CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

It is perhaps clear from what has gone before that the study of government is in urgent need of reorganization and rejuvenation. It should be equally clear from what has been said that the lines of reorganization cannot now be traced by any man or by any group of men. The ways in which future advance will come may be perhaps foreshadowed, but not with any accuracy forecast, for no one can foresee what is coming in the world of science. Physics and chemistry have been revolutionized within 100 years and even within twenty years fundamental and far-reaching changes such as none could foresee have been made. In the social field we are even more helpless to predict future development. It is not unreasonable to suppose, however, that even more sweeping changes will be made in the study of social phenomena than in any other field of inquiry. The new world will not be without its new politics. But to what distant shores the quest may lead us, who can say?

1 See the suggestive forecast by James Bryce, The Next Thirty Years.

H. G. Wells in
CHAPTER VII

CONTINUED

It is perhaps clear from what has gone before that the
study of government is in many ways an extension and
lavishment of the study of mental powers. It should be realized that the
sentiments of the few are not always in accord with the many.

The way in which the character of a man may be formed,
and the influence of the society in which he has grown up,
are of great importance. For no one can foresee what the
future may hold.

The work of science, experiment, and study have been
revolutionized within 100 years and even within twenty years.

In government and in science, advances have been made.
In society, things have been changed.

Policies to direct future development.

Do we suppose, in our wiser age, that new more sweeping changes will be
made in the study of society and the human mind?

The new morality will not be without the new politics.

I see the same time for both.

Next Thirty Years.
He would be a bold or a rash man who would undertake either to set limits and bounds to our possible advance or to undertake to picture the unseen world toward which we move.

Any suggestions that may be made must be regarded as tentative and provisional in the highest degree. Like the whole of this sketch they will be set up to be knocked down by some with keener insight or clearer idea of the needs of the times: - a necessary process often repeated if politics is to advance to its proper place among the instruments of mankind.

The significant changes in the modern world, in so far as they affect our government were considered in the introductory chapter. They need not be recapitulated here. The problem presented is a double one, dealing on the one side with the development of the group intelligence as a whole, and on the other with the development of special scientific advances; for unless these two are related little will be gained in the long run. The problem may be considered then under three heads: I. The development of secondary political education. II. The organization of adult intelligence and political prudence.
He would be, a sort of a teacher man who would superintend affairs to
get them and provide for a possible advance to uniformity or uniformity
to protect the meanest motley crowd which was willing.

Any suggestion that may be made must be treated as
considered and pronounced in the closed house. Like the whole
of this report, they will be set up to be knocked down by some
with keenest interest or closest ties of the needs of the times.

A necessary process often Georgey. It politics is to advance to
the proper place among the instruments of mankind.

The significant chances in the modern world, to do far as
they affect our government were considered in the information
aspect. There may not be receptivity here.

The program is a good one; the line on the one side with the
persistence of the great intelligentsia as a whole, and on the
development of the great intelligentsia as a whole, and on the
take with the development of economic scientific amassing; for
matters more two the leadership little will be easy in the long
run may be conscious from among these facts.

1. The development of economic political association.

2. The development of great intelligentsia and political
III. The organization of scientific research in Government.

The social and political education of the next generation is an immediate problem, more immediate than is generally supposed. If the expectancy of life of a voter at the age of 21 is \( \frac{42.79}{25} \) years, then in one half of this time a new generation will have appeared upon the field of action. Consequently in \( \frac{25}{25} \) years it would be possible to have a new majority with an entirely new political education, with new political values, attitudes, interests, capacities. We could recreate the world politically within 15 years, were we minded and equipped to do so. We might make them aristocrats, democrats, communists, nationalists or internationalists, at will, assuming that we were prepared to devote the necessary time and patience to the construction of the machinery for the purpose of social and political education. In the development of secondary education then lies one of the great possibilities of the political science of the future or of the present, if we care to act now. It is not yet clear
III. The Protection of Scientific Research in Government

The social and political question of the next generation is an immediate problem, more immediate than it is generally supposed. If the expectation of life of a voter at the age of 35 is to decrease, then in one half of the time a new generation will have taken over the field of action. Consequently, in the case of a country where it is possible to have a new majority with an entirely new political association with new political parties, we can no longer take the political situation as it is. We must make use of the resources, occupations, communities, and institutions that are necessary for the protection of the constitutional law and the protection of the constitution of the country. For the purpose of scientific research, we must be prepared to face the necessity of time and patience to the constitution of the great possibilities of the political science of the future of the present. If we care to cast now, it is not too clear...
to be sure what it is that we wish to teach them or just how this shall be done.

Nor is the progress in this direction as rapid as might be desired. Yet especially in the United States a vast deal of energy is being devoted to this problem and it is not unlikely that in the near future significant results may be obtained.

(I) See the work of the Council of Social Teachers.

Also

In point of fact much of the secondary education of the world is not designed to develop political science or intelligence, but is calculated to intensify nationalistic or class traditions, in such a manner as to breed war and conflict. Secondary political education is employing the agencies of history and government to make sober and impartial judgment impossible on the part of the generation that is coming on. It is distressing to observe that in the greater part of the world the education of the youth is not in the science of government, but is steeping them in special hatreds and special forms of bitterness. If political
Facilitating II

Based on the data provided, there appears to be a discussion on some topic, possibly related to institutional arrangements or processes. The text is not legible enough to provide a coherent translation or summary.
education is a form of training in hate and prejudice, the inevitable outcome will be a low state of governmental action and a low level of governmental attainment. Here as perhaps nowhere else the services of genuine political science are needed and may effectively be brought to bear in the struggle against ignorance and passion as the guides of human life.

It is of course within the bounds of possibility that the scientific technique of citizenship and its teaching may when developed be appropriated by the community or some part of it and employed for the promulgation of class or ethnic or other special interest doctrines. Indeed, we may be sure that to some extent this will be inevitable. Yet on the whole it seems probable that the growth of science at this point will also carry with it a broader view of human relations and a higher political standard. The prime difficulty lies in the uncertainty as to what are the traits of citizenship which it is desirable to inculcate. The quest for the criteria of citizenship has thus far been pressed unsystematically and without satisfactory results. 

Science is a form of reasoning that helps us understand the world around us. In the context of government and society, it is essential to have a well-informed government. Hence, the need for scientists and the community to be educated about these matters.

It is of course within the domain of political parties to develop and express their views on the promotion of science or the suppression of science. It may be a matter of special interest whether or not the people will be influenced by these views. It seems probable that the growth of science is the goal of many political parties, and a different political philosophy is to be assessed in terms of its ability to attract and retain the public. The debate for the criteria of citizenship should not be seen as a form of reasoning without satisfactory results.

See my article on "Citizenship" University of Chicago Press.

The Great for the Criteria of Citizenship

James Price, University of Chicago Press.
We may well ask, what are the specific qualities of citizenship to be taught? Is there a standard upon which there is general agreement? What are the requisite qualities of effective citizens? Do these qualities relate to information, to power of analysis and investigation, to judgment formation, to selfish or social types of reactions. What are the obstacles to efficient citizenship? Are they physical, psychical, social, economic? Can these obstructions be located and diagnosed, and can they be measurably trained and controlled. What are the job specifications for an efficient citizen. These are points at which scientific inquiry might be of the very greatest scientific value; and where we may in fact look for significant developments in the near future. In so far as the character of the new politics depends upon the group intelligence, it is just here that the most rapid progress is attainable. But if so-called "education" ceases with the schools, it is certain to be sterile. The
We may well ask, what are the specific duties of citizenship?

As soon as we enter the realm of intelligence, it is clear that the concept of "intelligence" must be defined. But it is essential to recognize that intelligence is a complex of abilities that are used in the evaluation of information. What are the duties of citizenship? Do these duties relate to information? What are the tasks of intelligence? What are the tasks of intelligence? Are they primarily, beneficial, societal, economic?

Can these duties of intelligence be located and measured, and can they be measured for an individual citizen? These are points at which scientific inquiry might be of the utmost scientific interest; any work in this field that looks for significant developments in the near future. In so far as the aspect of the new politics of the University (as it begins to crystallize) as they arise, we may look for intelligent development.
successful working of a self-governing community presupposes an electorate constantly being reeducated, constantly readjusting its values and its attitudes toward the work and personnel of the government. Political intelligence does not consist merely in worship of the past, but in capacity for adaptation to the present, and for constructive rebuilding from generation to generation. Democracy presupposes not only pious souls with lofty aspirations but intelligent critics, analysts, adaptors, and reconstructors of government.

A major problem of politics is then the organization and application of the intelligence of the community. The political prejudices of every land are well organized. The political greeds, the political hatreds, the intolerances, localisms and parochialisms of race, religion, geography and class are all admirably equipped with modern mechanisms. It is feasible, although doubtless more difficult, to organize the common political intelligence as over against the special hatreds of the community or of the world; the common interest, the common fellowship as over against the
The primary objective of a self-regulating community is to ensure the effective and efficient operation of the community's governance and decision-making processes. The government's policy indicates an emphasis on the essential role of regular and systematic practices to support the community's objectives and goals.

In the absence of a clear resolution, the work and performance of the government's policy intelligence play a critical role in maintaining the excellence and adaptability of the community. Demands for intelligence not only provide support but also generate new insights and capabilities for the government's policy to evolve continuously and effectively.

A model of policy is to provide an organization for the implementation of the policy. The policy's application of the intelligence of the community is essential for the effective and efficient operation of the community. The policy's effective implementation is crucial for the community's growth and development.

Policy intelligence's effective and efficient operation is a component of the government's capability to respond to the demands of the community. It is necessary to strengthen the government's intelligence as an essential tool for understanding the community's needs and aspirations. This understanding enables the government to develop policies and programs that are more responsive to the community's needs and aspirations.
greed of the local and the special. It is possible to organize the constructive sympathy and the constructive intelligence of groups of persons, and make them effective in the common life.

A major task of our time is accordingly the organization of adult education, of adult information, of the material upon which the citizen's mind may feed. Otherwise we shall be increasingly at the mercy of the Boss, the Demagogue, the chain of newspapers, the well financed propagandists of whatever type. In these latter days the situation has become increasingly serious. The demagogue employs the arts of his classical predecessor, but with the added weapons of modern high-geared machinery and scientifically manufactured poison gas of propaganda. Organization and social psychology have been made his allies and have greatly increased his already formidable power. The demagogue and the propagandist may indeed prove to be a greater menace to the genuine interests of democracy and the possibilities of science than the boss and the grafters.
breath of the forest and the society. It is possible to organize

the consciousness of humanity and the consciousness of

the organization of people, society, and make them effective in the common line.

A meter runs at one time in communication with the organization

of people. The consciousness of unity, connection, or the material aspect

of the organization which has a meaning for each of us feel a

interrelation of the many aspects of the forest, the democracy, the capitalist.

In the forest gave the attention as become important.

In the perspective of the forest, the state of the forest, the forest, and

the society of the state, the society of the forest, and the
government and the people. The government and the

scientifically meaningful position of people of properties. Organization

and social development have been made into the idea and have already

increased the ability to accommodate power. The government and the

properties may increase through to other resources of society and the

interests of communities and the possibilities of science from the

past and the future.
In what manner the adult intelligence shall be organized may be variously considered. First, it is evident that if secondary political education were properly conceived and developed, a great part of the difficulty would already be met through the general development of power of observation and analysis, and through the rise of the constructive type of political mind. Man would be less readily deceived, and would respond more readily to appeals addressed to higher levels of intelligence than heretofore. Such a type of mind and such a type of public opinion would demand and would respond to agencies of information and intelligence quite different from some of those now current and widely influential. Active interest and reasonable determination would unquestionably succeed in evolving other means by which the intelligent attitudes in the group might best be preserved and be able to maintain themselves in the struggle for survival with others resting on
In what manner the slight intelligence might be organized

T. III: The incident.

In chapter II, how to point.

In chapter III, apportion.

Secondly, political association were properly concerning and developing the ever part of the intelligence might easily be met through the general development of power of observation and an affair, any strong the rise of the competitive type of political mind. New money of fees, readily available, and many leavings gone to rest, to appear, apprehension to bring level of intelligence, bring personnel. Such a type of mind may snap a type of portable opinion money Germany and money leavings to ensure of information and intelligence duties.

Different from some of peace now obtain any widely intelligent active interest and assessment get the rational money underestimation success in arriving upon means which the intelligenceattire

In the ground which past be pleasing any to medical postures in the exercise for erasing with option testing on
local or special or narrow-visioned views.

It is idle to attempt to depict the form that the organization of human intelligence may take in the future, but it is plain that sweeping changes are in the making. The public opinion that rested chiefly upon tradition and custom, or upon transparent rationalizations of interest, or upon ignorance of the fundamental relations between economic and social interests and political action, this can no longer be reckoned upon as an adequate basis for a government. It is not impossible to visualize a community where straight thinking characterizes the bulk of the citizens, and where shams and deceptions are so readily penetrated as to make their use dangerous to those who attempt to make use of them. Whether or not one believes in the theory of the indefinite perfectibility of the human race, it may be conceded that there is a practically indefinite field for improvement in the immediate future and that we are starting in that direction with a speed and determination never before matched in the history of the race.
It is little to attempt to depict the form that the organization of human intelligence may take in the future, part it is plain that mutual cooperation is in the making. The rapidly growing need for cooperation among nations and among governments and international organizations of interest is now becoming of the fundamental importance. Relations between economic and social interests and political sections, the need no longer to recognize now as an abstract idea, are not impossible to visualize a community of government. It is not impossible to visualize a community where efforts for the common good are both real and beneficial as to make their results manifest to those who attempt to make use of.
The astounding rapidity with which man is mastering the forces of nature and emancipating himself from manual toil, is certain to transform human life in ways now little dreamed of. It is indeed not unbelievable that in the near future the leisure of mankind will be expanded to limits that a short time back might have been looked upon as quixotic. But now the six hour day, the four hour day is a subject of discussion, while in the most advanced speculation there looms a time when the leisure of men will be even greater than this. A public laboring 12 or 14 hours a day and without any opportunity to acquire even the rudiments of an education is quite a different public from that which is universally educated for a considerable period of life, and which works, let us say, four hours of the day. There will be more constructive intelligence to organize and it will respond more easily to the call.

Furthermore, it is not impossible that what we may call political prudence may be far more effectively organized than at present. By political prudence is meant the conclusions of
experience and reflection regarding the problems of the race, wisdom that does not reach the state of science, yet has its own significance. This constitutes a body of knowledge which though not demonstrably and technically exact is nevertheless a precious asset of the race. It is the wisdom of the elder statesmen and the savants. It is not suggested that all of this prudence is found with the professional students of government - God forbid - but the initiative in in the assembly and analysis of this material may fairly be said to be one of their tasks. It seems desirable that this mass of information, analysis and conclusion, tentative and dogmatic, should be made more fully known than at present. All other groups, professional and otherwise - and there are many in these days - express their views upon all manner of questions of state; why not the student of politics who is usually the most nearly disinterested in his point of view, most comprehensive in his investigation, and impartial in his conclusions?

What is the judgment of the world's students of politics upon such problems as proportional representation, the League of Nations, freedom of speech under twentieth century conditions,
these only by way of suggestion. In many instances the counsels of professional students of politics or of political prudence would be divided, particularly when class, race, and nationalistic issues were raised, but in many other instances they would be united. Even their divisions would presumably be based upon at least superficially scientific grounds, and would help to turn the organization of opinion upon carefully investigated facts and careful reasoning, rather than upon group interests awkwardly disguised in ill-fitting garb. But if professional students of government and political savants cannot come together to discuss even the fundamentals of political prudence because of the fear of violent disagreement, should not that circumstance itself cause sober reflection as to their fundamental preconceptions; and might it not suggest remodelling and a reorganization of their methods? Might it not lead to the weak spot in their procedure and in time to its strengthening?

The broader the base of such a professional organization the more effective it should be. An organization including many
The progress of the pace of such a professional organization

The more effective it might be. An organization involving many

mutual and parallel scientific endeavors, and many helped to form

at least superficially scientific fronts, was to thank the

orientation of opinion upon certain inevitably interrelated areas and

certain reasons would seem to show broad interest areas

growing in all directions and not in professional stupor.

of government and political science cannot come together to

grieve over the fundamental basis of political intrigue because of

the fear of explicit disagreement. shortsighted not chat circumstances

are today as eager and bright if not especially remaining and

a direct method? Might it not lead to the work done in pair

progresses and in time to the fundamental?
cities would be better than any one, and of many nations better than any individual commonwealth. For in the larger unit there is an opportunity for the elimination of the local, the class, the racial bias that has hitherto played so large a part in the formulation of political theory. We may some day see an international assembly of the world's political wise men, gathered for the purpose of considering the fundamentals of political wisdom, and together disseminating tolerance, and sweet reasonableness.

Both secondary political education and the organization of adult political intelligence are of fundamental importance in the new political world into which we are rapidly coming. But fundamental to these is the movement toward the creation of a genuine political science. Some suggestions regarding the scope and method of such a science have already been sketched, but it will perhaps be useful to indicate some of the steps that seem to be possible in the near future. These may be recapitulated as follows:
office work be better planned and of many varieties. The plan for the future must be a plan for an expansion of the field of human and social services.

You may inquirers in the community, for an opportunity for the stimulation of the local fields of work.

The society finds great profit in planned plays and the part in the formulation of policies and programs. We may some day see an interest in the society, even for the purpose of considering the fundamental principles of policy making and the discipline of policy making.

Both social and political action and the organization of political action are of fundamental importance in the new political world into which we are rapidly coming.

But in the process of action, the movement toward the creation of a political science, some fascination with the scope and method of such a science may arise. If some of the ideas that seem to be promising in the near future, there may be possibilities.

As it follows:
1. The organization of political information

2. The organization of political observation

3. The broader use of the instruments of social observation developed through the census, statistics, and psychology.

4. The synthesis of elements in related sciences into a new politics.

5. The organization of intensive political research through universities, foundations, and perhaps institutes of political science.

It is urgently necessary and at the same time practically possible to provide much more adequate facilities for the collective analysis and dissemination of political information. Laws, ordinances, acts of governing bodies may be analysed, digested, distributed, in such a manner as to be available to students of government as well as to responsible governors in far less time and far more accurately and comprehensively than at the present time. This is not a task of scientific
I. The organization of political information

II. The organization of political apparatus

III. The proper use of the instruments of society

Operation, development, security, and defense.

IV. The purpose of influence in relation to science and

V. A new politics

VI. The organization of influence, political leadership

Struggle, manipulation, corruption, and politics.

Influence of political science.

It is urgently necessary at this same time practically

Institute of Operations and services to the organization of political information.

Less assistance, efforts of organizing paper may be significant

Greater, more effective in such a manner as to be available to achieve government as well as to responsive governments in

For these time and for more essential any comprehensive form

This is not a lack of scientific
invention, but of practical large scale organization. It is essential, however, to the highest development of the study of politics. The student of government cannot be expected to struggle with this vast mass of political material alone, or with wholly inadequate analysis and digest. The importance of the science of government warrants the outlay of far larger sums of money for this purpose than are now available anywhere. The importance of the prompt collection of such material is all the more significant when we reflect on the importance of the time element in political action and on the enormous reduction in time as a communication factor in recent years.

The organization of political observation is likewise an urgent task, but within the bounds of ways and means now well understood. It presents no insuperable problem from the point of view of modern technique. The fact is that some of the most important experiments the human race has ever conducted are carried on without any adequate means of recording or observing them.
Invention, part of practical larger social organization. In the
essentials, moreover, to the present development of the study of
politics, the strength of government cannot be expected to
attain with the best means of political material only, as
with material insufficiency, science and theory. The importance of the
evidence of government was neither the office of its larger sense of
money for this purpose they are now available elsewhere.
The importance of the prompt collection of each material is still
more significant when we reflect on the importance of the
time element in political action and on the importance of the
rise as a communications factor in recent years.

The organization of political cooperation is likewise an
act near, but with the grounds of what may mean not
neglected. We have reasons to insuperable obstacles from the point
of view of current practice. The test is what some of the most
important experiments of the present day are at present being free.
Archaeological or astronomical observations are amply endowed, and rightly so, but it is more difficult to obtain the ample resources essential to study properly the workings of the commission government or of proportional representation, or of old age insurance, or of the Russian revolution. Not all experiments may readily be observed, it is true, but some of the more important should be taken under the most intimate observation for the purpose of recording essential facts regarding them, a basis for political prudence as well as for the science of politics.

It may be urged that the cost of maintaining the agencies necessary for the purposes of politics would be too heavy a burden to carry. But the enormous wastes now incurred by lack of proper morale between nations and groups and individuals is also heavy. It is estimated that the cost of the last great war was $337,946,179,657. (I)

(I) Estimated by Professor Bogart for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Direct costs estimated at $185,333,637,697 and the indirect costs at $151,612,542,560.
A few considerations of the economic operations of the supply

enough, any delays or, put it at a more difficult to obtain the

supply resources essential to study property the workings of
the commission government or proportional representation of
of the state insurance or the Russian revolution. Not all

experiments may result in a plane, it is fine, part some of

the more important points or taken under the most intimate operation

show for the purpose of locating essential facts the same time.

of a means for political progress as well as for the service of

polities.

If only a few of the cases of continuing the sense sense

necessary for the purpose of political means for too many a purpose

to cease, but the same means now turnning a lack of borders

more between nations and states and influences in also press

If the necessity that the case of the last great war was

\[ 383, 361, 15, 267 \]

\( (1) \)
A very small percentage of this item as applied in studying the causes of war, and the practical means of preventing it might well have been an economy for the human race. A small percentage of the war funds employed by various groups in combatting each other, labor and business and racial and religious groups, would go a long way toward political research of a fundamental nature. Likewise the great sums now expended in industrial and agricultural research are indicative of the possibilities in the way of systematic study of human nature. We now spend on experimenting with new types of hogs and hens, of explosives and cement, far greater sums than would be necessary to equip and maintain the most elaborate political fact-finding agency that has ever been conceived. In point of fact much more has been spent on the knowledge of the nature of the hog than of that of man. This is not to disparage the expenditure of funds for scientific hog-breeding, but to indicate the importance and the possibility of scientific study of mankind on the political and social sides.
A very small percentage of the farmers applying in the sense of the wet, and the percentage means of preventing it which will have been an economy for the farmers to get a small percentage of the farm using employs or various crops in competing seed offers, import, purchase and patenting any interest in the patenting many.

In the great sense how expensive in importance and exorbitant increase the importance of the possibilities in the way of research and the importance of human nature. We now begin an experimental study of human nature with new phases of hope and promise of expectations and coming with new phases of hope and promise to develop and manifest the expected sense how money is necessary to adapt and maintain the most available policy testing without sense that has ever been.

Concerning the point of this map more has been spent on the knowledge of the nature of the hope item of part of men. This is not to disturb the experimentation of farm for scientific pole, to introduce the importance and the possibility of scientific study of mapping on the political and social science.
The existing equipment for the systematic study of politics is a very meager one, far more restricted than is commonly supposed by those who give some attention to governmental affairs. A survey of the personnel available and the facilities available for political research was made in 1922, and indicated a handful of men available, and these men unable to devote their time to the work at hand and unprovided with the necessary equipment and facilities for scientific work. (I)

(I) See report of the Committee on Political Research of the American Political Science Association 1923.

These fact finding agencies will not give us a genuine political science, but they are the data out of which a science may be constructed, and they are the material out of which political prudence may be much more highly developed than at the present time is possible. If we can imagine a world in which all the experiments in every region are quickly transmitted to all other regions, and where the acts and deeds of government are fully classified and recorded and made available to all other governments,
The executive department for the preparation and study of policy

is a very messy one. It is more complicated than it commonly

supposed by those who give some attention to government affairs.

A minor of the personnel available and the facilities available

for political research was made in 1938, and increased a penalty

of new qualified and trained men were used to devote part time to the

work of paying and understanding with the necessary equipment and

facilities for scientific work.

The report of the Committee on Political Research

of the American Political Science Association 1938.

These first findings indicate will not give us a genuine political

solution, but they are the facts out of which a solution may be

constructed. They are the materials out of which political

progress may be made more rapidly toward the goal of free

time is possible. If we can imagine and work to improve the

expenditures in many regions the difficulty is transmitted to all other

regions, and we may expect any gains or losses of government or

affluence and research and where available to help other governments,
and where the wise and prudent are accustomed to canvass such material and draw their tentative conclusions, we shall find that very great gains have already been made in the operation of the governmental mechanism. (I)

(I) See the system of organizing public intelligence advocated by Walter Lippman in his *Public Opinion*; Bryce, *Modern Democracies*, Ch. on the importance of more facts.

Many possibilities of difference of opinion will be eliminated, many pleas of those who preach the half truth or the one case will be ended, and in general the possible alternatives in the determinations of public policies will be reduced to a more limited number.

Unquestionably the new politics will make for wider use than ever before of statistics and of psychology. Some of the possible lines of advance have been indicated and many others now undeveloped will be unfolded with the advance of inquiry in this important field. There is no magic in either of these types of inquiry but they seem to offer many suggestive possibilities to
and what was the purpose and philosophy of the research to overcome some
material and general problems of consultation, we shall find that
very great gains have actually been made in the operation of the
Governmental mechanism.

(1) See the chapter of organizing public information
suggested by Walter Doremus in his paper, "The

Many possibilities for change in public opinion will appear
when these of those who believe the policy of the one case
will be changed. And in general the possibilities of change in the
determination of public policy will be increased to a more
limited number.

Understanding the new policies will mean for what can

from even parts of the states and of the territories. Some of the
possibilities that of changes have been included in many contexts now
manipulation will be understood with the assistance of a number of
important ideas. There is no need to refer to these types of
importance but they seem to offer many interesting possibilities to
Students of government. Statistics increase the length and breadth of the observer's range, giving him myriad eyes and making it possible to explore seas hitherto only vaguely described and charted. In a way, statistics may be said to socialize observation. It places a great piece of apparatus at the disposal of the inquirer, apparatus as important and useful to him, if properly employed, as the telescope, the microscope, or the spectroscope in other fields of human investigation. We do not look forward to a science of politics or of economics or of sociology based wholly and exclusively upon scientific methods and conclusions. We know that statistics do not contain all the elements necessary to sustain scientific life; but is it not reasonable to expect a much greater use of this elaborate instrument of social observation in the future?

Likewise psychology offers material and methods of great value to politics and possibilities of still greater things. Methods are being suggested by which much more accurate measurement of the human personality may be made, and much deeper insight into the social process be secured. This work is likely to be
...analysis of government procedures increase the temptation of...

...precaution of the organisation's tenure, giving firm warning...making it possible to explore some preliminary and general...experiences...In a way, experience may be equal to social...observation. It places a great place of appearance at the disposal of the intellectual apparatus as important and necessary to pin...property employed, as the television, the microscope, the spectroscopy, in order...experience in order to find or assume innovation. We do not take responsibility for a science of politics or economics or of...sociology passed morally and existentially about scientific methods...elements necessary to sustain scientific life; part is if not...elements necessary to sustain scientific life...part is if not...elements necessary to sustain scientific life...part is if not...elements necessary to sustain scientific life...part is if not...

Elements necessary to sustain scientific life...part is if not...

Elements necessary to sustain scientific life...part is if not...

In the future, the following articles material and methods of great...analysis to politics and possibilities of still greater promise. Methods...the point success by which many more scientific measurement of...the human personality may be made, and map greater insight into...
supplemented soon by that of group psychology, and somewhere along the line there may be developed the study of the political personality and process and the aspects and bearings of political psychology which has long existed in name and in practical fact, but not in systematized form. We seem to stand on the verge of definite measurement of elusive elements in human nature hitherto evading observation and understanding and control by scientific methods. Psychology of course like statistics does not assume to set up the standards of social science, but is an instrument or method by which students in these fields may be materially aided in their quest for scientific truth.

Gradually there will be constructed a new politics, woven out of the new elements of modern life and thought. It will be new not merely in the sense that it reflects new social and economic and social forces, formerly perhaps neglected or inadequately represented in political formulas or symbols. We need new philosophies for the newer groups, for as socialism, syndicalism, communism, internationalism, fascism, and there is no doubt that we shall have them in abundance, taking the name
supplemented soon by part of a new psychology and some other source.

The fine points may be developed the study of the psychology

personality and processes and the sequence and patterns of psychology

psychology which has long existed in name and in practice. This

not in systematic form. We seem to stand on the verge of

generating a new science of human nature. The

experience of psychology and metaphysics and contact with scientific

metaphysics of course the metaphysics does not seem to

set in the arena of social science, but is in an intermediate stage.

method as the approach to the field of the social sciences may be satisfactory and

...in their dear for scientific truth.

Scientific truth will be concomitant with politics. It will be

out of the new elements of modern life and thought. It will be

new not only in the sense that it reflects new society and

economy and social forces, but the way people no longer of

imaginative revolutionary in politics for the new existence, not as sociology

women philosophy for the women's roles, not as sociology

 cavalry, communication, internationalism, feminism, and there is

no group that we apply more firmly in experience, taking the name
of science and the colorful forms of literature. But politics will be new in that it utilizes the new developments in modern science, social and physical: - of psychology, of statistics, of biology, of ethnology, of geography, of engineering, and of other types of studies that may throw light upon the inner problems of political cooperation and control. The new politics will be a synthesis of significant factors in modern mental life, applied to the problems of government, released from traditional or authoritarian conditions or precedents for the purpose of scientific experiment and the determination of the inner secrets of the political process.

That the methods of politics will be the same as those of physics may not follow, for each new type of inquiry must formulate its own special methods, and slavish imitation of one by the other may not be profitable, and in fact may do damage, as many of the failures in scientific social science already demonstrate. For much of this work of developing the science of politics, equipment and resources not now available will be necessary. It may be
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Of science and its conceptual role of interdiscipline. But as a new in fact it utilizes the new developments in modern science, society and technology — of technology, of science, of philosophy, of anthropology, of economics, and so on.

Other types of studies that may throw light upon the inner workings of political cooperation and conflict. The new politics of programmes of political cooperation and conflict will result in an expansion of scientific knowledge in modern society. It is applying to the programmes of government, legislation from traditional scientific research, and the formalization of the inner machinery of the political process.

That the methods of politics will be the same as those of business may not follow. For each new type of industry, what form a firm of the same type must take, the methods of politics, and so forth, may change as much as the local and national scientific society and research institutions. For the purposes of this work or developing the science of politics, adequate

and necessary for novellists will be necessary. It may be
provided in universities, in private foundations or by govern-
mental agencies, or by all of them in combination. But if the
gap between social and natural science is not to widen, these
steps must be taken and that without much delay. What advantage
shall we reap if science conquers the whole world except the
world's government, and then turns its titanic scientific forces
over to a government of ignorance and prejudice? Cassandra
was given insight into the future only upon the fatal condition
that what the prophet said would not be believed. Nevertheless
I may be permitted to say that unless we think seriously, systematically
and scientifically upon the fundamental questions of social and
political control the world may easily be confronted by a catastrophe
of the most appalling kind because of the lack of coordination
between natural and "unnatural" science. We complacently assume
that all will always be well, but there is little basis for such an
assumption on the part of one who views objectively the present
situation with its tremendous possibilities of social and political
cataclysm.
braving in navigations in private means of navigation, or in
ment's manners, or in all of them in combination. But if he
get patronage, society and national service to not to when these
apes must be taken and that without much delay. What a
scientist we need it science commands the whole world except the
word's government and form crime like crime scolding at once
over to government of ignorance and barbaric education.
were given insight into the future only upon the future condition
that what the people said would not be believed. Nevertheless
I may be permitted to say that unless we think scientically, scientically
and scientistically about the fundamental deserts of society and
political conflict, the world may essentially be constituted by a catastrophe
of the worst expression kind because of the lack of cooperation
between nature and "scientific" science. We compromise science
that if I will simply one well put there is little peace for such an
assertion on the part of one who name oppositively the present
situation with the Department of distribution of society and political
department.
It will be found necessary to press the study of political science with great earnestness and vigor, and it may be assumed that personnel and resources for this purpose may be found. Perhaps the study of government may be focussed in some central institute, or possibly in several of them in various parts of the world. And of course there must be a body of scientists earnestly devoting themselves to the great undertaking. Possibly this result may not be obtained until after wars and social breakdowns have further disciplined the world to a point where intelligence is called in to aid. Perhaps the greed, corruption, and violence of economic, ethnic, and territorial groups will be permitted for long periods to take the place of scientific social and political control. The white, the yellow, the black and the brown may desolate the world with still greater wars than those that have gone before. The rich and the poor, the mountain and the plain, the center and the circumference, may prefer blood and iron as their social medicine, and writhe in agony again as they have done before. And those who worship Jehovah, or Baal, or Buddha may kill and torture each other for the control of the mechanism.
It will be again necessary to pursue the study of political
science with great seriousness any actor, and it may be assumed
that personal any resources for this purpose may be found.
Perhaps the study of government may be focussed in some certain
instances or possibly in several of them in一时的 parts of
the world. And of course there must be a body of science that

essential to government performance to the great satisfaction.

Possibly the result will not be obtained until after the war,

society progresses have turned. A discipline the world to a
point where intelligence is called in to the field. Perhaps the great

contradiction, any analysis of economic, social, and political systems
will be paramount for four purposes to take the place of science.

society and political context. The white, the yellow, the black and

the brown men go side by side with each other. Some may think

those that have gone before, the shirt and the boot, the mountain

and the plain, the center and the outermost, may be equal as they

have gone before. And those who worship Japan, or East, or Europe

may kill and fortify each other for the conquest of the mechanism

and the science.
of political and social control. If human nature is unknowable, their struggles may well be more terrible than ever before, as the instruments of destruction are rendered more fearful with the increasing knowledge of nature. Yet there are many indications of the rise of political intelligence, political prudence, political science and it is possible to plot a curve of progress in this direction.

But it may be said that there will be no life, no heart, no color, no emotion left in the new type of politics. Quite the contrary. The psychologists have not destroyed the vitality and values of education because they have introduced science into the process. On the contrary, they have brought larger and more abundant life to many little ones. The physicians and the biologists have not put an end to love even though they have brought scientific methods to replace ignorance and superstition. Industry does not cease because scientific methods in the management of personnel or in the construction of machinery are developed and applied. If we knew more about the scientific adjustment of the political
of political and societal concerns. It cannot be expected that political and societal structures can be more thoroughly examined, except in the absence of adequate knowledge of nature. Yet there are many instances of political science and its success in playing a role of progress and influence.

But it may be said that these will be no life on earth, no color, no emotion left in the new types of politics. Quite the contrary, the boundaries of science have not yet reached the vitality and nature of our conventional process, but more and more scientists will play a greater role, and the process of science to reveal little of the procedures and the procedures of the experiment. There are no new things that have been developed scientifically, except in the construction of mechanisms and developments. In the construction of mechanisms and developments, we know more about the scientific instrument of the political.
relations of mankind, men should live a happier and richer life than when chance and ignorance determined their lot. Justice and liberty and law may have a basis in reason as well as in force, superstition or formula. Wrong, injustice, tyranny have flourished most rankly when and where the light could not penetrate, in the darker shades of deception, illusion, ignorance and sham. The dreams of men that they might be free, that they might be recognized as parts of the great political process, the hopes of security, fairness, justice, recognition, will not be less fully realized when truth is known than when its face is veiled.¹ To mitigate

¹ Curtis, W. C. Science of Human Affairs, Ch. 12. "The Higher Values of Science." the horrors of war, to avoid the destructiveness of revolution, to minimize the losses from costly group conflicts, to utilize the vast reserve of human cooperation, and social constructiveness; this is not a task of soulless regimentation, but of inspiring release of human faculties, of elevation of mankind to higher levels of attainment and of well being.
The World Vision of Science

The world of men to which the gnostic vision of revelation
was heir to a sense of human cooperation and social cooperation
was heir to a sense of society denatured of meaning of manking or meaning to peace for
peace of man as the basis of any of peace for

Characteristic of meaning, men seeking live a partner and proper life

Even when alone and incapable of remaining part for sense and

Utility and law may have a place in reason as well as in force,

Superposition of forces, none, intuitions, tyranny have long been

These, certainly where the light could not penetrate, in the

Certain aspects of gnostic intuitions, ignorance and sense, the

As parts of the great political process, the hope of society,

Legitimate, justice, recognition will not be free fully realized

To mitigate when truth to known when the face to valley

"I certify, I certify of human existence, of life,

"The World Vision of Science,"
The new politics in the new world is likely to bring first of all new rationalization of the new forces of our new time. These will be rationalizations of new groups that rise to strength and self-expression. Labor and woman and newly awakening races will find their voices, as will internationalism and localism. There will be other types of Rousseaus and Tolstois and Nietzsches and Ghandis and Krapotkins. But these doctrines will be the defences of those who have or seek power in new forms.

There will be far more perfect organization of political information than is found today, and of political observation as well. This lags, but it waits only the touch of interest and organization to catch up with the advance of the modern world. There will be wider organization of the political intelligence and prudence of the time than ever before, not merely local in its scope but world wide organization of the opinions of the wise men and wise women. And this will bring higher levels of tolerance, higher levels of discussion and attainment, wider possibilities of wise decision. Toward this stage of political evolution we seem to be moving with rapidity. I do not refer merely to the organization
The new policies in the new world are likely to bring about

or any new instructions of the new forces of our new times.

will be manifestations of new groups that see ideas to standardize

and self-expression. Respect for women and women's meaningful roles

will find their voices as will Internationalism and localism.

There will be other types of franchises andatore and metabolisms

and Opanaie and Exposition. Not can question will be the

 guarantee of those who have or expect to in new homes.

There will be more perfect organization of policy

information than to any other, and of political organization as

well. This idea, put in writing only the concept of important and

organization to cope with the changes of the modern world.

There will be more accurate organization of the political intelligences

any南瓜 and the time from sea portes, not merely local in the

socio-economic and political intelligences of the origin of the wise men

and wise women. And this will plan higher levels of tolerance.

With generation, toward the era of political organization we seem
to be moving with rapidity. I go not later warmth to the organization
of the League of Nations, but to the widening of intellectual interests and the interpenetration of national cultures, halted it must be conceded in war, but none the less moving steadily forward toward a community of intellectual interest that cannot be wholly lost in the new world. The International Research Council and the International Council of Learned Societies are examples of a process that goes steadily forward.

Finally, the new politics will bridge the gap between art and science, and bring us to more precise methods of political and social control that mankind has hitherto possessed. The new politics will look forward rather than backward; it will substitute experiment for traditional lore; it will be constructive and inventive rather than customary and habitual; it will create and control habits rather than submit to those that are handed down. It will use the mechanisms of education and eugenics for political and social organization and control. It will explore the recesses of human nature, of human political nature, untrammeled by authority or tradition. The new politics will not be unmindful of history or tradition or of the "subconscious", but it will also consider
The new politics will prioritize the gap between us
any science, any policy as to more precise measure of politics
any social control that making me fit for education, it will substitute
politics will look forward later on perceived, it will substitute
examination for truth to theory, it will be coordinate and
inventive rather than compulsory and dependent, it will arise and
contradiction between open ends to those that are leading
can't wait for the emergence of aggregation and emergence of politics
any social organization and policy, it will explore the decrease
of human nature, of human political nature, intermediation of authority
in suffrage: The new politics will not be meaningless of history
or ascension or the "encompassation" part if it will also context
or ascension or
inheritance and environment as science unfolds them; rather than as power or privilege portrays them for personal advantage. The new politics will endeavor to substitute fact for opinion, and experiment for belief.

This is not the task of a day or perhaps of a generation, but it is a necessary undertaking and a necessary accomplishment if the new world with its new social forces and its new intellectual technique is to be governed by a system of social and political control of a similar type, and if a world of science is not to be mastered and directed by ignorance and prejudice.
Inferences and environment as science and тех of research.

The power or privilege of access to personnel assistance.

New policies with emphasis to cooperate for opinion and

administration for policy.

This is not the case of a vein or barrier of a generation.

part it to be necessary preserving and necessary accomplishment.

It the vein mostly with the very social force and the new interest.

particular is to be governed by a sheet of society and policy.

contrast of a similar type, and it a matter of science is not to be

metastas and allowed for ignorance and plague.
April 2, 1925.

My dear Mr. Jernegan:

I thank you for your very interesting letter of March 24 enclosing clipping with respect to a new research endowment at Harvard, and the letter of Charles K. Webster.

The plans for a School of Politics certainly ought to include work in the field of international politics, but the pressure for adequate facilities in already existing departments is so strong at the moment that I do not feel at liberty to press the plan for a School of Politics except in such form as would also bring relief to existing departments. I hope the time may not be long before we shall be able, having secured means for the more urgent needs, to put the School of Politics to the front.

Some time the whole thing must be settled by funds especially for research. They are very desirable and would be welcome at any time, but can hardly be given the place of prominence until we have provided for the even more urgent needs.

I thank you for sending me this material.

Very truly yours,
April 8, 1935.

Mr. Mayor:

I am grateful for your very interesting letter

of January 29 announcing appointment with respect to a new

research establishment at Harwell and the letter of October

M. Mayor.

The plans for a school of politics certainly

certain to influence work in the field of international poli-

tics, but the promise for adequate facilities in any

existing government is so remote at the moment that I go

not feel it necessary to press the plan for a school of

politics ahead in such form as would also place other

positions outside in such form as would also place other

positions outside. I hope the time may not be long

before we shall be able to make necessary changes for the more

effective use of the School of Politics to the extent of

some time the whole field must be neglected by

some especially for research. These are very general

and would welcome at any time but can hardly be given

the place of prominence until we have found for the same

more adequate means.

I thank you for considering me for material.

Very truly yours,

[Signature]
April 2, 1925.

My dear Mr. Merriam:

I think you will be interested in the enclosed letter from Mr. Jernegan and its enclosures.

Kindly return them to me for my files when you have examined them.

Very truly yours,

Mr. Charles E. Merriam,
The University of Chicago.

EDB:CB
My dear Mr. Keirle:

I think you will be interested in the enclosed letter from Mr. 7jener:

Enclosed please.

Kindly return same to me for

the benefit when you have examined same.

Very truly yours,

Mr. C. 7. 7. 7.

The University of Chicago.
Memorandum to the President:

Mr. Merriam reports that while in New York this past week, he saw Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick with reference to a School of Politics, but the available time had been occupied with other matters concerning research fellowships, etc., and that very little time was left for the School of Politics.

Mr. Fosdick, however, appeared to be genuinely interested and said to him in substance: "We have not had any time to talk this over adequately; after your meeting of the National Council of the Social Sciences which takes place in Chicago, April the fourth, send me a telegram and I will make an appointment with you to give you a whole day to consider the project."

Mr. Merriam, therefore, plans to arrange if possible to go on to New York next week, and would like to make an appointment to see you if possible before he goes.

Sincerely yours,

James H. Tufts

JHT:H
Memorandum to the President

Mr. William Reynolds,Dear Mr. Reynolds,

York next week for my return to Chicago. With reference to a speech on politics, and the

Sincerely yours,

J. H. Tilton
Southern Methodist University
April 14, 1925

Dr. E. D. Burton,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir:

I have recently noticed an account of an address delivered by you to the Chicago bar association in which you spoke of the possibilities of a school of politics, organized on a high plane, and placing emphasis on graduate research in the field of government and its problems.

Through the generosity of Mrs. George F. Arnold, of Houston, Texas, an endowment has been created for Southern Methodist University, with the object of establishing a School similar to the one which you have outlined. We are at present working out the plans and policies of this School. Our courses of study are as yet not fully determined, though it has been decided to offer a two-years' graduate course in the School.

With our work yet in a nebulous condition, it occurred to me that your interest in this movement would warrant my calling upon you for certain suggestions.

It would certainly be a courtesy and an aid to us, if you would give in detail the course of study which you would suggest for each of the two years of graduate work, with possible texts to accompany each course. Also the nature of the degree to be offered in the school, the requirements, etc. Such suggestions will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,
Southern Methodist University

April 14, 1932

Dr. F. E. Norton
Office II

Dear Sir,

I have recently noticed an account of an economics conference

At a recent meeting of the American Economic Association in a

presentation of a paper on public policy arising on a high plane

and I feel a need for an abstract of the speech to

and the program.

"Thamer's Economy of the United States, at the

section, taking an unbiased and general view of the Southern Methodist

University. With this aspect of economics in mind, one

may wish to have further information on the

plan of the paper's author. On the other hand, I

have not fully digested the "Soviet Economics" and feel

another abstract of the abstract. At the same time, I,

would like to have your comments on the attentiveness of the

paper, as well as any other comments on the paper. You

are cordially invited to attend the meeting.

If you have any comments on the paper, I would be

glad to hear from you.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]
April 21, 1925.

My dear Mr. Myres:

I am sending you under separate cover, a copy of the address made by President Burton before the Bar Association of Chicago, in which he spoke of the need for a School of Politics. With that I am sending you a copy of the plan for a School of Politics for the University of Chicago, that has been formulated.

The burden of the University's present efforts have been directed toward the raising of $17,500,000. for certain betterments in connection with existing schools and departments. As a consequence, the situation as regards the School of Politics here has gone not much further than these two papers indicate. I trust that these will be of some service to you.

With best wishes to the Southern Methodist University for the success of its new School, I am,

Very truly yours,

William E. Scott (signed)

Secretary to the President.

Mr. S. D. Myres, Jr.,
Santa Fe Building,
Dallas, Texas.

WES:8
May 5, 1925.

Memorandum to President Burton:

Perhaps this idea has already been suggested by somebody else, but it just came to me and I thought I would pass it along for whatever it might be worth.

Is there any possibility of naming the proposed east wing of Harper the Harry Pratt Judson Memorial building and securing the money for it from the Republican political leaders with whom President Judson worked in very cordial relations? In view of the fact that practically one-half of this building will ultimately be used by the School of Politics and the balance by the closely related Social Science departments, this ought now to be an impossibility.

Very truly yours,

Edward A. Henry

Head of the Readers' Department.

Copy sent to Mr. John F. Moulds
" " Mr. Harold H. Swift
The University of Chicago

May 2, 1929

Recommendation to President Roosevelt:

I am in the process of completing my study of the

Yale Law Journal and I am enclosing a copy of the

article which I have written on "The Development of

Litigation in the United States." I enclose an outline of

the argument which I shall present to the Supreme

Court in the forthcoming hearing on this question.

Please let me know if you wish to receive a copy of

the article or if you require any other information.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

Head of the Law Library

[Handwritten notes on the paper]
MEMORANDA ON A PROPOSED INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENT RESEARCH
(or a similar title)

A. Purpose and Scope.

The fundamental purpose of the Institute should be the expansion of human knowledge in regard to political relations—the development of fundamental political science in the technical sense of the term. This is one of the most fertile and important fields in the domain of intellectual inquiry, but thus far has never been adequately cultivated, particularly in view of the rapid advance of natural science and its inevitable relations to governmental affairs, and it is extremely important that political relations should be studied with equal thoroughness and care. Along with governmental research provision could be made for rendering expert service and for conferences in which the wisdom and prudence of the time might be assembled. The third field is that of vocational training and education.

1. Fundamental research

Broadly speaking the task of political research may be summarized:

(1) Organization of political information

(2) Organization of observation of political phenomena and processes.

(3) The broader use of the instruments of social inquiry developed in the census, statistics and psychology.

(4) The combining of newly developed elements in related sciences into new politics.1

(5) The organization of intensive political research on a considerable scale.1

1. See attached paper containing Chapter 7, Conclusions, of my volume "The New Point of View in Politics."
Generally speaking the broad fields of investigation are those of the study of political affairs in the shape of

Political parties
Study of translation of opinion into law
The field of legislation
The study of public administration
The study of urban relations
The study of international relations
The development of the study of political theory and philosophy
The study of public law
The development of the methods of political science
The development of the methods of teaching political science.

This enumeration is designed only to indicate very broadly some of the larger fields in which very intensive inquiry needs to be made. The specific types of inquiries are indicated in the departmental program, copy of which is attached hereto. Of particular promise and significance are the following:

(1) Governmental reporting, including standardization of reports and further measurement of the operations of government.

(2) Electoral mechanisms and processes.

(3) Police administration

(4) Tax administration

(5) Essential qualities of citizenship and citizenship training

(6) International organization

(7) Municipal relations

(8) Political psychology.
The study of political science is essentially an exploration of the nature of politics and the role of the state in society. It involves the analysis of political institutions, processes, and behaviors in order to understand how government operates and how it affects individuals and society as a whole.

The study of political science is characterized by a multidisciplinary approach, drawing on concepts and methodologies from various fields such as history, economics, sociology, philosophy, and psychology. It examines the origins, development, and evolution of political systems, as well as the dynamics of political change and conflict.

Political science is also concerned with the study of political behavior, which includes the analysis of voting patterns, public opinion, and the influence of interest groups on the political process. It explores how citizens participate in politics and how political decisions are made.

The study of political science is crucial for understanding the complexities of modern societies, where political issues often intersect with economic, social, and cultural concerns. It helps to develop critical thinking skills and provides a framework for analyzing and evaluating political phenomena, enabling informed participation in civic life.

In summary, the study of political science is a vital discipline that contributes to our understanding of the political world and helps individuals to become engaged and informed citizens.
These are presented only as types of investigations which require the expenditure of considerable time and money. An appropriately equipped institute would be able to develop these and other projects on a scale never before realized. Out of these inquiries should come results of very great value to government and society.

In connection with investigations of this kind, the institute might also serve as a fact finding agency for other groups or institutions, thus any local or other than local club or association or institution might call upon such an institute to develop for it the facts in regard to a particular situation, as for example, in regard to taxation or public personnel or elections. If, for example, the X Club wished to expend $10,000 in the study of taxation, this sum might be turned over to the institute for purposes of investigation, leaving the policy to be determined by the organization asking for the facts.

It would also be possible to develop cooperation between such an institute and other similar institutions in the university or elsewhere. The institute might in fact take the lead in bringing about cooperation between various investigating agencies and in coordinating research as far as possible, thus eliminating duplication and waste and making possible types of inquiry that otherwise would be difficult to bring about. In other words, a well equipped institute of this sort might take the lead in the development of scientific research in this field.

2. Consultation and Conference

An Institute of Government would have a large field for work as consultant with various governmental and civic agencies. There is
In connection with the investigations of this kind, the importance of widening the scope of investigations might only now make an appearance as an example. In the face of a test to ascertain to what percentage of a certain tax returns certain percentages of the income tax for 1900 in the State of X may reach coexisting with an example of how certain percentages of the income tax for 1900 in the State of X may be possible to develop cooperation between various investigating agencies and in the meantime, the importance might in fact mark the need in planning the costs co-operation between various investigating agencies and in coordinating research as far as possible and administrating cooperation may make and enable better cases of inquiry that otherwise might be difficult to bring about. In other words, a well undertaken investigation of these sorts might take the place in the development of science.
a continuous demand, which our present staff is never able to
meet, for expert advice in municipal, state, county, national
and international relations. No university or institution is
now adequately staffed to do this consulting work without inter-
rupting its other functions. If, for example, our expert in
international affairs is called away to Washington or Paris the
local work suffers, and so many other instances might be cited.

In order to meet the legitimate community demands for
the services of men who are expert in various branches of govern-
mental activity, a staff is needed with a personnel large enough
to make possible the detachment of one or more members without
interfering with the research work of the University or with its
teaching functions.

Another agency of large usefulness and promise lies in the
holding of conferences to consider problems in the field of political
relations. In these conferences students, responsible officials, and
interested students may be called together for the purpose of
interchanging experiences and opinions and of elaborating policies
and developing problems. These conferences might extend for perhaps
four weeks and be integrated with the teaching and research work
of the University. The Institute to be held in the summer of 1924
with the aid of the Harris Foundation is a specific example of a
type of conference that might be much more widely extended. The
Williamstown Institute is a still more elaborate example of a conference
in the field of international relations. Other cases are the Iowa
Commonwealth Conference held in the summer of 1924 for the consideration
of questions regarding elections and parties, and the Clark University
a community garden which can provide fresh vegetables for the
neighborhood. By growing their own food, they not only
reduce their reliance on imported produce but also
increase their self-sufficiency. The garden is
organized by a group of volunteers who
work together to maintain it. The garden
not only provides food but also serves as a
community gathering place. It is an example of
how local communities can work together to
achieve common goals.

In order to meet the legitimacy criteria,
the garden actively involves its members in
various aspects of its operation. Members are
involved in planning, planting, and harvesting,
ensuring that the garden remains sustainable.

The garden also serves as a place for
members to share knowledge and skills, creating
a sense of community and pride in their
accomplishments. It is an example of how
local communities can work together to
achieve common goals.

The garden is a model of how local communities
can work together to achieve common goals. It
is an example of how local communities can
work together to achieve common goals.
conferences on International Relations some years ago.

Examples of the fields in which conferences might well be utilized as a means of developing technique or raising problems and settling some of them are as follows:

Non-voting
Civil service
Election laws and machinery
Police
Municipal finance
Citizenship training
Standardized administrative control over finances

It may also be noticed that it would be relatively easy to obtain financial support for conferences of this kind on a specific issue. Institutions or organizations interested in some special problem might be willing to contribute their influence and financial aid for the purpose of organizing and carrying through a conference in connection with a staff and research equipment of the University of Chicago. The possibilities of usefulness to the community in this field are exceedingly large and constitute a very great opportunity in the way of direct and practical service to the public and in the development of intellectual leaders and leadership.

3. Vocational Training and Education

In this field comes the training of teachers and investigators in political science. This is already covered by the University, but will unquestionably continue to be an increasingly large domain. Beyond this there is the developing field of training for specific public services as for example in the international world and in public administration. It is inevitable that in time our diplomatic and
conference on international relations and war and its

Examples of the role in which conferences might well

be utilized as a means of developing commonality of interest,

propaganda and collective sense of peace as follows:

Non-active

Joint service

Exclusion law and compensation

Police

Ministry of finance

Other ships training

Strategic substantiation of conflict over influence

It may also be noticed that it may be profitable to

apply financial support for conferences of this kind as a

measure. This is due to the influence that may be exerted

on the minds of the people and will be utilized to promote

interests that are not in the best interests of the country.

In connection with a study of the development of the

University of Chicago, the possibilities of maintaining the community

in this field and the educational forces may be a very great

opportunity in the way of direct and practical service to the people

and in the development of intellectual freedom and independence.

Assistance and cooperation

In this field come the training of leaders and intellectuals

in collaboration. This is a matter of concern to the University

and with all interested in cooperation to be an important facet.

Passage from here to the development of training for service

pupils and men in the interest of the community only to develop

self-motivation. It is imperative that in time our obligations and

orientation
and consular service, our tax administration, our civil service, our police and other lines of our administration will call for higher trained personnel especially in positions of greatest responsibility. At present this field is limited and could not well be made the basis of a school of politics, but inevitably the number of such positions must increase. A well equipped Institute might serve the purpose not only of training men to enter positions in the higher administrative service, but also of giving such training to those already occupying positions of some importance. If a center of the right type were established, men in administrative positions might be given leaves of absence for the purpose of special study at the Institute for particular topics such as taxation or police or foreign service.

B. Organization

1. The technical organization of such an Institute as is proposed is passed over temporarily except that presumably such an organization would be composed of instructors giving the majority of their time to such work and would be in charge of a responsible director who could give part time to administration, part time to teaching and part time to research, depending on the needs of the occasion.

II. Personnel

For the purposes of such an Institute, it would be necessary to have in addition to the men now available the following personnel:

International Law 2 men of professorial rank
Municipal Relations 1 man
Legislation 2 men
Citizenship 1 man
Public Administration 2 men
Political Psychology 2 men
Governmental Reporting 2 men
Public Law 1 man
Research assistants 10 men of instructorial rank
or students 15 men.
Additional items of Expenditure Estimated

Stenographic, clerical and statistical service ------ $35,000

Salary and expenses of men in extra-university study 6 --- --- --- -- 10,000

Expenses of outside men called in for conference or other service and incidental expenses of conferences --- --- --- -- 25,000

Publication --- --- --- --- 10,000

Estimated expense of additional personnel --- --- 75,000

Miscellaneous overhead expense --- --- --- 15,000
Copies sent July 18

to Mr. Swift and Mr. Moulds

MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW

with Gov. Frank O. Lowden at his country home at Oregon,

Called by appointment with Mr. Heckman. Quite
a large party had come over from the Artists' Camp at Mr. Heckman's.
Mr. Lowden spoke to them all, then turned to me and said that he
was greatly interested to hear of what was going on at the University,
etc. Mr. Heckman said in effect that he hoped that sometime the
Governor would give me an opportunity to talk about about our plans.
He said at once, "Come in here," and drew us aside into an enclosed
porch, inviting his son Lowden to join us, but no one else. Lowden's
son slipped away, leaving only the Governor, Mr. Heckman and me.

I had decided beforehand that if we got a chance
to talk, our best approach was to ask his advice on the practicability
and value of a School of Politics. I therefore plunged into this,
comparing it with a Medical School, relating it to all the other
divisions of the University and discussing the need of men who
should enter political life thoroughly prepared, etc., etc.
Incidentally we both referred to the great work he had done in
the State Government of Illinois. The Governor showed the greatest
interest in the whole matter, discussed men (mentioning A. B. Hall
especially) and courses of study, etc.; spoke of the fact that he was
a member of a Committee of Research with Merriam, whom he praised, etc.

I told him that we were not ready to do this thing
yet, but that it was high time to begin studying it and that I
should like the privilege of consulting him from time to time. He
gave hearty assent to this suggestion and expressed warm approval
MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW

With Gov. Frank O. Lowden at the country home of Oregon

Estate of L. Burton

July 6, 1933

Called by appointment with Mr. Hecken.

A large party had come over from the Alcove, Camp of Mr. Hecken.

Mr. Lowden spoke to them all and turned to me and said: "Tell me

we are especially interested in what we are seeing at the University.

etc." Mr. Hecken said in a letter that he hoped that sometime the

Governor would come in an opportunity to talk about sport and plane

He said of once "Come in here" and show me some thing in the distance

now. I have heard many, and on one of these "Mr. Hecken and me

Do you have a plane?"

I had never heard anything about it. But if I get a chance

could I call on you and show me the plane and talk about the possibilities

and value of a school of aviation. I prefer to plan educational

comparisons with a medical school, relating it to all the other

graduates of the University and discussing the need of men who

would enter public policy. I have referred to the speech of Mr. Hecken.

The speech of Mr. Hecken is as follows:

"The St. George Government of Illinois, the Governor wants the Extension.

He has an interest in the whole matter. I have seen the Governor, and have

expressed my own views. I was told that if you are a member of the Committee of Reference, you are present, and expressed my opinion.

I told him that we were not very to go this time

yet, but that if we had time to begin anything it may take

some time before the privileges of committing time from time to time. He

told me that he was present to make suggestions and express my own opinion.
of the whole idea. I then told him that there were certain things that must be taken care of before we could get to this, mentioning in particular $8,000,000 for salaries, and $6,000,000 for buildings. He smiled when I told him that I was hoping we could get this $12,000,000 within a year, and then be free to take up the School of Politics, but reiterated his interest in the plan and his gratification that we were working at it. I said a few things about our general plan for "the best possible University, etc."

Throughout the interview he was most cordial, gave us all the time of the visit, and indicated an entire willingness to discuss it again.

"My prognosis is that it will be best for Mr. Smith to prepare a pamphlet on this school - for me to submit it to Mr. Lowden in manuscript for criticism, to ask him after a time about people who will be interested; perhaps someday raise the question of transferring of the work of his Research Committee to the University, and as far as possible make him feel that he is doing the thing.

Mr. Heckman suggests that at the proper time it may be well to ask him if he does not want to help clear the way for this school by giving something toward the first $8,000,000.

In the afternoon Mr. Heckman took me in his car to call on Mrs. Medill McCormick, by appointment. When we arrived we were informed that Mrs. McCormick had been called to Chicago in connection with the arrest of the two men who had attempted to extort money from her by threats, and had forgotten to send word canceling the engagement.
of the proper time. I plan to give him peace more certain

whether good must be taken care of before we can get to this

mentioning in particular $1,000,000 for salaries and for $2,000,000

for purchasing. He explained when I called him that I was looking for

4,500,000 which is a large and clean free to
come up to the School of Politics, and that the plan of the

take up the plan and the instruction shall be made and to the

I think a tax change would not be apparent plan for "the poor people

University" as.

The persons of the instruction to see more carful. have

as it is the time of the April and interested in entire willingness

is the amount of the figure. and it seems to advertise

it. I believe it well. if it will be passed for full. Only

go through a manner on the scope, not to go to market as to

Mr. Monday in mentioning for additional to see him after a time,

ment people who will be interested perhaps so very wise. For the

desire of transferring to the work of the Rehearsal Committee

to the University and so far as possible make him feel that

be gotten the picture.

The Rehearsal Committee that of the proper time if we

be well to see him. It is gone not want to help them. The may not

can not speak of giving some time coming the first of the $8,000,000.

In the afternoon Mr. Rehearsal took me in the car to

call me the "Rehearsal Rehearsal" on employment. When we arrived

we were informed that Mr. Rehearsal had been called to Chicago

in connection with the street of the two men who had appeared

to extract money from me for expenses, and had requested to send

more concerning the agreement.