THE NEXT WAR: Demoralized but Bellicose World May Come to It in Five Years, Unless the League and Universal Training Are Adopted as Protection

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in favor of the war? Undoubtedly, I am in favor of the war. I was in favor of the last war, and I am in favor of the next war, and I have been in favor of the next war for the last fifty years. This is the way Armenia, of the bellicose United States, invaded the United States, in 1917. But perhaps I have not been doing this work with sufficient enthusiasm. I have been working at it, but I have not been doing it with sufficient enthusiasm.

Yet, from 1914 to 1917 there was no effective public sentiment that war was inevitable for the United States. From the beginning a small number of prominent men usually urgued that the United States ought to go to war to aid in protecting allied-sovereignty, or in order to carry out an international guarantee of neutrality of Belgium. No highway was made toward taking the field to put an end to German atrocities in the field of war. It is very doubtful whether even the impending collapse of the Western allies would have brought in the United States, but for the personal experience of German methods of sea warfare and German official behavior inside the United States. The statesmen who warned the people of the United States to go to war had their own President and the leading powers in the opposing party; they were Admiral von Tirpitz and Ambassador von Bernstorff.

These influences have ceased and still we are at war. Nominally with Germany and Austria, through a preposterous snarling of the processes of Government by which the treaty is not made effective. War in the main field has ended, but economic war still goes on, to our own detriment as well as to that of the European powers. We cannot cease to shake ourselves loose from a war which American people never desired for its own sake, out of which they preferred not to draw all the advantages and prestige in Europe, and which now involves the suffering and death of hundreds of thousands of harmless men, women, and children.

There is also a second war in Europe, actual, grim, murderous. All around the borders of the defunct Russian Empire a war is being fought. It is a war of a different kind, but it is a war. The leaders of the new Russia are attempting to achieve the same ends as the leaders of the old Russia. They are trying to achieve power and control in the new world. And they are doing so by force of arms.

LATEST PORTRAIT OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Shortly before his death Colonel Roosevelt went to visit his friend John Burroughs in the house of Princess Leoff. He was painting the portrait of the author-naturalist. She asked him whether he would not add his portrait to her collection. He agreed to sit for a crayon portrait. He went twice, the first time accompanied by Robert Coates, then-Counselor to the French Embassy, and Anthony Fiala, the artistic explorer. The second time with Mr. Roosevelt.

In her reminiscences of those visits the Princess says she could add little to the likeness at the second visit, because the Colonel was plainly showing the effects of his illness. He died shortly afterwards. Princess Leoff is including this last picture of him in her album of famous Americans, even she has painted. Among them are Thomas A. Edison, Admiral Dreyfus, and Joseph H. Choate.
The Turks are still harrying Christians in the Asiatic dominions and demanding of mankind to leave them Constantinople, because they are such perfect gentlemen. Nor does Europe seem any more disposed now than before the war to free itself once for all from the intolerable shame of permitting a small Asiatic race which never could have lived except by strengthening itself with Christian blood to gain a footing in Europe, and though an uncommercial people to hold the natural commercial centre of the Near East. As well give back Jerusalem to the Turks as Constantinople. They have forfeited both.

The present net result of the war, however, is that four European powers—Great Britain, France, Italy and Greece—have a foothold in Egypt, Asla Minor, Syria, and Mesopotamia, which they will never give up except by force or the pressure of world public opinion. Turkey is practically destroyed already, has lost Arabia, lost the Tigres and Euphrates Valley, lost the Holy Land; now it asks to be allowed to hold a strip of Syria, and to complete the extinction of the Armenians. There is war if the Turks are allowed again to pull the wool over the eyes of Europe; and it will take something like war to make them desist.

Over other parts of Asia floats a war cloud. The so-called Treaty of Peace has not made the Chinese and the Japanese friends, and it has probably encouraged the people of India to demand a new status and new privileges. Siberia is both Asiatic and European, and a dangerous and incalculable element toward both countries.

As for Russia, who shall venture to understand or predict, except that one hundred million people speak Russian, have Russian traditions, and think Russian; that they occupy a country as capable of self-supply of everything needed in peace or war as the United States of America; that they have a strong sense of their significance in the world and undoubtedly the same intention and expectation of some day having their way down the Bosporus and Dardanelles to the open sea.

We Americans hold the indefinite impression that Europe and Asia are exhausted; that nobody can afford to go to war. Quite the contrary. Notwithstanding the losses of tens of millions of men, the flower of their age, their younger brothers are coming right along; and five years hence there will be many more men from 17 to 25 as there were in 1914. Countries which depend on food from outside are for the time being handicapped, but Russia and Poland, India, China, and Japan can feed themselves and their armies. Navies are of slow growth, yet it is doubtful whether any heavy ironclad war fleet will ever again put to sea in face of the dangers from beneath and above, and from the new shells which threaten to pierce any defensive armor.

Future wars are going to be fought, like the last stages of the present war, by troops lying in trenches and aided and protected by airships. Supremacy in the air means victory. Airships in an air arm means victorious nations are comparatively easy to build in great numbers and require a slender force to man them. This throws a great advantage on the side of the most highly educated nations. No more wars can be won by immense forces of reckless, mounted horsemen. But you must never forget that the Turks were once the best artillerymen of Europe. Chemists and engineers can be built. Can the East Indians and the Chinese begin building airships, who can stay them?

Can the world finance more wars? Not by borrowing from other countries, as Russia did from France, and France from the United States; we must remember, however, that a country which has coal, iron, timber, chemicals, raw materials, and plenty of men can keep an army in the field by starving or semi-starving the civil population. There is no physical reason why, in five or ten years, the great struggle may not be renewed.

Suppose Europe and Asia broke loose again. Will that disturb us? Can we not keep on reading the Farewell Address under our own vines and fig trees? Certainly we can, unless certain possible difficulties come in. It is conceivable that troubles might arise over the presence in the United States of hundreds of thousands of citizens of countries that had gone to war elsewhere. It might chance that rival powers would try to draw munitions from the United States, and, if one gained control of the sea against the other, our neutrality would be assailed.

It might even happen that American ships and property and citizens would be killed by illegal methods of warfare by sea or land. Vessels with scores of Americans, including children, might be sent to the bottom without notice. We might even be persuaded that one of the parties to the war would, if victorious, take the first opportunity to finish us up.

What would we do in those circumstances? What could we do but what was done in 1917? Declare war and trust Providence! The point is obvious: Either we were wrong in joining the war in 1917, or we shall be right to join it in like circumstances in a future year. Let us not deceive ourselves. The temper of the world is bellicose. Whether for good or for evil, the United States desires to take the commanding position of leader and arbiter in the world's affairs, which the Western powers desired and the other allies were ready to accept.

So far the United States has held aloof from the League of Nations, the only formal agency for preserving peace by preventing at least some wars. We cannot protect ourselves by George Washington's maxim except by following George Washington's principle of developing new policies to meet new dangers.

If the world is still in danger; if the United States will not join in a concerted effort to combine the peace-loving and peace-preserving forces of the world for the common benefit of mankind, there is only one other thing which a self-respecting nation can do. That is, to get ready; not lie a standing army, but by a system of giving young men as they come along a year's military training which will compel them to learn the first principles of health and sanitation, which will develop future officers. Alongside it must go the most careful technical preparation of essential military material, particularly for air warfare.

Let us never again be caught as we were in 1917, a nation of one hundred millions without a single practicable modern war plane, without a fleet of destroyers, without available submarines, without a trench bomb or a field telephone system or wireless equipment, without a single battery of great field guns, without an officer trained in modern trench warfare. We have once escaped the danger of being caught unawares by an invading enemy. As sensible, practical, self-governing men and women, let us at least make that form of self-destruction impossible.