

## What Armed Peace Leads To

(Continued from Page 19)

supports a large standing army. As Mr. J. J. Hill has said, "specialists may be dangerous, for their knowledge is likely to be confined principally to their specialty. They may be like the doctor who could cure only fits, and who, when a patient was brought to him suffering from another ailment, said: 'I can't do anything for this man unless you can manage to get him to have a fit. If he has a fit, I can cure it.'" A military officer has no chance of showing his skill except in war; unless the nation has a fit he can not cure it. These army and navy officers can not be prevented writing and talking. No government has ever found a way to muzzle them. It would be more difficult to close their mouths in our country than in any other. Only a few months ago a rear admiral of the United States navy, in a speech in New York city, said this: "A hundred years from now we shall either be obliterated as a nation, or we shall occupy the entire North American world segment. The former is inconceivable, the latter may be nearer than we think." Such talk is harmless so long as we are unprepared to wage a successful war against Great Britain, but give us a great standing army, and all such stupid remarks will fall like flakes of fire into the Canadian heart. It is impossible to have a great body of military officers without numbering among them a good many fools. The fools become dangerous only when you give them access to a great machine geared up for slaughter.

The second man who has new cuts added to his stature by military preparedness is the war trader. Because modern armies and navies are colossal, the cost of their upkeep is enormous. Everything must be bought in immense quantities. There must be thousands of tons of powder, and millions of rifles, and tens of millions of shells. These are only a few things which the army and navy must have. A vast army of workers must devote their lives to supplying the constantly widening needs of the military and naval establishments. Implements of the latest pattern must be bought, no matter how expensive. Contracts involving millions must often be signed in secret. Huge plants must be established involving vast investments of capital, and this capital must earn an income straight through the years. Costly machinery can not be allowed to stand idle. Hundreds of thousands of mechanics must not be thrown out of work. The demand for new ships and new guns and new fortifications must not

be allowed to flag. The war traders must therefore have their lobbies at the door of every national parliament. Legislators must be stimulated if they are to rise to a proper degree of patriotic fervor. To awaken their hearts a war scare now and then is indispensable. With army and navy leagues and with newspapers of the baser sort, war scares are the most common of all manufactured products. The methods adopted by the war traders in Europe have been exposed in the German Reichstag by Karl Liebknecht, and in the British Parliament by Philip Snowden, in the United States congress by Clyde H. Tavenner. The war trader is one of the most cunning and tireless and influential men of our modern world. His power is felt everywhere. Without him the European war would not have been. The larger the army and navy budgets the greater becomes the greed of the war trader. Where the carcass is, there will the vultures be gathered. Where the melon is the juiciest and the largest, there will assemble a company most eager to cut it. It is not by chance that navy leagues are especially popular among men whose income is dependent on the dividends of a steel trust. The policy of preparedness ties a nation hand and foot and lays it at the feet of the war traders. Wherever preparedness flourishes there springs up a crop of Krupps.

The third man whose right arm is strengthened by the policy of preparedness is the unscrupulous newspaper proprietor. He is found in all countries, and nowhere is he capable of such enormous mischief as in countries bountifully supplied with explosives. He becomes readily the servant of the war traders, managing the war scares and keeping the commodores and colonels on the front page of his paper. By means of lying rumors and idle gossip and scare headlines and embittering editorials he can create in masses of men the feelings out of which war comes. You can not understand the war in Europe without consulting the files of certain Russian, German, French, and British papers covering the last ten years. Without the unscrupulous editor the present war would not have been.

There is a fourth man also potent in mischief, the jingo politician. He works his way in every country into the seats of power. Every national assembly has at least a few hot-heads. No way has been devised for their elimination. They burn with patriotism. They are all mouth. What they say has no influence on men who know them, but their words are promptly cabled to foreign capitals. They are manufacturers of ill-will. The more critical the hour, the more wildly do they talk. Their talk becomes dangerous in proportion to the gunpowder piled around them. When the guns are all in their place, and the gunnery are ready, then even the words of an ass become charged with powder.

One more man must be included, the commercial promoter. He is the man who rushes into foreign countries for the purpose of making fortunes for the men he represents. He seeks concessions. He stakes out zones of influence. He gathers into his hands gold mines and copper mines and oil wells. He leases or builds railroads. He comes into conflict with the government of the country he is exploiting. He prefers a government which is belated and a country which is backward. At the first encroachment of his alleged rights he shouts for military interference. He will safeguard his money by the blood of the sons of other men. Investments are to

him more sacred than human life, and a government exists primarily for the defence of the capitalists who are risking their money in bold enterprises in foreign lands. The more guns at his back, the more audacious and reckless this exploiter becomes. It was this man who assisted in kindling the European conflagration.

These five men — the ambitious military expert, the greedy war trader, the unscrupulous newspaper proprietor, the hot-headed politician, and the pushing commercial promoter—are the five men whom we must never permit to drop out of sight. They are the five fingers of the hand which is today crushing the world. To break the power of that hand is the task of the twentieth century. Military preparedness on a great scale must invariably lead to war, because it plays inevitably into the hands of these five men. These five men can not be killed, exiled, chained, or gagged. They are here, and they are here to stay. Our only safety lies in keeping deadly weapons out of their reach. They are dangerous only when you pile up the guns around them. Once construct your war machine, and these five men, no matter what you say or wish to do, can start it. They form on oligarchy of hell from whose clutches there is no escape, when once you have signed the creed of militarism. There is no security for mankind until the policy of armed peace is shattered. Like an octopus, it has for years held Europe in its devilish tentacles, and now in the midst of the war, it is endeavoring to capture us. Let us beware of it!

We are asked to prepare, not for war, but against war. That is precisely what European nations did. Behold the outcome. All the nations are fighting in self-defence, and the battle is as costly in blood and treasure as though each nation fought for aggression. It is amazing how easily men can be duped by a phrase. They think they can change a situation by altering a preposition. What difference does it make whether you prepare for war or against war? Make out a list of the weapons necessary for a nation preparing for war, and then make out another list of the weapons indispensable for a nation preparing against war, and you will find that the two lists are identical. All the military experts and war traders can truthfully say that they desire preparedness simply for defence. The army and navy budgets are not cut down one iota.

It is said that we must prepare for every contingency. But those who say that do not know what they are saying. It is impossible for any man or any nation to prepare to meet every contingency. The contingencies are billions and trillions in number, and no sensible man will care to provide for them. When you begin to deal with contingencies you are going into a morass which will eventually swallow you up. The United States can not prepare itself to meet every possibility. We might build a navy sufficient to meet Germany's, and we might, if we were fools, build a navy to match that of Great Britain. But it is possible that Great Britain and Japan might make war on us at the same time, and it is possible that France might join them, and it is possible that Russia might come in too. These four nations are united against Germany, why is it not possible for them to unite against us? We live in an age of leagues and alliances, and if we arm for every contingency then we must have an army and a navy sufficient to meet the combined world. All the talk about preparing for every contingency is twaddle.

Even if it were possible for us to prepare to meet every possible foe, it would not be rational to make the

effort. A man shapes his life not by possibilities but by probabilities. If he crosses the street he may be run over and killed. If he stays on the sidewalk he may be bitten by a mad dog, or stabbed by a crazy man, or have his head crushed by a stone falling on him from the cornice. It is not probable that these things will happen, and so he goes unconcernedly on his way. If he should begin to protect himself against all the possible dangers he can think of, clothing himself with armor, covering his head with a helmet, hiding his eyes behind plate glass, his neighbors would know that he had lost his wits. Just so, you may be certain that a nation has become insane when it begins to talk about arming itself against every contingency. It is right at this point that the militarist deceives even some of the elect. He adroitly leaves the realm of reason and sets up business in the realm of the fancy. He imagines all sorts of national enemies, he pictures all kinds of alarming situations, he sees millions of armed men landing on our shores, and by these lurid pictures of the fancy he scares himself and many of his neighbors. What we must do is to bring him out of this land of enchantment, and compel him to talk like a reasonable man. We might first of all ask him what he would do in certain contingencies. For instance, what would he do if a comet swished its poisonous tail in his face, what would this city do if a meteor a mile in diameter fell on it, what would the nation do if one of the stars grazed it and rubbed off a large part of the population? It is not difficult to conjure up situations quite embarrassing and even distressing. Before we shiver at the sight of armed men looting our cities, we must first study carefully the probabilities of these soldiers coming. We must convince ourselves first of all of the likelihood of their coming. We must see good reasons why they are likely to come, and if there is no probability of their coming, then we are making much ado about nothing. If Germany is not coming then all the ambitious schemes for multiplying our dreadnaughts and battalions are foolish, but if Germany is likely to come, then all the plans thus far urged by the present administration are futile. Come out, Mr. Militarist, from the dim land of dreams, and let us deal with solid and concrete facts. Give us the reasons for thinking that in all probability foreign nations are going to rob us of our treasures and trample us into the dust. Prove to us that we are in imminent danger, and we will listen to your ideas on preparedness.

It is assumed by many that since we are a peaceable people, we can increase our armament without risk. "We do not want war," says the advocate of big armies and navies, "and therefore we have no fear of militarism in this country." But the peoples of Europe are also peaceable in disposition, fully as peace-loving as we are. And yet they are fighting. Because we say we do not want war, it does not follow that war will not come. Nations as well as individuals get not what they desire but what they deserve. No man wants delirium tremens. He simply wants to drink. He says, "Give me another glass. I do not want delirium tremens. Fill the glass up again. I do not want delirium tremens. Fill up the glass once more, I do not want delirium tremens. Let me drink all night, and then all day, but I do not want delirium tremens." He gets at last what he deserves and not what he wants. A nation may say: "I do not want war, but cover the land with soldiers. I do not want war, but cover the sea with fighting ships. I do not want war, but fill the air

Dr. Charles E. Jefferson's article in this issue is reprinted by permission from the New Work

### WHAT THE WAR IS TEACHING

By CHARLES E. JEFFERSON, D.D.  
12mo, cloth, net \$1.00

Dr. Jefferson gathers up some of the lessons of the titanic struggle which is now shaking the world. Until war is bitterly hated, it can never be abolished. Europe has never really hated war. Dr. Jefferson contends; that is why she is in the trenches today. What she needs—what the whole world needs—is to be made literally sick by its horrifying spectacle. This, among other things, the Great War is surely doing.

Dr. Jefferson's complete volume should be read in full.

Fleming H. Revell Co., Publishers  
New York and Chicago