

**THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS,
TODAY AND TOMORROW; A
DISCUSSION OF INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATION, PRESENT AND
TO COME**

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The League of Nations, Today and Tomorrow; A Discussion of International Organization,
Present and to Come by Horace Meyer Kallen

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HORACE MEYER KALLEN

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ORGANIZATION,
PRESENT AND TO COME**

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

**"WHAT WE SEEK IS THE REIGN OF LAW, BASED
UPON THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED AND SUSTAINED
BY THE ORGANIZED OPINION OF MANKIND."**

**WOODROW WILSON: *Address at
Mt. Vernon, July 4, 1918.***

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THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

TODAY AND TOMORROW

*A Discussion of International Organization
Present and to Come*

BY
HORACE MEYER KALLEN, Ph.D.



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PREFACE

THE preface of a work is mostly retrospect and summary, printed first, but conceived and written last. Its virtue is that it gives a writer a chance to overtake events. In the present instance, the virtue is maximal. On September 27, 1918, at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York City, President Wilson made the most recent of his classic statements of the issues between the democracies of the world and the Central Powers. Whatever the motives of the war may have been in the beginning, today, he said, "the common will of mankind has been substituted for the particular purposes of individual states." The war is "a peoples' war, and peoples of all sorts and races, of every degree of power and variety of fortune, are involved in its sweeping processes of change and settlement." Its issues are peoples' issues, and he is at this moment gladly making reply to a challenge of peoples, is answering the demand "of assemblies and associations of many kinds made up of plain workaday people" that their Governments "shall tell them plainly what it is, exactly what it is, that they are seeking in this war, and what they think the items of final settlement shall be." His reply is that the settlement must aim at "secure and lasting peace"; that such a peace has, of course, its price, and that this price must be paid. The price is "impartial justice in every item of the settlement, no matter whose interest is crossed; and not only impartial justice, but also the

satisfaction of the several peoples whose fortunes are dealt with." There is only one instrument "by which it can be made certain that the agreements of the peace will be honored and fulfilled." This instrument is — the League of Nations. Its constitution, hence, "and the clear definition of its objects must be a part, is in a sense the most essential part, of the peace settlement itself. . . . It is necessary to guarantee the peace, and the peace cannot be guaranteed as an after-thought." The League of Nations is, in a word, to be the insurance of mankind against assault and treachery, and this insurance must rest upon at least these five conditions:

First: The impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favorites and knows no standard but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned;

Second: No special or separate interest of any single nation or any group of nations can be made the basis of any part of the settlement which is not consistent with the common interest of all;

Third: There can be no leagues or alliance or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations;

Fourth, and more specifically: There can be no special, selfish economic combinations within the league and no employment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion except as the power of economic penalty by exclusion from the markets of the world may be vested in the League of Nations itself as a means of discipline and control;

Fifth: All international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world.

The League of Nations, Mr. Wilson concludes, in sum, is to be The Structure of Lasting Peace.

In view of the economic and military rivalries which led up to the war; of the secret understandings and agreements made during the war — on the side of the democratic powers, at least, now frankly and happily repudiated; in view of the events of the war itself, no other conclusion was possible. It is the conclusion of the conscience of the world, expressed by Mr. Wilson with characteristic elevation of tone and perfection of form.

This conclusion is the theme of the present study. For the past year and longer a body of men of affairs, university men and journalists, mostly editors, have given themselves to the collective consideration of the economic and political relations between states and peoples in so far as these have been factors in causing, and must be dealt with in ending, this civil war. The League of Nations was inevitably one of the ways of relating peoples and states for the maintenance of peace on which research was to be undertaken and a report made. A committee, consisting of Mr. Ralph S. Rounds of the New York Bar, and the writer, were designated to organize and conduct an investigation, of which the result is the present monograph. Such virtue as it may be found to possess it owes to the relentless and patient analysis, the painstaking criticism made by Mr. Rounds of the proposals, evidences, and material brought together, collated and set forth by the writer. The faults are the writer's own. What-