance, as well as public works. The Social Securities Act (January, 1937) included services for various categories of poverty and child welfare, to be operated jointly by federal and state governments. Annuities for workers retiring at the age of 65, based on a tax to be paid by employers and employees, were provided. Each state was asked to set up its own scheme for unemployment insurance.

The Wagner Act. A National Labor Relations Board to handle disputes between employer and employee was created under the Wagner Act (1935). Employees had the right to organize trade unions, to bargain collectively through their own representatives, and to take concerted action for their own protection. The great increase in the number of strikes cannot be attributed entirely to the effects of the Wagner Act. Two basic factors, the reaction against restrictions and discipline prevailing during the war period and the rapid rise of unions in strength and numbers, must be

considered an integral part of the problem. Clever labor leaders have seen an opportunity to drive a hard bargain because of the shortage of labor. They are fully aware of a weakened position, if and when a depression should come. The rise in the cost of living has led to demand for higher wages. Living costs have undermined most, if not all, of the increased wages won by workers since 1939. Labor leaders have sponsored the establishment of an annual wage and the creation of a board consisting of representatives of industry, of labor, and of government to consider the whole problem. The main strength of the argument against this is free economy, without government interference.

Meanwhile, serious strikes occurred or were threatened. A strike involving railway workers was narrowly averted, while a coal strike succeeded in paralyzing the nation. The government interfered in both cases, but court action against the miners' union and John L. Lewis was necessary. Both Lewis and the union were condemned and fined and the Supreme Court upheld the decision.

The Republican victory in the fall elections (1946) changed considerably the status of organized labor. Senators Taft of Ohio, Ball of Minnesota, and Smith of New Jersey presented a labor program that was approved by the Senate Republican Conference (Jan. 4, 1947). It recommended the establishment of a balance between legal rights and responsibilities of employers and employees and unions in labor relations, and other means of trying to lessen the number of strikes that interfere with commerce. Besides, a practical and sound solution for the industry-wide shut-downs that have a paralyzing effect on our economy should be provided.

Several changes in the form of legislative proposals will be considered, including new federal mediation machinery: the overhauling of the National Labor Relations Act; amendment of the Norris-La Guardia Act; the forbidding of complusory membership in unions; and provision of standards regarding finances, strike votes, etc., for unions; compulsory adjudication of major disputes; and the enactment of a new antimonopoly statute to apply to labor relations. This is a big program—one that will have a profound effect on the whole problem of labor if it is adopted.

Labor Trends. Labor problems and attempts to solve them have not been confined to the United States. The Beveridge Plan (1942) in England has attracted considerable attention. The people,

according to the proposal, are to be guaranteed a minimum subsistence "from the cradle to the grave." Some specific recommendations were (1) $11.20 a week unemployment insurance, (2) the same amount for nonindustrial disability, (3) $8 a week for old-age pensions, (4) a comprehensive medical service for all citizens. A further impetus for a program of socialization in England came with victory for the Labor party in the 1946 elections. Special attention was given to government control of coal mines. Shortage of labor, a lack of funds, and an unusually severe winter (1946–1947) have retarded progress, if they have not actually jeopardized the whole program.

Wartime experience has made the workingman conscious of his political power. In many places he is entering politics, where his power is recognized by all factions and by all governments. Roughly, two types of ideologies, represented geographically in Russia and in the United States, have appeared. The American AFL tends to shun direct political action, while the Russian approach tends to become a single organization directed through politics. The CIO Political Action Committee in the United States strives to gain votes for "approved" candidates. The Labor party in Britain has guaranteed the observance of labor's rights in national affairs. Labor groups are strong in most countries in Europe, where in many instances organized labor holds the balance of power. Evidence of the power of organized labor in international affairs is shown in the World Federation of Trade Unions, claiming a membership of 70,000,000 in 56 countries.

IV. INTELLECTUAL PROGRESS

1. EDUCATION

Importance. Education continues to be the principal hope to promoting progress. The success of most progressive ideas, embodying every phase of life, depends upon an intelligent citizen body to make them practicable. Lack of understanding on the part of the people has ruined the chances of success of many splendid plans. In the words of Henry George,

> Social reform is not to be secured by noise and shouting; by complaints and denunciations, by formation of parties, or the making of revolutions; but by the awakening of thought and the progress of ideas. Until there be correct thought,

there cannot be right action; and when there is correct thought, right action will follow.

A New Field. Educational policy in the present century has continued in the same general trends that were started in the earlier period. The utilitarian view persists, but there is evidence of a growing criticism of too much emphasis along this line. Norman Foerster summarized the problem as follows:

> Giving primary attention to students less and less fit for liberal studies, letting down the bars to more and more young people only for quick vocational success, devising courses and fixing standards dictated by the mass of students indifferent to scholarship and culture, adequately providing only for techniques and specialisms, establishing in the faculty a growing cynicism as to the pertinence of high ideals in a state university, the college of liberal arts has come perilously near to abdicating its function.[1]

Mr. Foerster did not recommend the restoration of the old classical curriculum but proposed increased emphasis on mathematics, natural sciences, history, literature, and philosophy and religion. A feeling is current among many educators that too much of a break exists between the end of a college course and the entrance upon everyday experiences that a student faces when he leaves the hall of learning. The idealism that most educators try to implant in their students is suddenly supplanted by the stern realism found in the practice of most professions. The existence of this condition does not necessitate a revolutionary change, either in the schools or in the professions, but it does raise the question as to whether a richer and fuller life might not be enjoyed by most people if something on the order of supervised learning could be continued for the student after he leaves school and for the less fortunate who do not have educational opportunities. Training for professional work in adult education is important, but training in cultural subjects is still more valuable. Adult education should stimulate a widening of the horizons of life through personal satisfaction in mental and spiritual development, instead of merely increasing proficiency and earning power.

Need for Adult Education. Adult education is not new, but in recent years it has taken on an increased significance. We have noted how some of the European dictatorships (Russian, Italian,

[1] N. Foerster, *The American State University: Its Relation to Democracy* (University of North Carolina Press).

and German) have utilized postschool courses in order to discipline the people. The purpose and the results of these experiments are questionable from the liberal point of view, but their effectiveness is established beyond doubt. Dictators were not interested in developing a high culture but in inducing submissiveness and in the glorification of a point of view. It is strange, but nevertheless true, that democracies have taken little advantage of the opportunities provided in adult education. In a democracy, more than in any other form of government, the people should be informed. Perhaps this is one reason for the disappointing degree of success attained by democracy

Cooperatives and Adult Education. The Scandinavian countries have used a form of adult education in connection with their cooperative movement. Bishop Grundtvig (d. 1872), the great Danish educator and patriot, established the Danish Folk High School, a school for adults, for the purpose of teaching the people an appreciation of their heritage and to draw the most from the life in the midst of which they found themselves. The teacher was to live and work with the people, but at the same time was to serve in the important role of intellectual guide. In Denmark, there were 60 folk high schools, with an enrollment of 6,400 students. It is estimated that one-third of the farming population has taken courses either in the folk high school or in the continuation or evening schools of Denmark. Courses are offered in great variety. Practical subjects (animal husbandry, domestic science, handicrafts, and cooperative management) and general cultural subjects (history, literature, and economics) receive most attention. The Coöperative Union (*Kooperativa Förbundet*) in Sweden accepted adult education as a part of the program. The purpose of the study groups formed in connection with the cooperatives was essentially to spread propaganda in favor of cooperatives, but they have done more than that. They publish a weekly newspaper (*Konsumenbladet*) and furnish various materials and literature for those who are interested. There are approximately 15,000 such study groups in Sweden.

Adult Education in the United States. For a long time, adult education has been carried on in the United States, in one form or another. Extension courses, home-study courses, and Chautauquas have been in operation for a number of years. Public

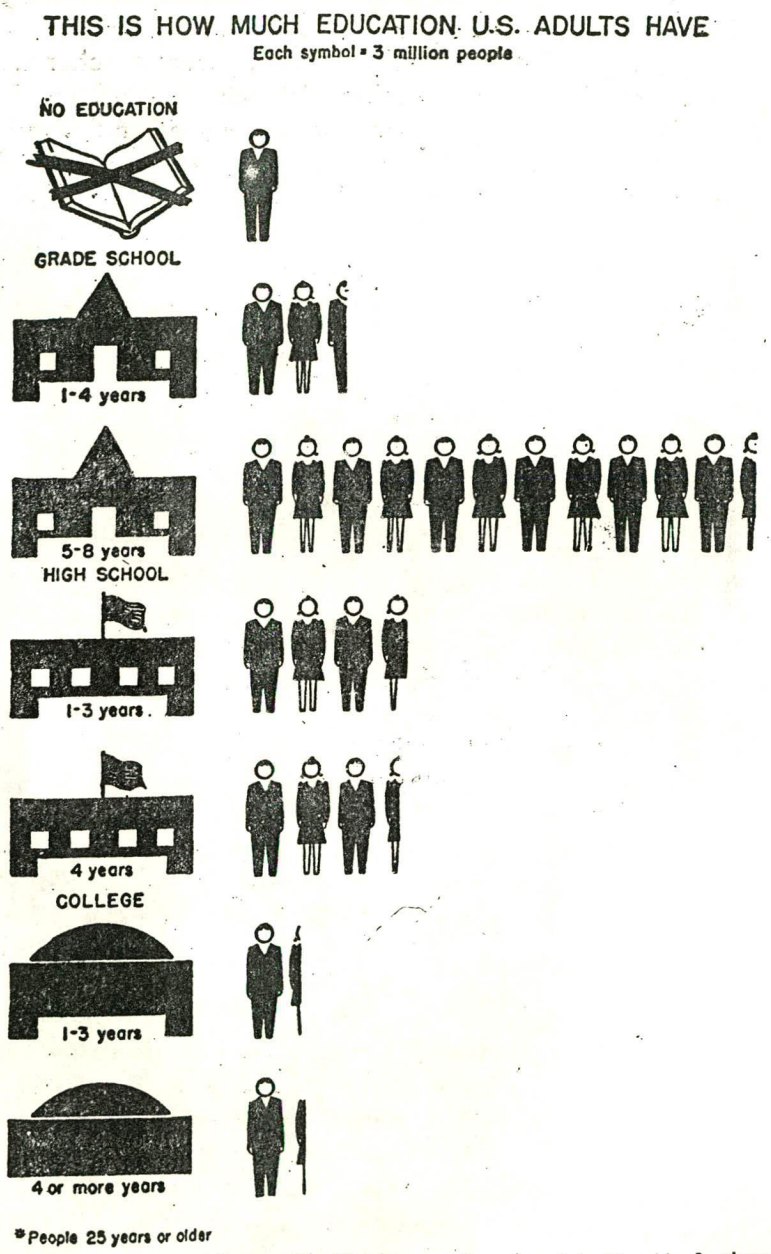


FIG. 53.—Our Educational System Has Not Done a Complete Job. (*Graphics Institute for CIO-PAC.*)

libraries supply books and give advice to those interested, community centers provide for discussion clubs, parent-teacher groups have been organized in connection with schools, and the Little Theatre gives opportunity to combine amusement and experience in play production. A new impetus to adult education was added with the establishment (1924) of a Workers' Educational Bureau, by the American Federation of Labor. The most outstanding agency for the promotion of adult education in the United States is the American Association of Adult Education founded, in 1926, by the Carnegie Corporation. It publishes a quarterly journal for the promotion of its aims and has set in motion a movement that bids fair to become a tremendous factor in American life. Several other notable special institutions for the promotion of adult education have been established. In New York City, the Cooper Union—one of the oldest—the New School for Social Research, and the Labor Temple have provided instruction for adults in many fields.

The "Brain Trust." In spite of all the progress that has been made in education, there is still hesitancy in correlating the ideas of specialists and those of politicians. In most democracies, politicians still hold important offices as a reward for service that should be given to trained experts in the field. This is true especially in economics, sociology, and political science. Men in charge of finances are seldom trained financiers; social problems are entrusted not to sociologists but to politicians; and important government posts are given to men without adequate training. Our diplomatic service has suffered because high positions have been passed out to politicians rather than to well-trained diplomats. The so-called "brain trust" established by President Roosevelt was a step in the right direction, but it was handicapped by too many restrictions to be successful.

Government Control in Education. State support of education is a recognized necessity, but how far state authorities should go in controlling education policies is a much debated question. The extreme situation existed in the totalitarian countries. The Nazis, for example, omitted no device for the shaping of public opinion in the desired direction. In 1933, Germany's intellectual and cultural life was regimented in the *Gleichschaltung.* The control was complete, but the results, from the point of view of individualism,

were deplorable. The Nazi philosophy of education was that learning has meaning only when it grows out of racial consciousness.

The effectiveness of a state-controlled education was demonstrated in the Nazi program. Can the same thing be done in a democracy maintaining recognized cultural principles? Certainly the virtues of a democracy have not been sold to our citizens as the principles of Nazism were ingrained in the German people. Cultural progress has been based on individualism. Regimentation curtails individualism and should be avoided in education. State supervision and financial support are necessary in education in a democracy, but individualism must be encouraged and guarded.

The impact of war has influenced our attitude toward education—at least, temporarily. Intensified training in particular subjects in an accelerated curriculum has brought favorable results. Educational institutions were handed a program and were asked to apply it, in return for government remuneration. One of the criticisms of earlier educational procedure was the impractical nature of much of the work. Financial aid to World War veterans to enable them to complete their education is another example of continued governmental support of education.

Geopolitics. New subjects have been introduced and new interpretations have been made in the college curriculum. Geopolitics has caused more comment than most of the others. German scholars built up this study as a new service in support of the Nazi world program. It was used as a tool in preparing the German nation for conquests as an "inevitable" destiny; consequently, the German use of the term is very narrow. Major General Haushofer described the subject in the following words: "It relates to the soil. It rids politics of arid theories and senseless phrases that might trap our political leaders into hopeless utopias. It puts them back on solid ground. Geopolitics demonstrates the dependence of all political developments on the permanent reality of the soil." According to the Geopolitical Institute at Munich, "Geopolitics is the scientific foundation of the art of political action in the life-and-death struggle of state organisms for *Lebensraum*." From such reasoning, much of the German ideology that led to World War II originated.

The German approach to an explanation of geopolitics is unquestionably extreme. It tends to pervert ideas that have sane and

factual implications. The study of geopolitics—a specialized form of political geography that has a recognized place in any modern college curriculum—combines the subjects of military strategy, imperialism, history, and international relations, all in relation to natural environment. Some practical applications of geopolitics can be found in President Theodore Roosevelt's acquisition of the Canal Zone in 1903, in Prime Minister Disraeli's purchase for Great Britain of numerous shares of the Suez Canal, in Cecil Rhodes's program to make England supreme from the Cape to Cairo in Africa, and by Bismarck's plan to unite Germany through wars with Denmark, Austria, and France. Later examples are Mussolini's efforts to control the central Mediterranean, Japan's plan for a "New Order" in East Asia, and Hitler's program for Nazi domination.

The idea of geopolitics, quite aside from its more extreme interpretations, has the makings of a world attitude that is in keeping with modern science. This is a different world from that of our forefathers. Space and distances have been minimized gradually by man's ingenious inventions. Complacent isolationist thinking, which has had so large a part in the American point of view, is logically challenged by geopolitics. Whether we accept this name, which the Germans contributed and which is now so generally discredited, does not matter. The fundamental truth of the underlying principles is there.

UNESCO. Enlightenment as a factor in promoting international good will has been recognized for some time. Previous attempts have been made to establish facilities to carry on the work, and considerable progress has been made. The United Nations Organization includes in its work a plan for remedying the causes of war and promoting international cooperation and understanding through the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. The purpose as described in the constitution is to foster the "unrestricted pursuit of objective truth and, in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge," to "collaborate in the work advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples through all means of mass communication and, to that end, recommend such international agreements as may be necessary to promote the free flow of ideas by wor and image." This is a long-range plan that may bear fruit for later generations.

2. RELIGION

Decline in the Importance of the Church. Many people are concerned about the apparent indifference toward religion in the life of today. Religion always has played an important part in the development of civilization and wherever it was discarded civilization inevitably declined. The current feeling in most cases is not necessarily antireligious, but more on the order of indifference. Material things which offer diversion and recreation and which promise economic and physical well-being are more sought after than religion. In some states, officials have been responsible for the substitution of worship of the state for that of God. Marxian Communism and Totalitarian Nationalism were elevated to the dignity of state religions by some state officials. Symbols and rites were formulated, and popular emotions were played upon, much as they had been in accepted religions of an earlier day. Marxian Communism and Totalitarian Nationalism basically were adversaries of supernational religions. The conflict between fundamentalists and scientists has tended to discredit religion in the minds of many thinking people. Psychologists have studied religious experiences, beliefs, and mysteries and have offered explanations of them on the basis of natural law rather than religious inspiration.

Important as these matters are in accounting for the decline of the church, even more significant are the influences created by the automobile, motion pictures, radio, golf, and newspapers. At one time, man was dependent on the church for many of the benefits and satisfactions of life that are now supplied from other sources. Responsibility for the care of the sick is no longer placed entirely on the church. Education is a state function, and public relief has replaced almsgiving, which was formerly under the control of the church. The church is no longer the only social center of a community, commercial forms of entertainment having taken its place, in part.

Evidence. Loss of religious control over schools has been largely responsible for the general decline of church influence. Education, which is a powerful influence, was formerly a pillar of strength for the church. *The Missionary Review of the World* indicates that 19 out of every 20 Jewish children under twenty-

five years of age are not enrolled in schools that are under the control of their faith. Three out of every four Roman Catholics are not in Catholic schools, and even larger percentages hold for the Protestants. It is estimated that two out of every three Protestants under twenty-five years of age are not regular attendants in any Sunday school. One authority states that 78.4 per cent of the youth of the Catholic Church are not under the influence of the church; 95.4 per cent of the Jewish youths and about 66.5 per cent of the Protestant youth are not reached in any direct way by their respective denominations.

Moves toward Unity. The churches recognize their problem. Many churchmen advocate interdenominational cooperation, in order more effectively to promote the united cause of religion. Union of Protestant denominations has been accomplished in Canada and Rhodesia. There is a strong move on foot to unite the different branches of the Lutheran church. The "Lutheran Front" issued the following statement:

> The Lutheran churches of the world should proceed with the united front in their relations with ecumenical Christian movements, general cooperative organizations, or Christian Churches claiming universality. . . . Recognizing that there are true Christians in every church of whatever name, the Lutheran Church of the world should approach the question of their relationship with general movements in the spirit of catholicity and without hostility or prejudice. While they should make no effort to gloss genuine differences they should, nevertheless, proceed in the sincere and humble desire to render service and cooperate in works of Christian love.

There is an effort under way to unite the Scandinavian and Anglican churches and another to unite the different factions in Methodism. On Nov. 27, 1937, the three branches of Methodism voted to unite under the name of "The Methodist Church," which creates an organization of 8,000,000 members. In July of the same year, more than 800 delegates representing all varieties of Christianity, excepting Roman Catholicism, met in Oxford, England, in order to discuss plans to continue their work with common strategy and a common objective. This seems to be a sensible move and may strengthen appreciably the Christian forces in the world.

Some More Recent Trends. Active groups within the principal religious faiths are demanding that their respective organizations and leaders stress more their inspiring doctrines than traditional concepts. There is a manifest concern in religious thought about

social and economic problems. At the Malvern Conference of the Church of England (1941), Dr. William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, sponsored a move for the church to concern itself more about the betterment of the social and economic conditions of England's working people. Several denominations are advocating church leadership in social reconstruction. By some, the church is regarded as a community center, where social, economic, and educational matters, as well as religious concerns, can be formulated and administered.

Religion in Russia. One of the most significant victories for organized religion in recent times has occurred in Russia, where the Communist regime was militantly atheistic. The great religious bodies were deprived of legal recognition and their wealth was confiscated. Religious education was forbidden, religious marriage was deprived of any legal significance, and the publication of religious works was prohibited.

The leaders in the Russian government eventually became convinced that their religious program was a failure. Most of the people clung to their faith, in spite of opposition. Faced with the trials and tribulations of inevitable war, a new version of communistic religious doctrine was issued in December, 1938. "Direct action" against religion was ordered stopped. When Hitler invaded Russia, the head of the Russian Orthodox Church enjoined all believers to join hands against the invader. Partly in recognition of this, Stalin gave his permission for the election of a patriarch. Clearly, this was formal recognition of the Russian Orthodox Church as a national body.

The change in the religious policy of Russia removed the basis of one of the worst criticisms leveled against that country. Avowed atheism had put Russia in a very degraded position in the estimation of all religious denominations. This matter is of special importance since the end of World War II, with Russia taking her place, along with Great Britain and the United States, in the direction of world affairs. How permanent and how sincere this new attitude on the part of Russia will be remains to be proved. Nevertheless, a fair amount of optimism certainly is justified.

3. LITERATURE, ART, AND MUSIC

Literature. The amount of literature that has been produced in a little less than half of the 20th century is prodigious. It is

doubtful if ever before so much had been written in any similar period. Truly, this is an age of mass production in literature, as well as in merchandise. We are too closely a part of the period to be able to evaluate the quality of its accumulated mass of writing, in general. Some writers, however, stand out above the rest. George Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells (d. 1946), and John Galsworthy (d. 1933) helped to introduce the new age in literature. They survived the prewar period and produced works that assure them a place as literary figures in the postwar world. Shaw expressed his views on socialism and nationalism, Wells, in his *Mr. Britling Sees It Through*, gave his reaction to World War I, and Galsworthy pictured the decay of an upper middle-class family in his *Forsyte Saga*. Joyce (d. 1941), an Irishman; D. H. Lawrence (d. 1930), an Englishman; and O'Neill, an American, introduced sensationalism. Joyce and Lawrence wrote with revolutionary frankness about sex, while O'Neill wrote pathological and introspective plays. *Desire under the Elms* and *Strange Interlude* may stand as the most outstanding dramas of the century. A Frenchman, Proust (d. 1922), produced an elaborate psychological expose of the society in which he lived. He presented characters erotic and abnormal, with lives that were frightfully futile. Following in his footsteps, Remarque, a German war veteran, psychoanalyzed himself and the German army in his widely read *All Quiet on the Western Front*.

It is something of a relief to turn from sexual perversion, the assailing of convention, and the worship of frankness, found in the writings of many of the authors of the period, to the less pathological, but still realistic, works of Conrad (d. 1924), Polish by birth, but writing in English; Masefield, an Englishman; and Cather, an American novelist. Conrad and Masefield have written about the sea with unusual power of description. Conrad's *Lord Jim* was published before World War I, but it is still exceedingly popular. Masefield, the poet laureate of Great Britain, is best known for his narrative poems. Cather is particularly noted for depicting prairie life in the Middle West in her stories, which are told with the balance and form that characterize the classic ideal.

In Europe and in the United States there has been an unusual amount of interest in Oriental literature during recent years. Oriental mysticism appeared to become suddenly popular, as is

manifest in the number of translations of the writings of the Hindu, Tagore (d. 1941). Tagore was one of the most remarkable men of this generation. He was an ardent advocate of Indian nationalism, an opponent of the caste system, an educator, and a poet. The beauty of his style and the depth of his philosophy are shown in a few lines taken from *The Gardener*.

> "It is a trifle that my hair is turning grey.
> I am ever as young or as old as the youngest
> and the oldest of this village. . . .
> They all have need for me, and I have no time
> to brood over the after-life.
> I am of an age with each; what matter if my
> hair turns grey?"

"Futurism" caps the climax of innovations in modern literature. It seems to have originated in Italy with Marinetti (d. 1944), a close friend and associate of Mussolini. Speaking of futurist literature, he says:

> We futurists uphold the ideal of a great and strong scientific literature, which, free from all and every classicism and pedantic purism, will magnify the most recent discoveries, the new intoxication of speed, and the celestial life of aviators. Our poetry is poetry essentially and totally rebelling against all used forms. The tracks of verse must be torn up and the bridges of things already said must be blasted and the locomotives of our inspiration must be started towards the coming, towards the boundless fields of the New and the Future! Better a splendid disaster than a monotonous race daily re-run![1]

This may account for some of the many strange types of literature poured out for our consumption.

The Literature of Disillusionment. The same pessimistic reaction is found in literature as was evident in the economic and political systems following World War I. In America and in England, it is best represented in T. S. Eliot's poem *The Waste Land*, in which the feeling of skepticism and negation dominated the thinking world. He attacked religion and love. The former he branded as an opiate of the people and the latter as a pathological sickness. To Eliot, the only tragedy was the tragedy of being born. Life was utter boredom, a sort of living death. Other writers in the same

[1] Quoted in Hayes, *op. cit.*, II, p. 1142. With the permission of The Macmillan Company.

tone were E. E. Cummings and Robinson Jeffers. Jeffers condemned the materialism of modern society and the political philosophy that men are created equal.

Novelists belonging to the "Waste Land" era include Ernest Hemingway, Aldous Huxley, and James Joyce (d. 1941). Hemingway, probably under the influence of the effects of World War I, expressed his horror of the carnage in *The Sun Also Rises* (1926) and *A Farewell to Arms* (1929). *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940), with a setting in the Spanish Civil War, depicts the horror of the struggle, but intimates a hope for a better world. Huxley, writing with satire and cynicism that have made him famous, expresses skepticism about man's ability to act logically. *Point Gounter Point* (1928) is one of his best known works. Joyce, in his *Ulysses*, analyzes modern civilization as frustrated and decadent.

The Literary Products of World War II and the Early Years of Peace. There was no slackening in literary production during World War II. A great mass of material dealing with some phase of the war or conditions that led to it was published. In the United States, *Berlin Diary*, by Shirer, and *Mission to Moscow*, by Davis, are especially outstanding; Pyle's *This Is Your War* is high-grade reporting from the actual scene of battle; and Steinbeck's *The Moon Is Down* is a war novel of first-rate importance.

The literature of the early years of peace has shown only a small amount of talent, and no new horizons have been depicted; but social problems have been given considerable attention. *The Snake Pit*, by Ward, is an outstanding example. In actual subject matter, despair holds the upper hand. *The Street* by Petry, and *Bernard Clare*, by Farrell, both demonstrate hopelessness as heavy as the cloud of doom. Willingness to fight back against seemingly impossible conditions is illustrated in *Brideshead Revisited*, by Waugh, a story about the stately homes of England. *Ivy Gripped the Steps*, by Bowen, a fine word picture of moods and relationships, represents the best writing of this period.

Painting and Sculpture. Postimpressionism, or expressionism, in painting has been expanded in many directions. Matisse and Picasso, two outstanding contemporary painters, are most prominent for their achievements. Matisse has become the leading exponent of the decorative expressionists. Picasso, an extensive experimenter, for a time used the cubist method of abstract paint-

ing, in which the planes of an object are disassembled and then reassembled into geometric forms. Picasso is a prominent figure in modern art development. Among other French postimpressionists who have shown individuality and originality are Seurat



FIG. 54.—Matisse, "Portrait de Femme." (*The Adolph Lewisohn Collection. Courtesy, Museum of Modern Art, New York.*)

and Derain. Influential in lands outside France are Kandinsky, a Russian working in Germany and exploring the field of the abstract; and, following the same direction but trying others, Klee, a Swiss, grouped with modern French painters. In Italy, prominent names are Chirico and Modigliani. Leading figures among the modern British painters are Orpen, an Irishman whose realistic portraits and scenes of Irish life have vigor and vitality, and John,

a Welshman, who is noted for portraits having boldness of treatment and suggesting an intellectual quality.

Surrealism—a more vindictive protest against accepted standards of art than is expressionism—gives the effect of indicating disgust with a sordid world. The aim of the surrealists is to portray the reactions of the mind of man rather than to present the world of nature. Standards of beauty and form are ignored. The surre-



FIG. 55.—"The Young Ladies of Avignon," by Picasso. (*Courtesy, Museum of Modern Art, New York.*)

alist toys with the subconscious, seeking to re-create dreams and weird impressions. Salvador Dali, a Spaniard, is one of the best known exponents of this school.

The Art of the Common Man. The popularity of the extreme modernist school in painting has declined noticeably since about 1930. A very popular form of art, depicting the life of the common man in his own setting, has appeared. Interestingly enough, Mexico, the United States, and Russia are in the front rank of this procession. The principle characteristics are the use of figures and a lavish display of color. Historical scenes, as well as industrial and occupational types, constitute the subject matter. To present the social conditions, hopes, and struggles of the common man is the fundamental aim of these artists. Their work, which contains

nothing unintelligible or distorted, is understandable by everyone. In some of their work is apparent the propaganda that capitalism has become decadent and that the future belongs to the proletariat.

Two Mexican artists, Diego Rivera (1862–) and José Orozco (1883–), are the chief representatives of the "social art" in the Western Hemisphere. Rivera is noted for frescoes in which are blended Mexican folk art with the theme of modern industrialization. Orozco, more radical than his great compatriot, both in technique and in subject matter, satirizes church hypocrisy and the bourgeois intelligentsia.

Twentieth-century art in the United States in the earlier years retained considerable trace of French influence. However, as the century progressed through the second decade, increased sureness and originality were expressed by American painters. Bellows (1882–1925) has been acclaimed as a distinctly American painter of American life. "A Stag at Sharkey's" is a representative example of his dynamic realism. Grant Wood (1892–1942) found inspiration for his painting in his own section of the country and its people. "American Gothic" is one of his most widely known paintings.

Russia, while in the life-and-death struggle with an aggressor power, was able, in spite of the din of battle and the destructiveness of modern warfare, to produce vigorous works of art. Art exhibits were held only a few miles behind the German front and eastward across the Urals to the borders of struggling China. Cartoons that emphasized a war theme were numerous. It may be an exaggeration to call them "great" art, but they are very expressive. Those signed "Kurkriniksi" are most widely known. Scenes from besieged Stalingrad, Moscow, Sevastopol, and Leningrad convey intimate reactions of the painters. Finogenov is one of the more popular artists of this school.

Sculpture followed somewhat the same general line of development as painting. Sculptors rebelled against the romantic realism of the preceding generation and adopted as their ideal simplification, usually worked out in largeness of conception and often strongly formalized. In the forefront stands Germany, with the master sculptor Lehmbruck a significant figure. In France, leading modernists of special note are Maillol, Bourdelle, and Brancusi, a Rumanian. Mestrocić, a Yugoslav, attained great favor for his

decorative sculptures. England has taken an unprecedented position in sculpture since her notable artist, Gill, became known for his extraordinary work, in which his religious experience is inseparably enfolded. In England, too, the fighting modernist Epstein, a Jewish American, has kept sculpture alive in national and international consciousness by his controversial works. The United States became the adopted home of the Frenchman Lachaise, who left a widely varied output of his art expression, and of Milles, the highly esteemed Swedish sculptor.

Sculpture was revived in importance following World War I. Plastics have opened many possibilities for the sculptor. More and more, the efforts of the sculptor and of the architect are being combined and blended. The result is a noticeable improvement in both fields of art.

Architecture. In the years following World War I, architecture advanced more conspicuously than any other form of art. New ideas are prevalent and of great interest. Their influence can be seen in later examples of traditional forms, even where these have not been replaced by the new design. Classic models, Romantic Gothic, and Byzantine forms have been employed, particularly for churches and war memorials. Even the skyscraper, with all its modernism, is often decorated with Gothic ornamentation. The Woolworth building in New York has ornamental pointed arches, pinnacles, and flying buttresses. An extreme "modernist" form of architecture has been introduced in several countries, especially Scandinavia. Simplicity, harmonious embellishment, and the renouncing of superfluous architectural details are characteristic of the new, or "functional," architecture. Wright, an American, who designed the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo, as well as dwellings and industrial buildings in the United States, and Mendelsohn, a German, who conceived the Potsdam Observatory, are two outstanding modern architects.

Music. Modern music has followed somewhat the same reaction against tradition and conservatism as is to be found in painting and sculpture. The Russian Scriabin (d. 1915) produced a mystical system of harmony in his "Poem of Fire." The Austrian Schönberg relied upon natural inspiration instead of tonality in the production of his masterpiece "Chamber Symphony." Best known of all in the new school of music is Igor Stavinsky, who in his "Firebird"

broke from all traditional conceptions of rhythm and harmony and introduced brilliant coloring and startling violence. Stavinsky is a leader in what has the appearance of "primitive music," which leaves to imagination and to emotions full freedom of choice.

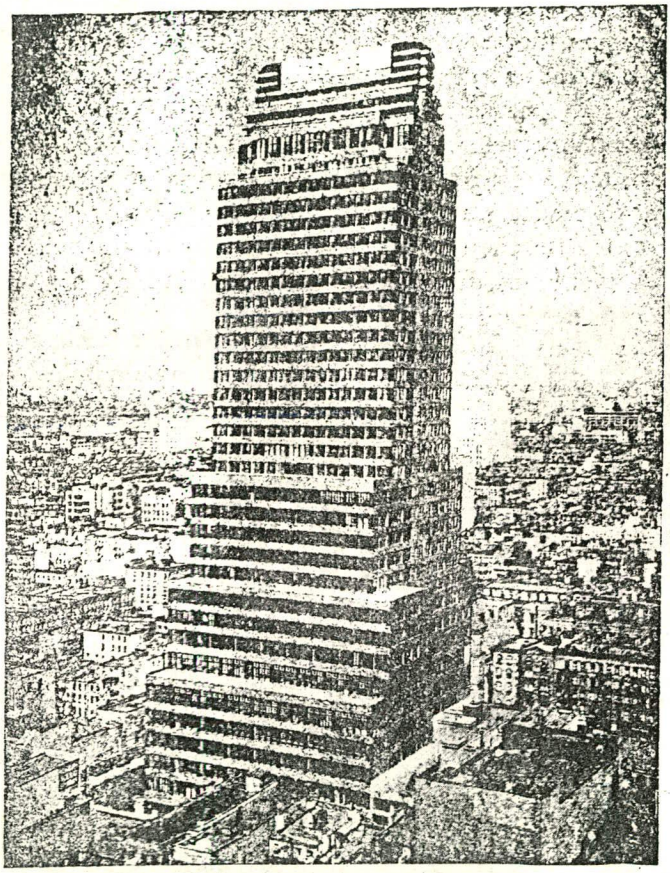


FIG. 56.—The McGraw-Hill Building, New York.

Whether it expresses the hope of a new age or the approach of impending chaos depends upon the listener's imagination. A strong individualist is Sibelius, the celebrated Finnish composer. He stands apart from the modernistic movement, and has developed a style that places him among the foremost masters of the modern symphony. Some of his works may, to an unaccustomed ear, sound incomprehensible and weird, but their power is unmistakable.

Besides symphonies, Sibelius has written popular symphonic poems, such as "Finlandia" and "En Saga."

Perhaps the most sensational ultramodern contribution to music has come from Russia. Out of the gripping experience of war psychology there have proceeded some musical masterpieces. Shostakovich wrote his Seventh Symphony during the long siege of Leningrad, in the intervals between putting out incendiary bombs. He says, " . . . never before have I worked as ardently as now." True to his character and to the nature of his work, Shostakovich planned to make his ninth a "Victory" symphony, in which it was his desire to create a musical interpretation of triumph over barbarism. Patriotic themes prevail in the new operas, much of the subject matter being drawn from earlier Russian history. Taranov's "Battle on the Ice" commemorates the defeat of the Teutonic Knights in 1242, Vasilenko's "Suvorov" honors the great 18th-century general by the same name, and Prokofieff's "1812" is taken from Tolstoy's "War and Peace."

Popular Music and Jazz. Twentieth-century taste has required music in a lighter vain than that of earlier periods. Victor Herbert (1859–1924) produced breezy and melodious operettas, but he followed the conventional style. Jazz was more revolutionary. Informal dancing and more freedom from Puritanism created a demand for jazz music. Its main characteristics are exaggerated rhythm, melody, and emotional appeal. Themes are often drawn from classic harmony and Negro songs. Gershwin's (1898–1937) "Rhapsody in Blue" is one of the best examples of "symphonic" jazz.

State Influence in Art. The general trend toward state control in other forms of activities can be noted in art, as well. The Works Progress Administrations Federal Art Project (1935) represents the American phase of the movement. Funds were made available to subsidize artists, but there was little interference regarding the type to be produced. More radical examples can be found in the totalitarian states. Here the value of art in influencing people was recognized. It was placed at the service of the state to further its ideals and to establish its ideological dominion. Art was not only subsidized, but also controlled. Compositions were chosen by state authorities and a strict censorship was imposed.

4. SCIENCE

The "New Science." There may be room for questioning whether or not there has been recent progress in the arts, in politics, in social relationship, and in economy; but there is no doubt that science has been forging ahead. More has been accomplished in the first 45 years of the 20th century than in any whole century in the history of science. In addition, there has been a great change in the scientific point of view. The scientist of a generation ago was sure of his conclusions, while today he admits that ultimates have not been discovered and probably cannot be. He is sure of but one thing; that is the certainty of uncertainty. Science has been utilitarian, mainly in the field of materialism, but today there is promise that it may be utilized in solving our economic, social, and political problems. Dr. Alexis Carrel of the Rockefeller Institute of New York made the following observation:

> Our troubles, therefore, are rooted in the very structure of modern society. They cannot be cured by remedies advocated by economists and statesmen. Prosperity, war, faith in a dictator, or good-will among democratic people will be equally inefficient. . . . Science, in its conquest of the world of inanimate matter, has proved its strength. It teaches us that we must obey natural laws and not blindly follow the dreams of sociologists and philosophers. It supplies us with the means of gaining mastery over our body, our soul, and our environment, that is with the power of remaking ourselves, as well as our institutions. . . . To endure civilization must find forms that fit human beings. It should, therefore, be based on the knowledge of man as he really it. . . . Man differs profoundly from the abstractions created by economists, social workers, psychologists, educators, historians, and other specialists. . . . Unfortunately, modern society has turned its attention exclusively to the dissection of man. . . . The body has been divided into blood, cells, and organs. . . . But this fragmentary knowledge has not been coordinated into a science of man. The essential characteristics of such a science is to be synthetic as well as analytic, that is to embrace man in his totality. . . . And the fundamental problems of civilization deal, not with mere aspects of man, but with man as a specific entirety inserted in a group, a nation, and a race.

The New Physics. The quantum theory, the principle of relativity, and atomic structure and activity virtually have revolutionized the study of physics in the 20th century. The quantum theory, advanced by Planck, a German physicist, in 1901, established the belief that energy is released in bundles, rather than in waves. Einstein, in his theory of relativity, went further and

maintained that there is no marked distinction between time and space (time is a kind of fourth dimension of space) and that the physical ultimate is energy. Matter, he contends, is a manifestation of energy, and gravitation is a property of matter. According to the theory of relativity, light rays are subject to the laws of gravi-

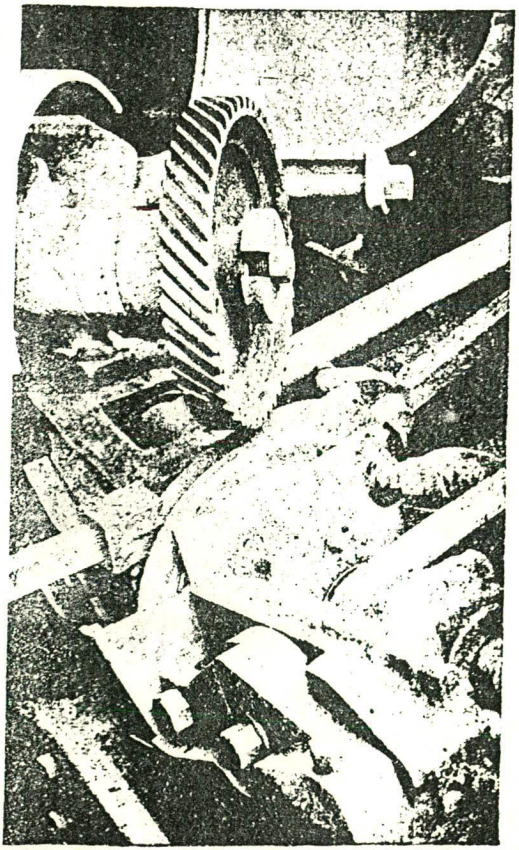


FIG. 57.—Grinding the helical timing gears in the Mack Truck Works. (*Courtesy, Mack-International Motor Truck Corporation, Allentown.*)

tation and, consequently, the laws of gravitation and electromechanics are closely allied. Thus, many of the long-accepted views of Newton may have to be altered. The new atomic conceptions are based upon the work of Rutherford, an Englishman. He believed that each atom is a proton containing positive electricity, surrounded by revolving, negatively charged electrons. Bohr combined the quantum and atomic theories that led to the

conception of "cosmic rays." The creation of the atomic bomb has opened an entirely new aspect of science. Whether it can be harnassed to peaceful developments, as well as to the destructiveness of warfare, is a question still unanswered.

Pure Science. Studies in astronomy, physics, chemistry, and geology have contributed a vast store of new information. The idea that even the velocity of light may be variable is gaining ascendancy. If this is established, it will be necessary to revise the fundamental laws of astronomy and physics. The atom, once considered the smallest physical unit, is now regarded as a composite and intricate system within itself. Physiological chemists have concluded that life is a form of chemical behavior, "centering in an intricate mixture of carbon compounds." Economic geology is now an important study in connection with the determination of the location and value of oil and ore deposits.

Preventive Medicine. The value of preventive medicine has been emphasized, with encouraging success in the results. Hormonic therapy, which began in 1856, has become a recognized practice in medicine. A thyroid hormone is used to combat certain forms of idiocy. Tetany, a nervous affection, may be withstood with a gland extract. Diabetes, a disease due to the failure of the pancreas to secrete insulin, can be checked with injections of insulin. The discovery of the nature and functions of vitamins has resulted in successfully combating many diseases. Vitamin B2, which prevents pellagra, can be procured in yeast and lean meat. Vitamin C, which prevents scurvy, is found in green vegetables, citrus fruits, tomatoes, and turnips. Vitamin D, which prevents rickets, is found in abundance in fish-liver oils. Lettuce and eggs contain quantities of vitamin E, which prevents sterility. Vitamins have aided in conquering many diseases and give added assurance of health when taken at the proper time. The fighting of infectious disease, long one of the most baffling problems in medical science, has made wonderful progress through the use of sulfanilamide and its derivatives.

Endowments for scientific study of various diseases and the recent interest taken by the government indicate the close relationship of scientific progress to the state of the social order. The endowments of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Institution, and a gift of $10,000,000 by Starling W. Childs to

Yale University to finance cancer research are indicative of what is being done along these lines. Medical advances as a result of experience in World War II have been astounding. There is every reason to be hopeful for still further progress in peacetime.

Gradually, the federal government has assumed an interest in and a responsibility toward the health of our people. Following the enactment of the Social Security Act, various improvements have been made in health services and in health education. Particular emphasis has been placed on combating tuberculosis and venereal diseases, and in the promotion of child hygiene. The present trends in public health administration are health education, grants-in-aid under local administration, the influence of private foundations and public-health schools, and the cooperation of local departments of health with other interested agencies.

V. SIGNS OF THE TIME

The role of the historian ends when facts are no longer available. Predictions should be reserved for the prophet. However, after a survey of the whole scope of known history, which has led us from the uncertainties of antiquity to the unrealities of tomorrow, the temptation to speculate as to the future is too strong to be disregarded. Perhaps in imagination we can put ourselves in the position of some future historian who, after history has been made a real science, can direct the destinies of man for the time thereafter on the basis of the knowledge of the past. Certainly there are a few elements of life today that appear to be obvious forerunners of what we can expect tomorrow.

One thing is certain, this is a dynamic universe in which we live. If something becomes static, that is a sign of decadence, and anything that has ceased to change is on the verge of being discarded. The universe, the sun, the planets, society, institutions, and even man himself are changing. When men of previous ages felt that they had reached the peak of perfection, their civilization was on the verge of ruin. Self-satisfied individuals of today should be cautious lest they have a rude awakening to the realization of their insignificance. Institutions should not be worshiped as a semblance of perfection, but every effort should be made to keep them in an evolutionary state and to improve them. If this is not done, they will soon be outmoded and discarded. Democracy, for

example, is not, and never has been, completely realized; but that does not render it impracticable or impossible. It is a goal toward which to strive, and the struggle is a priceless opportunity that is available to man. If complete democracy were to be reached today, tomorrow someone would be finding fault with it.

Ours is, beyond doubt, an age of disillusionment. Men everywhere appear to be burdened, almost beyond endurance, with problems that seem insolvable. Things in which we took pride yesterday are today objects of ridicule. Apparently, crime, disease, economic problems, immorality, and unhappiness are on the increase. We appear to be engrossed in materialism and to be neglecting the cultural and moral aspects of life. The opportunist of yesterday, who said that everything would turn out for the best, seems to have disappeared.

I wonder, however, if this condition is as real as it sounds. Is it actually a defeatist's disillusionment, or is it an awakening—a new renaissance in the making? Can if be that we have suddenly realized the extent to which fetters of tradition are holding us down? Is it possible that we are making an effort to find something better and more idealistic? If this is true, something good is almost certain to come out of it. There is, withal, an indisputable challenge to the youth of today. If they have nothing else to take hold of, they can be convinced that their forefathers have made a mess of things and that there is an excellent opportunity for improvement. As Lincoln Steffens remarked, " . . . nothing is done, finally and right . . . nothing is known, positively and completely."

With complete understanding of the dangers of assuming the role of a prophet and without any intention of being too dogmatic, the following are offered as tendencies that existing evidence indicates may develop in the near future.

1. A reorganization of political institutions, in order to meet new conditions and problems with which the old forms of government seem unable to cope. An alignment of forces seems to indicate the formation of two extreme and diametrically opposed tendencies: something like Communism, on the one hand, and the equivalent of Fascism, on the other. As both are extremes, it is to be hoped that neither will win. At the same time, it should be kept in mind that in both there are good qualities as well as evil. Also, it should be remembered that democracy has not failed and that

it still possesses the elements of an ideal political organization. May we not hope for a rejuvenated democracy, incorporating some of the better features of some of the other experiments?

2. Our social system needs reorganization. History records the persistent rise of one group, nearly always in the minority, to power. A long struggle ends in the deposition of the minority, but invariably another group rises to predominance and repeats the process. The hereditary aristocracy enjoyed the social privileges at the expense of the masses in the early modern period. The aristocrats were overthrown; but, as a consequence of the Industrial Revolution, the capitalists, again a minority, have risen to supremacy. If precedent means anything at all, certainly we can expect a redeal in modern society. A change need not necessitate the inevitable formation of a socialist order. Perhaps if we are tolerant and cautious we can bring about a compromise that will combine the good qualities of many plans and eliminate the most apparent evils.

3. The rise of materialism and the suppression of idealism in modern society, unless checked, may lead to serious consequences. Materialism has been the bane of many a group and has been responsible for the decay of many civilizations. Wars, depressions, cutthroat competition, and general unrest are the handiwork of materialism. The decline in the importance of religion, our well-filled insane asylums, and the prevailing disillusionment are evidences of too much materialism. It may be that religion will offer the solution—a reinterpreted religion on the basis of truth and inspiration, which are as old as any religion. There must be some materialism. Too much idealism is as much an obstacle to progress as too much materialism. Again, the solution to the problem seems to be a compromise somewhere between the two extremes.

4. A second World War has engulfed humanity in utter chaos. It came only a little more than two decades after a war that had been fought and won to make the world "safe for democracy" and to end wars. All the causes, and many more, that led to World War I operated unimpeded to produce World War II. Perhaps wars are inevitable—even desirable. It may be that they are necessary to spur mankind on to greater accomplishment, and to prevent general stagnation. We have not reached the millennium. There are still criminals and differences of opinion. We are, however, faced

Line of Time

1920 — Conference at Spa.

Washington Conference on disarmament.

Mussolini dictator of Italy.

Union of Socialist Soviet Republics formed.

Dawes plan signed.

1925 — Pact of Locarno signed at London.

Russo-German treaty signed.

Rise of Stalin to power.

Kellogg-Briand Pact signed.

Collapse of Wall Street stock market.

1930 — Naval Treaty (Japan, England, and the U. S.)

Japanese invade Manchuria.

Roosevelt elected president of the U. S.

Hitler becomes Chancellor.

1935 — Italians invade Abyssinia.

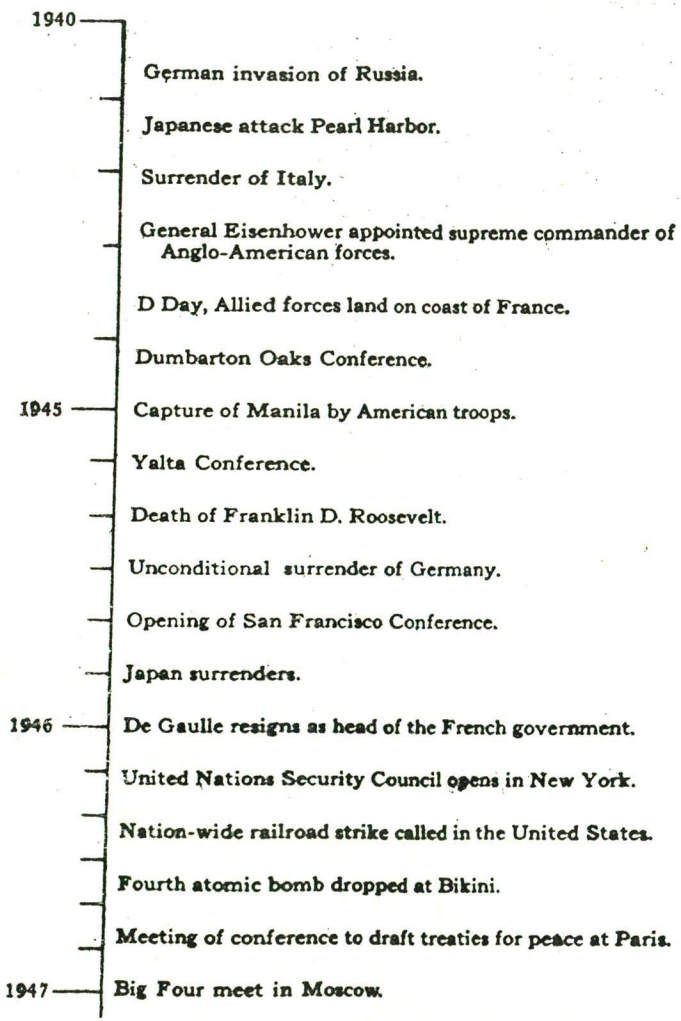
German occupation of Rhineland.

Outbreak of Sino-Japanese War.

Munich Four-power agreement.

England and France declare war against Germany.

1940 — French receive German Armistice terms at Compiegne.



with the necessity of doing something to curtail international banditry or we shall encounter dire problems. Some kind of world order must be formed. Excessive nationalism must be curbed. At the same time, democracy will have to justify itself or be discarded. The exponents of democracy will have to convince people throughout the world that victory is, not the closing act of the drama, but the beginning of a period of reinvigorated democracy.

5. Above everything else, one should bear in mind the inevi-

tability of change or the operation of the "law of impermanence." All things—man-made institutions, in particular—must either change to meet new conditions or become obsolete. As a general rule, it is better to alter an existing order than to permit it to come to stalemate and then destroy it altogether. Revolutionary changes are accompanied by bloodshed, destruction, excesses, and general disorder. Revolutions could be prevented if all tendencies were permitted to follow evolutionary lines. Intelligence, tolerance, and industry are three invaluable characteristics that man must cultivate if he expects to reach the goal of accomplishment that he deserves.

Review Questions

1. How do you account for the failure of the German Republic after World War I?
2. Has the idea of the national state solved the minority problem? Why?
3. To what extent are minority problems the cause for international unrest? Justify your answer.
4. What are the fundamental causes for the rise of dictators?
5. What do all dictators have in common?
6. What revolutionary ideas are involved in Communism?
7. Do you believe Russia has made material progress under Communism? Intellectual? Moral?
8. What important changes have taken place in the application of the theory of Communism in Russia? What do these changes denote?
9. How did Mussolini come into power in Italy? What were his proposed solutions for world problems? Why did he fail?
10. Describe Fascist economic theories.
11. How did Hitler come into power in Germany?
12. Evaluate the Nazi program.
13. Why does militarism always accompany dictatorships?
14. What do you consider to be the worst features of a dictatorship?
15. What do Communism, Fascism, and Nazism have in common? How do they differ?
16. In what respect is democracy most vulnerable? How can these weaknesses be remedied?
17. What do you consider to be the most fundamental causes for social unrest? What has been done to right the situation?
18. Describe the various schools of present-day economic thought.
19. The present tendency seems to be in the direction of state control. What arguments can you give for and against it?
20. What are the fundamental economic principles of the cooperatives? Are they counter to capitalism? Why?
21. What solution is there for the unemployment problem?

22. Characterize modern art.
23. Are wars inevitable? Why?

Problems

1. Compare and contrast the structural characteristics of the League of Nations with those of the United Nations.
2. How is modern civilization likely to be affected by the discovery of the atomic bomb?

Map Study VI

Denoyer-Geppert Outline Map No. 8009

1. Show the greatest extent of China that was controlled by Japan.
2. Indicate the colonial possessions of England, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States (1939). Show changes made after World War II.
3. Locate the important coal, iron, and oil deposits.
4. Show the region of production for staple food supplies. (For items 3 and 4 see Goode's *School Atlas*, page 26 ff.)

Denoyer-Geppert Outline Map No. 18002a

1. Indicate the greatest extent of German conquest of Europe in World War II.
2. Show the territories most likely to cause trouble in the future.
3. Show the revised boundaries of all the countries in Europe after World War II.
4. Draw boundaries to indicate what might be considered spheres of Russian influence, spheres of English influence, and spheres of French influence.

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