

## Appendix 1: “Anarchy” in Early IR (1895-1945)

Occurrences of “anarchy” and “anarchic” in selected books published between 1895 and 1945.  
All electronically available passages° are quoted from books with less than twenty occurrences.

Books	Occurrences	(Mean: 7.3. Median: 2)
T. J. Lawrence (1895), <i>The Principles of International Law</i> .	5	“The <i>Majestas Populi Romani</i> ... stood between the world and anarchy, it protected civilization from barbarism;” (31) after the Thirty Years’ War, “weary of anarchy, Europe eagerly adopted a system” that curbed warriors and statesmen; (35) without obedience to legitimate domestic authorities “there is anarchy;” (56) “a condition of revolution or anarchy” without legitimate authority; (60) “confusion and anarchy.” (205)
Westel Woodbury Willoughby (1896), <i>An Examination of the Nature of the State: A Study in Political Philosophy</i> .	6	Hobbes holds that “to resist the sovereign is to return to a state of anarchy;” (71) Hobbes holds that “a change in Government necessitates a dissolution of political society and a return to anarchy;” (85) Hobbes “pictures the non-political state as one of anarchy;” (90) [re: anarchism]; (318) [re: anarchism]; (320) “the fourteenth century anarchy in Scotland.” (340)
John Bassett Moore (1898), <i>History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to which the United States Has Been a Party</i> .	3	“All was anarchy and disorder;” (II,1503) “during the long period of anarchy in the Argentine Republic which followed the war with Brazil;” (II,1975) “the anarchy in Mexico of which Europe complains.” (III, 2929)
Benjamin Franklin Trueblood (1899), <i>The Federation of the World</i> .	1	With the creation of a world state, “international chaos and anarchy, as they now so deplorably exist, will have passed away.” (145)
Paul S. Reinsch (1900), <i>World Politics at the End of the Nineteenth Century, As Influenced by the Oriental Situation</i> .	1	“The ideal of the period is as far removed from the dead uniformity of a world empire on the one hand, as it is on the other from the distracting anarchy of a regime of mere local custom.” (6)
J. A. Hobson (1902), <i>Imperialism: A Study</i> .	2	“the rise of anarchic cosmopolitanism from individual units amid the decadence of national life;” (9) “substituting government for anarchy among nations.” (174)
Stephen Leacock (1906), <i>Elements of Political Science</i> .	6	modernity “reduce[d] the monarchies of Europe to the anarchy of the state of nature;” (93) “imperfect political organization or chronic anarchy;” (101) [re: France] “the turbulent anarchy into which this democratic regime degenerated (1793-1799);” (112) “the suppression of anarchic disorder by the establishment of a military autocracy;” (114-115) [re: Philippine self-rule] “the wrangling anarchy of their half-civilized inhabitants;” (289) “the economic anarchy of free competition.” (374)
William I. Hull (1908), <i>The Two Hague Conferences and their Contributions to International Law</i> .	0	
Norman Angell (1910), <i>The Great Illusion: A Study of the Relation of Military Power to National Advantage</i> .	1	[quoting the fear that failure to compete in an arms race will lead to] “famine, social anarchy, incalculable chaos.” (6)
David Jayne Hill (1911), <i>World Organization as Affected by the Nature of the Modern State</i> .	11	“The Condition of International Anarchy;” (vii, 15) “polite anarchy ... juristically speaking, there exists a condition of anarchy;” (15) “dismembered Italy, the victim of discord and anarchy;” (18) “perpetual anarchy in the realm of international relations;” (22) mankind’s “inherent predisposition to disorder and anarchy;” (26) “law against anarchy;” (66) in “modern constitutional States ... absolutism as well as anarchy has been held in check;” (137) “the persistent or

		recurrent anarchy of States not founded upon juristic principles, or not conducted in harmony with them;" (140) "Every advance of civilization over barbarism and of public order over anarchy has been won by the better organization of force;" (154-155) "dependence upon force, without regard to law and justice, implies a return to anarchy, and the subversion of the State;" (173) [index entry] "Anarchy, Condition of International." (203)
Paul Samuel Reinsch (1911), <i>Public International Unions: Their Work and Organization, a Study in International Administrative Law</i> .	0	
Nicholas Murray Butler (1912), <i>The International Mind: An Argument for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes</i> .	0	
A. T. Mahan (1912), <i>Armaments and Arbitration or the Place of Force in the International Relations of States</i> .	1	[re: Morocco] "the barbarous anarchy and inutility which has been their lot for centuries past." (114)
Norman Angell (1914), <i>Arms and Industry: A Study of the Foundations of International Polity</i> .	0	
Henry Noel Brailsford (1918 [1914]), <i>The War of Steel and Gold: A Study of the Armed Peace</i>	1	"resisting anarchy and fighting against an agitation that would be 'the end of all things.'" (158)
J. A. Hobson (1915), <i>Towards International Government</i> .	0	
Walter Lippman (1915), <i>The Stakes of Diplomacy</i> .	4	"The anarchy of Europe is due to the anarchy of the Balkans, Africa, and Asia" due to the struggle to exploit these areas; (114) "the anarchy of the world is due to the backwardness of weak states;" (127) "lurid accounts of anarchy;" (151) "the anarchy in the country" furnishes a pretext for intervention; (152)
G. Lowes Dickinson (1917 [1916]), <i>The European Anarchy</i> .	100+‡	
A. J. Grant et al. (1916), <i>An Introduction to the Study of International Relations</i>	11	"we are just now more impressed by the dangers of national anarchy than by the charms of national independence;" (12-13) "the absence of pure anarchy implies the presence of laws, whether or not there be a definite sovereign to command and enforce;" (120) "native anarchy;" (152, 156) "the internal condition of India was approaching anarchy;" (153) "anarchy and disorder set in;" (160) "nothing save anarchy and the disappearance of any real prospect of the internal restoration of that law and order which are the conditions of liberty and progress, can warrant any other people taking charge;" (165) "the conquest of Nature and the suppression of anarchy;" (183) "Order reigns where otherwise anarchy might prevail;" (184) "chaos amongst the States of the world, potential disorder instead of established order, anarchy instead of law;" (187) "anarchy and impotence." (198)
Leonard Woolf (1916), <i>International Government: Two Reports</i> .	1	"Wherever the relations within a community become many and complicated, the only alternative to anarchy is government, or the organized regulation of those relations." (312)
Jan C. Smuts (1918), <i>The League of Nations: A Practical Suggestion</i> .	2	"national individualism or anarchy;" (8) [quoting Browning] "that sad, obscure, anarchic state." (8)
D. P. Heatley (1919), <i>Diplomacy and the Study of International Relations</i> .	0	
T. J. Lawrence (1919), <i>The Society of Nations: Its Past, Present, and Possible Future</i> .	2	"save the world from moral anarchy;" (17) "primitive conditions of chaotic disorder and almost unbridled anarchy." (143)

H. J. Mackinder (1919), <i>Democratic Ideals and Reality: A Study in the Politics of Reconstruction</i> .	2	danger of postwar “disorder ... Anarchy and Tyranny;” (223) Bolshevism can produce only “world-anarchy or a world-tyranny.” (254)
G. Lowes Dickinson (1920), <i>Causes of International War</i> .	1	“the long anarchy” following the collapse of Rome. (27)
M. P. Follett (1920), <i>The New State: Group Organization the Solution of Popular Government</i> .	11	“anarchy means unorganized, unrelated difference;” (35) “eccentricity, caprice, put me outside, bring anarchy;” (64) “it is neither the anarchy of particularism nor the rigidity of the German machine;” (65) new building laws attempt to eliminate “not a state of individualism but of anarchy;” (111) “egotism, materialism, anarchy are not true individualism;” (171) “party dictatorship rather than anarchy;” (218) Benoist argued that “with our present pulverized suffrage, with sovereignty divided among millions, we are in a state of anarchy;” (259) medieval period knew only “despotism of the more powerful parts or anarchy of all the parts;” (269) “atomism means anarchy;” (305) proponents of the balance of power argue that the choice “between the State and anarchy is false;” (307) “But wherever you have balance in your premise, you have anarchy in your conclusion;” (307)
Frederick Charles Hicks (1920), <i>The "New World Order;" International Organization, International Law, International Cooperation</i> .	2	“international anarchy ... implies absolute disrespect for law on the part of all states;” (7) “International anarchy, 7” [index entry]. (493)
John Maynard Keynes (1920), <i>The Economic Consequences of the Peace</i> .	1	“the most dreadful material evils which men can suffer — famine, cold, disease, war, murder, and anarchy.” (255)
Norman Angell (1921), <i>The Fruits of Victory: A Sequel to "The Great Illusion"</i> .	12	“arms, indeed, may be the instrument of anarchy;” (60) “the condition of international anarchy makes true what otherwise need not be true, that the vital interests of nations are conflicting;” (69) “so long as there is no real international society ... the condition of international anarchy ...;” (80) “the anarchy and chaos that nationalism ... is producing;” (98) “destruction [of national self-determination] either by anarchy or by the autocratic domination of the Great Powers;” (99) India, in accepting imperial rule, “elected to put an end to anarchy by submitting to a single government;” (140) “between anarchy and order” [understood as opposites]; (181) choice between “chaos, anarchy, and the perpetual repression of all spontaneous and vigorous impulse” is a false choice; (199-200) “a France broken up into utter anarchy” [quoting the <i>Times</i> on the result of the Franco-Prussian War]; (237) “a narrower social co-operation, or more anarchic condition;” (286) disputes over raw materials may lead to “a much worse anarchy than before the War;” (298) “an anarchy more devastating than that which existed before the War.” (301)
Isaiah Bowman (1921), <i>The New World: Problems in Political Geography</i> .	13	“could the grip of the large Western powers be loosened without anarchy following” in their colonies?; (2) “in the past few years we have seen much of the world thrown into a state bordering on anarchy;” (12) “anarchy has continuously flourished” in Ireland; (34) “will a given people have peace or anarchy;” (35) “India [has been] long in a state of anarchy;” (44) “misery and anarchy would spread;” (45) “the Hindus fought each other and a state of anarchy prevailed;” (47) “it remains to be seen if violence and anarchy can be averted;” (211) “it would be difficult for Hungary to avoid anarchy;” (219) “when anarchy broke loose in Russia;” (289) “the country was in a state of semi-anarchy;” (385) “their islands would soon have been in a state of anarchy;” (548) [Index entry] India, “anarchy and disorder.” (616)
Harold Joseph Laski (1921), <i>The Foundations of Sovereignty and Other Essays</i> .	5	“the medieval suspicion of pluralism as anarchic;” (13) “the incoherent anarchy of the period before the Municipal Reform Act;” (45) “the anarchy that would result if separate bargains of a particularistic kind could be made with every producer of raw materials by the industrial council of each trade;” (72) “this view results in anarchy;” (245) “that ancient but tenacious individualism is in truth the coronation of anarchy.” (290)
James Bryce (1922), <i>International Relations</i> .	2	“States which have in past times lapsed into anarchy;” (58) “Persia, a country long on the verge of anarchy.” (71)
Herbert A. Gibbons (1922), <i>An Introduction to World Politics</i> .	13	“reaction following anarchy;” (19) “Turkey had fallen into a state of anarchy;” (109) “the Boxer Rebellion threw China into anarchy;” (126) “civil war and administrative anarchy;” (135) “backwardness and administrative anarchy;” (179) “the country fell into anarchy;” (180) “the state of anarchy in the south;” (182) “anarchy on the Algerian frontier;” (212)

		“anarchy in that part of Morocco;” (214) “massacres and a state of anarchy;” (246) “lapse into anarchy;” (270) “a state of anarchy developed in Mexico;” (350) “the resultant anarchy.” (479)
J. A. Hobson (1922), <i>Problems of a New World Order</i> .	4	“revolting cruelty, appalling anarchy, and impending collapse charged against the Bolshevik administration;” (67) “the panic cries of confiscation, anarchy, and Bolshevism;” (199) “starvation, pestilence, and anarchy;” (228) “fissures within each separate self, carrying the process towards anarchy.” (252)
Pitman B. Potter (1922), <i>An Introduction to the Study of International Organization</i> .	13	a cosmopolitan world state “would tend toward anarchy, because of its emphasis upon the individual, and because of the elimination of intermediate authorities;” (14) “the disruption of the Roman empire, the anarchy of the fourteenth century, the catastrophe of 1914;” (19) the division of the Roman empire in 395 AD gave way to “still greater anarchy;” (32) [re: early feudalism] “The result was anarchy. Power was hideously decentralized” [with no nations and no sovereignty]; (40) [re: Frederick II] “while he was still in Palestine anarchy and rebellion broke out afresh in Lombardy and Sicily;” (47) [by 1555] “the Empire had already fallen into anarchy;” (306) [in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries] “Germany was in a state of anarchy;” (396) “to the members of the Holy Alliance it [France] appeared to be a force of anarchy pure and simple;” (419) “a condition of international anarchy” in which the consent of the parties to a conflict is required for international action; (440) “the present anarchy” contrasted to proposed international federation; (441) “the late-surviving Medieval anarchy was in a measure replaced by German unity;” (457) “the disorders of anarchy” [quoting an 1827 document]; (583) [bibliography entry for Dickinson, <i>The European Anarchy</i> ]. (633)
Edmund A. Walsh, ed. (1922), <i>The History and Nature of International Relations</i> .	4	“the balance of power of the fourth century B.C. was more like a state of political anarchy than an order by system of independent states – an anarchy which considerably weakened Greece as a whole;” (57) “the dissolution of monarchy presents not other alternative than anarchy or self-government;” (88) without rights and obligations “we would live in a state of anarchy;” (123) “a state of confusion and anarchy.” (221)
Alfred E. Zimmern (1922), <i>Europe in Convalescence</i> .	2	“all possibility of emerging from the abnormal conditions of the blockade without widespread confusion and anarchy;” (22) postwar reconstruction was “a question of government against anarchy.” (80)
Philip Marshall Brown (1923), <i>International Society: Its Nature and Interests</i> .	2	“anarchic freedom;” (159) “a tendency back towards barbarism and anarchy.” (161)
William Edward Hall (1924), <i>A Treatise on International Law</i> (8 <sup>th</sup> ed.)	4	“rules of conduct which should command obedience apart from an external sanction were the necessary alternative to a state of complete anarchy;” (18) “social anarchy or local disruption;” (21) “the continuance of anarchy so prolonged as to render reconstitution [of the state] improbable;” (21) “It cannot avoid international responsibility on the plea of a deliberate preference for anarchy.” (272)
Raymond Leslie Buell (1925), <i>International Relations</i>	2	“would inaugurate international anarchy;” (46) “made secure against discord and anarchy.” (306)
Parker T. Moon (1925), <i>Syllabus on International Relations</i> .	1	a system of national enforcement of international law is “sometimes described as ‘international anarchy.’” (233)
G. Lowes Dickinson (1926), <i>The International Anarchy, 1904-1914</i> .	100++	
Parker T. Moon (1926), <i>Imperialism and World Politics</i> .	2	“anarchy and misrule;” (395) “in a word, more anarchy.” (536)
Nicolas Politis (1926), <i>New Aspects of International Law</i>	3	World War I showed “that in order to put a stop to international anarchy it is indispensable that States should submit of their own accord to legal discipline;” (6) “the dogma of sovereignty ... [is] void of sense, and dangerous, because it tends to promote international anarchy;” (6) “the rule of unanimity may lead to paralysis and anarchy.” (10)
Francis Delaisi (1927), <i>Political Myths and Economic Realities</i>	2	“the whole of society was bound to founder in anarchy;” (62) “man, master, and consumer have been held to be an anarchic trinity in perpetual conflict with one another.” (77)
Philip Noel-Baker (1928), <i>The League of Nations at Work</i> .	1	“order and justice ... in place of ... international anarchy.” (76)

R. B. Mowat (1929), <i>The European States System: A Study in International Relations</i> .	4	collapse of medieval system “threw back the States of Europe, not internally, but externally, into a condition of anarchy among themselves;” (8) “Machiavelli stepped in with principles which for the time being only increased the international anarchy;” (8) “throughout the sixteenth century the international anarchy was accentuated by the religious conflicts that arose;” (9) Poland’s “anarchic constitution.” (40)
Pitman B. Potter (1929), <i>This World of Nations: Foundations, Institutions, Practices</i> .	2	“Medieval international anarchy;” (xiii) during the Middle Ages “the world of nations was still in a condition for which the term anarchy is hardly too strong.” (25)
James T. Shotwell (1929), <i>War as an Instrument of National Policy and Its Renunciation in the Pact of Paris</i>	14	“the anarchy of war;” (12) Dante argued that “a superior power should coerce the anarchic and warring elements of civilization into a single empire;” (33) “an act of anarchy;” (100) “Mexico when it was in a state of anarchy;” (101) “anarchy at sea.” (238)
Harry Elmer Barnes (1930), <i>World Politics and Modern Civilization: The Contributions of Nationalism, Capitalism, Imperialism and Militarism to Human Culture and International Anarchy</i> .	20	“the earlier portions ... are designed to show how the world drifted into chaos and anarchy; the concluding parts will consider what prospects we have of escaping from this condition of armed anarchy, suspicion, and hatred” (5) “the whole complex of factors which led to what Professor G. Lowes Dickinson has well described as ‘the international anarchy’ which prevailed throughout Europe in 1914; (307) quotes from Dickinson (332, 349, 502, 504) Chapter XVI: How the United States Became Involved in the International Anarchy; (352) index entries for “international anarchy.” (xii, xxii, xl)
Isaiah Bowman (1930), <i>International Relations</i>	0	
Quincy Wright (1930), <i>Research in International Relations Since the War</i> .	2	“as the anarchy of nations gives way to conceptions of a community of interest;” (28) [bibliography entry for Dickinson, <i>The International Anarchy</i> ]. (40)
Charles Hodges (1931), <i>The Background of International Relations: Our World Horizons, National and International</i>	5	“the trend from international anarchy toward public order;” (viii) “the welter of feudal anarchy;” (48) ancient international relations “was an era of international anarchy;” (57) “these empires of business are substituting order for anarchy.” (367)
R. B. Mowat (1931), <i>International Relations</i> .	4	“the appalling anarchy and disorder of the Dark Ages;” (7) with the modern state “Within states there was a rule of law. Between states there was international anarchy;” (13) “The Reformation broke up the unity of Christendom. The rise of nation-state based on the dogma of absolute state sovereignty completed the international anarchy;” (73) absolute sovereignty “is, from the international point of view, sheer anarchy;” (169) “tariff anarchy.” (172)
C. A. W. Manning (1932), <i>The Policies of the British Dominions in the League of Nations</i>	0	
Ramsay Muir (1932), <i>The Interdependent World and Its Problems</i>	2	“The United States has not been reduced to anarchy;” (113) “the nation which has fallen into anarchy.” (122)
Reinhold Niebuhr (1932), <i>Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study in Ethics and Politics</i> .	16	“the power which prevents anarchy in intra-group relations encourages anarchy in intergroup relations;” (16) “the will-to-power of competing national groups is the cause of the international anarchy;” (18) power may “prevent anarchy by effective imperialism;” (19) “the Scylla of despotism and the Charybdis of anarchy;” (21) “the social anarchy and political irresponsibility which the theory [of laissez faire] sanctions;” (33) [footnote to Dickinson, <i>The International Anarchy</i> ]; (90, 93) “the anarchy of national tariffs;” (111) privileged groups “will feign to fear anarchy as the consequence of” political action for social justice; (129) “accusing them of [sowing domestic] anarchy;” (134) “the peril of [domestic] anarchy and revolution;” (135) “anarchy and revolution;” (136) “the fear of anarchy of American privileged groups;” (137) “even when no anarchy is threatened and no violence is used by the [lower] classes;” (138) “every form of violence and anarchy;” (139) attitudes vary depending on whether one has “suffered from either anarchy or autocracy.” (175)
H. Lauterpacht (1933), <i>The Function of Law in the International Community</i> .	2	“any society which has arisen above anarchy;” (393) “anarchy and private force.” (438)
David Mitrany (1933), <i>The Progress of International Government</i> .	7	after the collapse of Rome “it was a state of anarchy without order or principle, for individuals as for communities;” (23) “what Jellinek has called an ‘anarchic law’;” (64-65) “empires could collapse in one continent, or anarchy could distract it, without this being felt or even known” elsewhere; (115) functional integration offers “the most hopeful way out of

		international anarchy;" (137) "the spread of supposed anarchy in Europe" caused by the French Revolution; (153) "the transition from anarchy to law;" (155) "the rise of the doctrine of state sovereignty and of the attendant anarchic individualism in international relations" (165).
Frederick Lewis Schuman (1933), <i>International Politics: An Introduction to the Western State System</i> .	16	"[the medieval] system reduced central authority to impotence and fostered chronic anarchy and neighborhood warfare;" (39) [re: sovereignty] "If carried to its logical extreme, it would result in a situation which can only be described as international anarchy;" (52) after collapse of the medieval order "this anarchic jungle of sovereign political communities ... was a pre-civil state of nature as Hobbes has described it;" (53) "Fascist nationalism ... would return with a vengeance to the conditions of international anarchy;" (293) "if anarchy involves the absence of government, the pursuit by each of his own ends, and the use of violence in the service of such ends, then the practice of international politics can indeed be described accurately as 'international anarchy';" (514) if the west sticks to a system of nationalism, it risks "descend[ing] from a high plane of civilized life to a state of anarchic barbarism comparable to that prevailing in Europe during the 'dark ages';" (536) the Western states system can be described as "'international anarchy'" and the global economy as "economic anarchy" although "the resulting pattern ... is not quite anarchy in either case;" (539) [re: China] "it seems doubtful to many whether there is any alternative to complete foreign domination or anarchy;" (635) [index entries] "International anarchy, 514, 539;" (913) "sovereignty, and international anarchy, 52-53." (919)
L. L. Bernard and Jesse Bernard (1934), <i>Sociology and the Study of International Relations</i> .	0	
Charles G. Fenwick (1934), <i>International Law</i> .	12	"revolt and anarchy;" (16) "bring order out of economic anarchy;" (39) "sovereignty was a doctrine of legal anarchy;" (47) "the anarchy of the century preceding the Treaty of Westphalia;" (49) [title in footnote]; (277) "it can only lead to anarchy to permit the individual state to be the judge in its own case." (359)
Edith E. Ware (1934), <i>The Study of International Relations in the United States</i>	1	"even anarchy – and the national states system was anarchical." (6)
Harold D. Lasswell (1935), <i>World Politics and Personal Insecurity</i> .	0	
Lord Lothian (1935), <i>Pacifism is Not Enough, Nor Patriotism Either</i> .	26	
Frank H. Simonds and Brooks Emery (1935), <i>The Great Powers in World Politics: International Relations and Economic Nationalism</i> .	14	[quoting R. G. Hawtrey] "that perfect independence and that formal equality of sovereign authorities, which are in reality the foundations of the international anarchy;" (28) "the international anarchy which existed in the prewar era and has continued throughout the postwar period;" (127) "Europe had existed in a condition of anarchy, because there was lacking any established system of public international law and any form of central authority. In practice, however, this state of anarchy has been measurably mitigated by the gradual evolution of ... the balance of power ... [and] the Concert of Europe;" (138) after 1871 "a quarter century of Continental anarchy followed;" (147) citation of Dickinson 1916; (150) "the political anarchy in the Danubian region;" (333) "anarchy is not an unfamiliar detail in various Latin American areas;" (336) China "has today become a vast area of political anarchy;" (381) Chinese "internal anarchy;" (383) early twentieth-century "descent of Europe into new political anarchy;" (386) "Chinese anarchy;" (410) "the will of the majority must prevail or the condition of international anarchy ... was bound to reappear;" (462) "the machinery for creating collective order in the place of the anarchy of the individualism of the past;" (550) "the rights of nations, everywhere reckoned imprescriptible, which are responsible for the present condition of anarchy." (563)
Frank M. Russell (1936), <i>Theories of International Relations</i> .	14	"Mencius greatly deplored the prevailing anarchy and confusion;" (20) in the Dark Ages "law gave way to lawlessness and government to anarchy;" (90) "On account of his egoistic, unsociable, and acquisitive nature his condition was one of anarchy;" (198) World War I arose in part from "the international anarchy which they inherited and which they did nothing to abate;" (325) "the precarious freedom that is necessarily associated with an 'anarchy of sovereignties.'" (540)
Alfred Zimmermann (1936), <i>The League of Nations and the Rule of Law, 1918-1935</i> .	2	international conferences "refute the assertion ... that the nineteenth century was a period of 'international anarchy';" (40) the eighteenth, rather than the nineteenth, century was "an age of 'international anarchy' ... the age of interstate

		libertinism <i>par excellence</i> .” (62)
Frederick Sherwood Dunn (1937), <i>Peaceful Change: A Study of International Procedures</i> .	0	
C. A. W. Manning (ed.) (1937), <i>Peaceful Change: An International Problem</i>	0	
S. H. Bailey (1938), <i>International Studies in Modern Education</i> .	0	
Carl Joachim Friedrich (1938), <i>Foreign Policy in the Making: The Search for a New Balance of Power</i> .	9	“the forces of disruption and anarchy;” (196) “such a balance between two hostile camps is not a balance, but ... the prelude to international anarchy;” (220) “Mussolini was allowed to go ahead and wreck the League and international order. The anarchy was on;” (232) “progress toward war and international anarchy;” (234) “international anarchy based on brute force;” (273) “spread of international anarchy throughout the world;” (276) “international order as opposed to international anarchy.” (283) [
Salvador de Madariaga (1938), <i>The World's Design</i>	21	Germany, Italy, and Japan “den[y] world order and claim[] freedom of anarchical behavior;” (25) whether affairs “are going to be allowed to go on drifting in international anarchy or whether they are going to be managed by some systems and under some order;” (47) “the undisciplined forces of world anarchy;” (55) international law attempts “to put a minimum of order into the anarchy prevailing amongst the nations of the world;” (116) interwar period “may be seen in future centuries as the last gasp of world anarchy on the eve of world consciousness;” (123) war “over-reaches itself and leads to nationalism, absolutism and international anarchy through an exaggerated sense of sovereignty;” (128) “the permanent state of war, or, in other words, international anarchy;” (198) “world revolution ... must be discussion amongst would-be remedies for world anarchy;” (200) “while insisting on the unruly ways of capitalists as one of the worst features of our world of anarchy;” (202) absolute free trade would be “a system which is not a system at all, but sheer anarchy;” (204) [index entry] “anarchy, 123, 128.” (283)
Edward Hallett Carr (1964 [1939]), <i>The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations</i> .	2	The belief that “reason could demonstrate the absurdity of the international anarchy;” (26) “this tendency [towards utopianism] is greatest at the period when anarchy is most prevalent in the practice of nations.” (174)
Bertram Maxwell (1939), <i>International Relations</i> .	7	men “will continue to fight until some kind of order displaces the existing international anarchy;” (198) “the prewar world was constantly in danger of disastrous armed conflict. There was international anarchy.” (217) “unemployment, starvation, anarchy, war, disease and despair.” (225)
Derwent Whittlesey (1939), <i>The Earth and the State: A Study of Political Geography</i> .	0	
Lord Davies (1940), <i>A Federated Europe</i> .	15	federalism offers “an escape from the existing system of anarchy and oppression;” (13) [quoting Sophocles] “There is no greater evil than anarchy.” (15) federalism the alternative to “the tortuous by-paths of anarchy leading to war and impoverishment;” (25) “only anarchy would result if the self-determining units were free to impose their self-determined policies upon their neighbours;” (33) the League “was a case of ‘legalising anarchy and calling it a constitution;” (34) “the rule of law will be substituted for the existing conditions of anarchy, when each State is a law unto itself;” (61) Europe is “a community of peoples who, living in a perpetual state of anarchy, are compelled by the crimes and follies of their rules to slaughter each other at frequent intervals;” (78-79) “the price they now pay for a system of anarchy;” (114) “we cannot afford any longer to indulge in anarchy;” (126) “the perpetuation of anarchy and the preservation of these powers in the hands of the rulers;” (138) “the present system of anarchy;” (139) “the existing system of lawlessness and anarchy.” (140)
Frederick A. Middlebush and Chesney Hill (1940),	6	feudalism “a substitute for total anarchy;” (14) “chaos and anarchy which reigned during much of the feudal period;” (15) “anarchy, which by definition is lack of authority and obedience;” (41) nationalism “served to divert the masses from

<i>Elements of International Relations.</i>		anarchy or revolution;" (68) [index entry] "anarchy, definition 41, under feudalism 14, 15." (484) [one additional passage] <sup>o</sup> .
Walter R. Sharp and Grayson L. Kirk (1940), <i>Contemporary International Politics.</i>	10	"a condition of industrial anarchy analogous to the international anarchy that produces war or the threat of war;" (4) diplomats and munitions makers are "but by-products of an anarchic state system;" (40) "yawns between the beneficent possibilities of machine technology and the chaotic realities of an international political anarchy;" (236) "the general situation can still be characterized by the term 'international anarchy.' Despite all custom and despite all treaty obligations, a state may determine upon and follow any policy which it wishes without the approval of any superior political authority;" (397) [quoting Jellenik] "in an anarchic world of power politics;" (397) "the community of states, therefore, is of a purely anarchic nature, and international law is anarchic law." (735)
Arnold Wolfers (1940), <i>Britain and France between Two Wars.</i>	1	"run headlong into anarchy and new abuses of power." (216)
Leonard Woolf (1940), <i>The War for Peace.</i>	8	"nationalism also increased international anarchy;" (76) "the anarchy of the man-ape, the savage with a stone in his hand, ...;" (105) "the international anarchy of power politics and totalitarian war;" (189) "the anarchic individualism of the leopard and the tiger;" (219) "the continued existence of the closely articulated international society in which we are actually living is incompatible with the anarchic system of sovereign, autarkic states." (230)
Lord Lothian (1941), <i>The American Speeches of Lord Lothian.</i>	12	"Mankind is a community, not an anarchy of warring races and nations;" (7) "an anarchy of suspicious and economically unstable sovereignties;" (14) "if all those peoples became independent sovereign nations and so increased the anarchy of the world;" (16) "the lawless anarchy which necessarily follows universal insistence on national sovereignty;" (24) "anarchy has been the main cause of the constant wars." (28)
Linden A. Mander (1941), <i>Foundations of Modern World Society.</i>	13	"continued and deepening anarchy in the modern world;" (viii) "international anarchy could inflict greater loss to maritime trade than a system of competing claims of oceanic jurisdiction;" (38) "order and law of any kind is preferable to anarchy;" (574) "a dictatorship must have a large number of rules if it is not to degenerate into anarchy;" (581) "should the present system of international anarchy continue and a limitless increase in armaments take place;" (657) "a system which had no provision for a hierarchy of political values, which made no distinction between legal and illegal action and possessed no means of preventing the abuse of powers, had some day to suffer the consequences of political anarchy;" (665) "private boycotts bear witness to the persistence of the ideal of human justice in an age of international anarchy;" (748) "a Treaty which reflected the growing anarchy of international relations." (791)
Nicholas J. Spykman (1942), <i>America's Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power.</i>	8	"running all the way from 'perfect order' to 'complete anarchy';" (15) "the so-called sovereign independence of states, the absence of higher authority, and the freedom from external restraints ... give to interstate relations their peculiar character of anarchy;" (16) "in a world of international anarchy, foreign policy must ... [focus on] the relative power position of the state;" (41) "a period of anarchy" in post-independence Latin American states; (226) "Spanish individualism is a predisposition toward anarchy;" (228) "added to the international anarchy which results from the absence of restraint on large powers a further anarchy due to the additional freedom that would have been granted to small powers;" (251) "the New World has preserved as much international anarchy and achieved no more political integration than despised Europe;" (360) "the first step from anarchy to order is not the disappearance of force, but its use by the community instead of by the individual members." (463)
Robert Strausz-Hupé (1942): <i>Geopolitics: The Struggle for Space and Power.</i>	0	
Quincy Wright (1964 [1942]), <i>A Study of War.</i>	18	when defense predominates "international anarchy has sometimes resulted;" (63) "a high order of general intelligence is required in a liberal society if nations are to be kept from becoming so strong as to threaten international anarchy, without becoming so weak as to threaten domestic anarchy;" (113) "universal empire or anarchy has usually followed balance-of-power periods;" (127) "the anarchy of the fifth and twentieth centuries;" (170) "feudal anarchy;" (180) "the anarchic conditions of Machiavelli's world, though not wholly eliminated, suffered attrition during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries;" (192) "world society" contrasted to "world anarchy;" (231-232) "the inefficiencies and dangers of



		an anarchic world;" (236) "conditions of complete anarchy and panic;" (271) in times of rapid social change "conditions of anarchy have sometimes resulted;" (326) revolution often brings "a condition of anarchy;" (335) a stage of "anarchy and isolationism;" (336) "revolution and anarchy;" (336) "Machiavelli's conceptions of an anarchic world and the absolute sovereignty of the state;" (371) "the anarchic theory of international relations, assumed by Machiavelli;" (376) [index entries] (432, 443, 449)
Edward Mead Earle, Gordon A. Craig, and Felix Gilbert, eds. (1943), <i>Makers of Modern Strategy: Military Thought from Machiavelli to Hitler</i> .	3	"men like Grotius were leading the attack against international anarchy;" (33) "warlike but unorganized peoples, living in a state of political anarchy;" (236) "a revolution is a disruptive force, possessed in its initial phases of elements of complete anarchy." (332)
Edward Vose Gulick (1943), <i>The Balance of Power</i>	8	"the outstanding characteristic of this system of nation-states is the absence of any over-all authority, and the result has been best described as 'international anarchy';" (12) "destined, like any other anarchic systems of balance of power, to resolve itself into warfare;" (26) "the surrender of state sovereignty and the realization of world government are impossible – an assumption which argues perpetuation of international anarchy and wars;" (30) "in an anarchic state system;" (30) "the state-system, whose central characteristic is anarchy – a state of affairs antipodal to the order of law;" (34) "an anarchic state-system;" (34) "anarchy and organization can no more exist in the same framework at the same time than war and peace;" (34) "the sovereign state will permit international law to substitute order for anarchy in matters which are not central to an ordered world;" (35) "the Balance of Power postulates an anarchic system of sovereign, independent states." (55)
Walter Lippmann (1943), <i>U.S. Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic</i>	0	
David Mitrany (1943), <i>A Working Peace System</i> .	0	
William T. R. Fox (1944), <i>The Super-Powers: The United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union -- Their Responsibility for Peace</i> .	0	
Harold Sprout and Margaret Sprout, eds. (1945), <i>Foundations of National Power: Readings on World Politics and American Security</i> .	6	[Spykman] "the so-called sovereign independence of states, the absence of higher authority, and the freedom from external restraints ... give to interstate relations their peculiar character of anarchy;" (10) [Carr] "economic and financial anarchy" of the interwar period; (189) "a detestable and monstrous outburst of mob violence and anarchy." (408)

‡ Google Books' "Preview View" shows only the first 100 results.

+ No electronic version available but a manual examination indicates more than 100 occurrences.

° Missing passages, amounting to about fifteen percent of the total, are due to the fact that Google Books' "Snippet View" shows only three pages in which the searched term appears (although searching multiple formats sometimes reveals additional passages).