

The SEMI-MONTHLY MAGAZINE SECTION

A Magazine for your Reading Table

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS' PAGE

WHEN considering the question of Disarmament with its handmaid Arbitration, in the various forms suggested for adjusting international disputes, men are apt to look upon War as a fortuitous evil, regardless of its being a manifestation of deep seated causes, which must be removed if the effect is to be obviated. Clearly recognizing that in many cases arbitration cannot remove the causes underlying war, the statesmen responsible for the welfare of nations persist in continuing or enlarging armament, as the only certain means of maintaining peace. It is an irony of the present situation, that one of the most noisy and self-advertising advocates of disarmament and arbitration has admitted that the chief effective champion of peace is the War-Lord of the greatest army and of the second largest navy now existing.

Armament is the organization and consecration of force as a factor in the maintenance of justice, order and peace. It is the highest expression of that element in civilization—force—which has created and now upholds society; giving efficacy to the pronouncements of law, whether by the legislature or in the courts. Organized force, alone, enables the quiet and the weak to go about their business, and to sleep securely, safe from the assaults of violence without or within.

THAT parts of New York City are esteemed unsafe at times to the ordinary citizen, is due to inadequacy of organized force for his protection, to whatever that inadequacy be attributed. This social assurance has become so essential that mankind will submit to much restriction of liberty, if continued security for life and property can be had by no other means. The despot follows hard on the heels of anarchy.

Nations have the same need for quiet that the individual feels; and the necessity is the more urgent by so much as the welfare of millions exceeds that of an individual. Although under imperfect police conditions many are exposed to violence, the sufferers are comparatively few; while, if the incidents be frequent, the community becomes aroused and suppression follows. But War not only affects many directly by death, but, through the complicated network of social and economical relations, involves indirectly all members of the state.

Why then not arbitrate, instead of fight? Because arbitration in a large minority of instances, if not in an actual majority, is incompetent to pronounce upon the conflicting claims of nations. It is incompetent, sometimes because there



THE FOLLY OF THE HAGUE

By

Rear-Admiral Alfred T. Mahan

The Statesman of the Navy

in the Balkans. What were the causes? The political incapacity of Turkey — permitting or inflicting hideous social outrages in her territory; the wrath of neighboring kindred peoples over these sufferings; and the incompetency of European diplomacy during thirty years to induce or compel Turkey to institute adequate reforms, contemplated by the Treaty of Berlin. Simply study the history of Young Turk government in the provinces through the years 1909-1912.

is no existing law applicable; sometimes, because such law as does exist is so far behind the necessities of the case that it is inapplicable or worse. But if the question be posed otherwise, Why not devise some other means to avoid the fight? The reply is instant: Arm!

Beware of entrance to a quarrel; but being in, Bear't that the opposed may beware of thee.

For, if thus made aware, he will not attack. This is the whole theory of Armament, which has kept the peace in a half dozen quarrels in Europe during the past decade.

Take, for example, the late conflicts

UNHAPPILY, the Powers, having acquiesced in the miseries of the Turkish provinces, intervened with a peaceful arbitrament on their own account, in their own interests.

The Council of the Ambassadors in London was an extemporized Court of Arbitration. It preserved European peace because, in view of the universal armaments, each nation feared above all — war. Armaments secured peace. The arbitrary interference which adjusted Albania could with equal right — or unright — have gone further and settled all the territorial results; but it stopped short because no law warranted action, and to intervene might have provoked dissensions which only fear of existing armaments could allay. So the Powers followed their old policy to let anything happen in the Balkans if thereby they themselves risked nothing. Arbitration broke down when most needed.

A condition analogous to the Balkans obtained in Cuba in 1898: oppression of a people by an alien rule. Armament put an end to this; the United States rejecting arbitration in any form. From time to time, frequently, wretchedly disturbed social conditions recur in and about the Caribbean. Our Monroe Doctrine imposes a veto upon interposition by non-American states. Arbitration cannot uphold the Doctrine because it has no legal status. Armament alone can sustain our position, and to do it bloodlessly the armament must imperatively be adequate.

A. T. Mahan

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