

THE FOUNDATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL POLITY

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The foundations of international polity by Norman Angell

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NORMAN ANGELL

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OF INTERNATIONAL
POLITY**

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BY

NORMAN ANGELL

AUTHOR OF

"THE GREAT ILLUSION," ETC.

TORONTO: WILLIAM BRIGGS

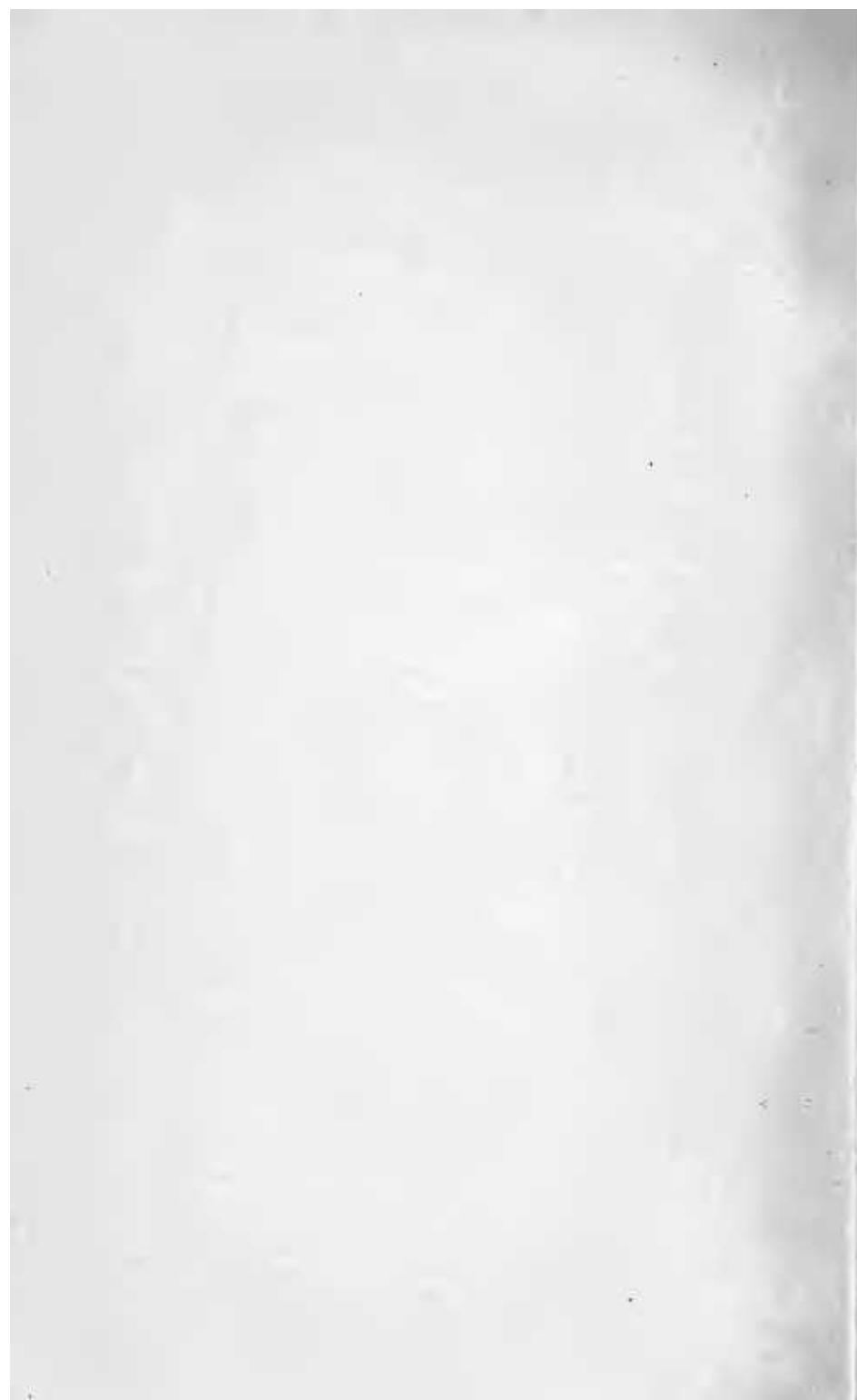
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MAY 11 1950

TO
VISCOUNT ESHER, G.C.B., G.C.V.O.

AS A TOKEN OF APPRECIATION FOR
WISE COUNSEL, CAUTION, AND
ENCOURAGEMENT



PREFACE

ALTHOUGH the six chapters of this book appear in the form of various addresses delivered to audiences having apparently as little in common as those at the Royal United Service Institution, the Institute of Bankers of Great Britain, and a group of German Universities, the papers have been so selected as to represent the natural development and elaboration of an underlying general principle and to make a connected whole. I have attempted to render this unity still plainer by summarizing the entire argument in an introductory paper of some length.

A part of one of these addresses (a portion of that to the Institute of Bankers) has already appeared in the later editions of a previous work of mine, but not in the earlier editions; nowhere has the whole address found a permanent record, and its natural place is that which I have given it in this sequence of papers.

In order that these addresses should follow the natural development of the subject, I have taken slight liberties with the original form, adding, that is, to one address what as a matter of fact, when delivered, formed part of another; but very little

forgery of this kind has been necessary, and where it has it has for the most part been indicated.

As each paper was in its original form an independent production, there is necessarily some slight repetition of argument and illustration. I have been at no special pains to correct this. It is a somewhat transparent literary convention that a reader, in following an argument through several hundred pages, will always recall in the latter part the precise details of a fact or illustration given in an earlier part, or will refer thereto; and that on no account should such fact or illustration be repeated. I have deemed it a service to the reader and an economy of his attention to disregard this convention in one or two cases.

I am indebted to the editors of the *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* and the *Journal of the Institute of Bankers* for permission to reprint addresses which have appeared in their publications, and to Messrs. Watts and Co. for permission to reprint a portion of the Conway Memorial address delivered at South Place Institute.

I am glad to take this opportunity of acknowledging my very deep sense of gratitude and indebtedness to more friends than I can mention, in England, Germany, France, and America, who, since the appearance of an earlier work of mine in 1910, have helped me with suggestions, advice, and criticism. To certain friends in the Universities of those countries I am in a special sense indebted, notably to Professors Dr. Sieper of Munich, Piloty of Würzburg, Schucking of Marburg, Hermann Levy

of Heidelberg, Dr. Mez of Freiburg, Presidents Murray Butler of Columbia and David Starr Jordan of Stanford, and to several valued friends in Cambridge and Oxford. Mr. Harold Wright, Mr. Langdon - Davies, and Mr. Dennis Robertson of Cambridge have rendered valued assistance in the revision of proofs, and Mr. John Hilton in the compilation of the index. As to the larger number who in England and Germany during that period have made great personal sacrifices to encourage and organize in a definite way the study of the subjects dealt with here, it would be impertinent and fatuous in an author to assume that thanks are due from him. I happen to know how great in many cases those sacrifices have been, but they have been made on behalf of a general cause of intellectual sanitation to which my own works are, happily, but a small contribution.

NORMAN ANGELL.

LONDON,

January, 1914.