

(Continued from Page 6).

the Empires of Rome and of Alexander, virtually several worlds, efforts to secure world-dominance can never be permanently successful, and must lead to a more and more devastating rivalry, in which civilization will go down. Escape from the madness which lies that way must be found—escape by the cessation of armed rivalry and the development of international government and good will.

The most radical and certain means of avoiding the dangers with which civilized society is threatened as a result of the Military Revolution would undoubtedly be disarmament: the cessation of competition in the invention and manufacture of instruments of destruction.

If military competition continues after the war, its burden will become more and more intolerable. Count Czernin, the Premier of Hungary, has set this forth in plain language.

"In order after this war, with unrestricted rivalry in armaments, to be adequately equipped, the nations would have to multiply everything by ten. They would need ten times as many guns, munition factories, ships and submarines as before, and also incomparably more soldiers to man all this apparatus. The military estimates of all the great Powers would amount to milliards." And he went on to supply, in equally plain language, the solution of the trouble.

"Out of this difficulty there is only one way—namely, complete international disarmament. Gigantic fleets will have no further purpose when the nations of the world guarantee the freedom of the seas, and land armies would have to be reduced to the level required by the maintenance of internal order. Only on an international basis, that is, under international control, is this possible. Every State will have to give up something of its independence for the purpose of securing world peace."

Disarmament is a solution of the problem raised by the Military Revolution incomparably more satisfactory than such forensic schemes as compulsory arbitration or a League to Enforce Peace—much superior even to the semi-forensic League of Peace.

Territorial "guarantees" at the best cannot guarantee a pacific future for the world and at the worst act as the causes of new and bitter rivalries. And, with disarmament, they would automatically cease to have any claim to importance. In his Budapest speech Czernin said:

"If the international disarmament which we long for from the bottom of our hearts is accepted by our present enemies and becomes a fact, then we need no territorial guarantees."

The proclaimed necessity for the

transformation of the political system of Germany into one similar to the systems of the Entente countries (the so-called democratization of Germany) as a guarantee of security also loses point if disarmament is adopted.

Is it not then remarkable that Great Britain, whose statesmen have proclaimed time after time that her fundamental interest in the war is to end the tyranny of military competition, should have practically ignored the explicit declarations, in favor of disarmament made by the Hungarian Premier and embodied in Germany's reply to the Papal Appeal? Beyond printing them when they appeared, the newspapers have tacitly agreed to ignore these significant declarations, and have chosen rather to urge the people blindly to "get on with the war." It may of course be urged that the declarations of the Central Empires in favor of disarmament are not sincere; but at least, the Entente, if its statesmen are sincere, should explore these declarations. If suspicion of its enemies' sincerity alone dictates the refusal of the Entente to discuss an offer which goes to the very root of the matter, then such refusal can be regarded as only another and lamentable instance of that distrust between nations, and particularly between governments, which inspires military rivalry and leads to war and armament impossible. If as nothing more than as a token of its sincerity and of that trust without which neither a League of Nations nor disarmament can come about, the Entente should have expressed its readiness to take Germany at her word and should have informed the Pope that she too was prepared to join in making a glorious junk heap of the navies and arsenals of the world.

Disarmament is the one sure means of securing that which the Entente has proclaimed as its dominant aim in the war and which the most sincere of those who support the war certainly hold in view as their goal: a future free from devastating competition in armaments. And yet we are presented with the spectacle of the Entente statesmen deliberately ignoring the offer of another nation, now ranged against it, to disarm. Even if further discussion of the question would have revealed Germany as not inclined to put her verbal endorsement of disarmament into practice in a satisfactory manner, the moral responsibility of the Entente leaders to the human race in refusing even to discuss the matter is tremendous. Even if Germany's offer of disarmament is not now entirely sincere, the way to make it sincere is to treat it as such.

In conclusion let it be remarked in general that the problem with which the Military Revolution has confronted mankind is so serious that the terms upon which the war is concluded must be judged finally in its light. Terms

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of peace will be no good in so far as they tend towards the cessation of military competition; bad in so far as they tend towards its continuance or aggravation.

Stafford Whitby.

SECRET DIPLOMACY EXPOSED.

The publication of the Secret Treaties between Russia and the other Allies, by the Russian Socialists, is causing a lot of comment in the capitalist press these days. The most of the papers commenting on the subject are very bitter in their denunciation of this procedure and characterize it as an unpardonable breach of "confidence." The following paragraph from the "New Republic," printed in New York, throws some light on the subject as viewed from the saner element in the United States.

Whatever the character of the secret agreements between Russia and her western Allies, there appears to be no good reason why their publication should have been permitted to figure as a trump in the hands of the Bolsheviks. It was not to be supposed that the war aims of Russian Czarism would correspond with those of the Russian democracy. Nor was it to be

supposed that the war aims of the Allies, as transmitted to the Czar's government, are identical with their aims at the present time, when Russian imperialism need no longer be reckoned among the complicating factors of international politics. There was obvious reason why the Russian claim to Constantinople, for example, should elicit certain claims on the Adriatic and in Asia Minor on the part of the western Allies. Those claims have doubtless been abated with the withdrawal of the Russian Claim. Accordingly, what the Bolsheviks have published must exhibit only an historical situation rendered obsolete by the fact of the Russian revolution. The situation was contaminated with compromises, as was to be expected. It bears on the present situation only in so far as the western Allies have failed to make the revisions indicated by the new state of affairs, or have failed to convey to the Russians in unmistakable terms the more democratic war aims they now cherish.

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