

# PAX ANGLO-AMERICANA?

ARTHUR PONSONBY

*IF what we are accustomed to call the "causes of war" really do cause war, then a prolific family of wars is now being bred for some future generation. There is still time to forestall this calamity if the common people throughout the civilized world will take appropriate action. Anglo-Saxons, who have always displayed a genius for government, are more alert than other peoples to the futility of war. Upon them, therefore, devolves the responsibility for making a determined effort to abolish it forever.*

**W**E are entering the second quarter of the twentieth century. Are we entering a new era? That is the crucial question. The answer involves a survey of the ambitions and intentions of the nations. Whatever else may have happened there can be no manner of doubt that the world has become very much smaller, and its component parts have become more closely interdependent. The vibration of ideas is universal, all contacts have multiplied. Intercommunication and transit continue to increase in rapidity. Mankind has become united in a large mass, sensitive to the impulses of any of its sections. This change has occurred within the span of a couple of generations and presents us with problems which our predecessors in all the centuries of history never had to consider. The human mind appears not yet to realize this new intimacy nor to know how to use it. For the time being we are more intently occupied in perfecting the machinery than in planning how we should utilize the association which the machinery makes possible. Unless, in the second quarter of the twentieth century, man sets to work to free himself from slavery to his soulless offspring, the machine, he himself may lose his soul.

The nations of the world in the first quarter of the twentieth century have disgraced themselves. They drifted into a four years' war which settled nothing, a world war which machinery, bred of human ingenuity, made the most barbarous and devastating ever waged in the world's history. Retribution has overtaken all who participated in it. But has any lesson been learned, has any great resolve been made? That is the question which concerns practically every living being. If the period of the next twenty-five years is to be the dawn of a new era, there is one thing and one thing alone which can make it that, — the abolition of war.

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So accustomed have people become to war as an institution, so powerful are the interests which maintain it, so sedulously is the glorification of force taught in the schools, and so deep-seated is the acceptance of the superstition of war as an indispensable and inevitable expedient that the idea of "abolition" is at once condemned as a Utopian fancy. But when it can be demonstrated with telling illustrations from the experience of those now living that war is not bred by man's hatred for man, by racial animosities, by an uncontrollable combative instinct on the part of passionate people, or by any untamable elemental instincts; when it can be shown that the idea of settling delicate international problems and differences by such methods is crass imbecility; and when it can be pointed out that the war of the future is to be a matter of massacring millions of the civilian population, and the wholesale destruction of defenseless cities, — then people may pause and think. Many indeed are pausing and thinking and asking themselves too whether they should tolerate an institution which is an outrage on the moral conscience and an insult to the intelligence of mankind.

Now what are the Governments doing about it? Hopes of a new era are not very bright if we think only of them. But let us consider for a moment the mood of the rulers of the world. They stumbled into the war and they stumbled out of it. No sort of forethought was exercised either in the one case or the other. They prided themselves on their military efforts and were never tired of boasting about them. As to moral effort they were always a little ashamed if it ever became prominent, but there was in any event little enough of it to boast about. They found their countries all suffering in various degrees and in different ways from the consequences of war, and they were embarrassed by the exposure of the lies they had all told to make their people fight. The people honored none of the prominent figures who conducted the monstrous struggle and the disastrous peace negotiations. They all dropped out, died, or fell into obscurity. The people saw no occasion for gratitude, and they were right. There were revolutions, a number of crowns fell, a few dictators tried to make order out of chaos, and many nations attempted to repair ruin by means of slow methods and ill-qualified men. The Governments all continued to be infected by the old nervousness,

and they all showed that they had not learned the one and only lesson which was worth learning from their disastrous experience.

The moderate influences, being singularly ineffective, inept, and without invention, became torn by the largely increasing power of the two extremes, — Fascism and Communism in their various manifestations, — and the old fears were made to possess the peoples as strongly as ever. Germany was forcibly disarmed, but the other nations started again without delay making preparations for the next war. Europe is now a bigger armed camp than it was in 1913, and the President of the United States declares his satisfaction in American military and naval equipment. Shells and bombs are being turned out of the armament factories by the hundred; armored cars, new types of tanks, submarines, mines are being constructed and improved, and the new developments in poison gas are said to be a considerable advance on anything used in the last war. In short, notwithstanding the lesson they have had in the barbarity, inhumanity, extravagance, and futility of force, they are all at work preparing for the next orgy of massacre.

Now let us glance at the international situation from the diplomatic and political point of view. There are far more causes of international dispute than there were in the pre-war years. The disputes, moreover, are not confined to differences between the late allied powers and the late enemy powers, but are widespread between all sections. Indemnities, debts, strategic frontiers, mandates, and treatment of minorities are all causes of bitter controversy. The tangle is so complex and difficult to unravel that, in spite of conferences year by year, a very insufficient approach to recovery has been made. It took four years to throw Germany on her back, and since that, for seven years, her former enemies have been vainly endeavoring to set her on her feet again, — a fine illustration of the imbecility of war.

Germany, distraught and thrown into desperation, is struggling along without stable government, with ever increasing social troubles, snatching at the straws of concessions and promises thrown out to her from time to time by the western Powers. France, the victor, is hardly better off. Also without stable government, she is on the slippery slope of bankruptcy and still seeks some one who will guide her from her sea of trouble into

smooth waters. Intoxicated by victory, the Government held out prospects to her people that all their burdens would be relieved by a flow of money from Germany. Vast military expenditure has been indulged in, in order to safeguard her dearly bought supremacy. Entanglements in profitless and unnecessary wars have drained still further her Treasury and added nothing to her prestige. It is not impossible that in the long run she may suffer even more than her defeated foe.

Italy is gripped by the hand of an unscrupulous dictator, who boasts that he saved her from falling into the opposite extreme. Terror-stricken and submissive, the people have almost lost their souls. The question is not whether such a situation can last, because of course it cannot, but whether or not its break-up will lead to very serious internal trouble.

In Great Britain the post-war boom was followed by instability, and that again by reaction, increasing industrial trouble, and aggravated economic dislocation. Puzzled and undistinguished rulers are trying little palliatives, watching with dismay the negative results of their efforts, and preparing safeguards for the day when an impatient people will call on them to go.

The United States may be considered by some people to have come out of the crisis best. Their assistance helped to win the war, they therefore got glory. Their brave sons fought and fell, they therefore tasted bereavement and suffering. Economically they fared well. From the material point of view their success has removed misgivings about war. To play a noble part in a great adventure and to come out of it with flying colors is a good excuse for some self-satisfaction and a little conceit. They are looking forward to the next adventure. But man learns from adversity and suffering a thousand times more than he ever can from prosperity and success. From the spiritual point of view the American people have suffered most of all. They are slow to wake up to the gigantic deception. Their reluctance to be drawn into European quarrels is very natural. The League of Nations is given the cold shoulder, and even the International Court hardly finds favor. Self-sufficiency, aloofness, and the weakening of idealism and altruism may indicate only a passing mood. However that may be, in the world as it is constituted to-day the United States cannot stand outside; she must be inside the world

family of nations helping them in their struggles and bringing her potent but for the moment more latent moral force to bear toward the solution of the great world problems.

Russia is the outcast. War, revolution, more war, more revolution, civil war, famine, bankruptcy, — all in an acute degree have taught her a suffering which no other nation has reached. She has emerged in a guise which greatly displeases the nations. Fanciful, childish, superstitious, and reckless, Russia is under an autocracy as she was before; but she is using her astonishing powers of invention and creation to establish order out of chaos and, through crude blunders and fantastic notions, to feel her way to a new system of life and to a fuller development, not only of the potential riches of her country, but of the amazing genius of her people. Russia is the pariah. If cast out from Europe she will find friends in Asia. This brings us to situations.

We find the near East and the far East armed to the teeth. By whom? By the great Christian nations of the West who, through their armament firms, pour a ceaseless flow of the latest types of armaments into the countries where the combative instinct is easily aroused, and these armaments may be used at any time, and have been used, against the people in whose country they were manufactured. Asia armed to the teeth is not a pleasant prospect.

That is one situation. The next which claims attention is the calm way in which people speak of the inevitability of war between the United States and Japan. Apparently it is only postponed, but we are going to have it sooner or later. A certain firm in a certain country is supplying both the future combatants with the finest shells. When the United States Inspector comes, the Japanese shells are screened off, and when the Japanese Inspector comes, the American shells are screened off. The necessary animosity must be kept alive to bring in these tempting orders.

There are prominent individuals in England who would like to fight the Bolsheviks so that we might have an opportunity for our incorrigible habit of teaching people how to govern themselves. The troubles in Morocco and Syria are not settled, and Iraq has become the centre of grave dispute.

Never has the saying that war breeds war been more fully

justified. The Great War will have a large family if what we have hitherto been accustomed to call causes of war do eventually cause war.

In turning to the brighter side, fortunately there is ground for hope. The Governments are not doing much, but they are endeavoring to do something. The League of Nations is consolidating its position, and, if it can achieve three great radical reforms, may become a supreme peace preserver: (1) it must be all-inclusive; (2) it must represent more directly peoples as well as Governments; (3) and (most important of all) force must be entirely eliminated as the basis of its authority. Locarno in spirit was a great advance. On paper it means very little and indeed might bring grave trouble. But let it be clearly understood that wars do not arise from breaches of treaties or unprovoked aggression, nor from assassinations and such like incidents. The most serious difference can be got over if there is an absence of ill-will, and if the Governments negotiating do not hold the war card in their hand. The war card means full equipment in armaments and a reliance on the people to be willing to fight. A cursory glance at world history in the years before 1914 will show any student that the war card was in the hands of each of the Great Powers, and it was only a matter of time and opportunity for it to be flung on the table.

In order to eliminate the war card, therefore, armaments must be abolished. This can be done by the Governments prohibiting their manufacture or by the people refusing to use them. The Governments are trying to make a start with a disarmament conference. We wish them all good fortune. But their difficulties are formidable. Regulation, standards, limits of expenditure, investigations into manufacture and arms traffic are all points about which general agreement may be difficult to reach, and drastic measures are hardly to be expected. But with all the greater powers represented some start might be made.

This brings us to the people, and here we find our best hopes can be centred. In all countries, although in varying degrees, the people are disillusioned. They see what a fraud war is, they have discovered how they have been misled, and the majority of them fully understand that international war means a sham fight against the wrong enemy. They have no quarrel with their



fellow workers in foreign lands. Why should they be made to kill them in a vain attempt to settle other people's quarrels?

We have heard a lot about the cruelty of war, and indeed that can hardly be exaggerated. But horrors lose their power to shock. We have heard of the immorality of war, but we find that the churches all the world over join in the war effort with zest. We have heard of the expense and extravagance of war, and indeed we see plainly enough the ruin and bankruptcy it brings, but if we have got sufficient to keep our heads above water other people's money troubles do not affect us very deeply. But when we find that this vast expenditure of human effort and wealth ends in nothing but evil consequences, we begin to wonder whether in the interests of sanity we should not put a stop to it.

The people are the agents as well as the victims, and they can do it if they want to. If they do not do it they must not blame their Governments. In Great Britain they are beginning to want to. They are thinking the thing out and making a determined resolve. They have not forgotten. They at any rate seem to have learned a lesson. In other countries the same spirit exists, though to a lesser degree. It is not favored by those in authority and it is not advertised. But ideas have a way of spreading; no frontiers or fortifications can hold them back. If the people of the United States would join with the people of Great Britain who, without waiting for schemes and plans which require the sanction of Governments and Parliaments and endless discussion before Leagues and Conferences, are declaring by the voice of each individual man and woman in a Peace Letter addressed to the Prime Minister that in no circumstances will they consent to help in an attempt to settle international disputes by the massacre of millions of men, women, and children and by the destruction of cities, a mighty chorus will rise from these separate individual Anglo-Saxon voices joined in harmony. Such a splendid chorus would find a ready echo in foreign lands and would unfailingly influence Governments.

By this means the world might be saved by the common people, and the twentieth century might yet bring the inauguration of the new era in which man will no longer be distracted from the real and nobler work of life by the senseless barbarity of international slaughter.

# A PLEA FOR PSYCHICAL RESEARCH

WILLIAM McDougall

*WHY is it that one of the most important of all human puzzles, namely our deep instinctive belief in the transcendence of mind, is so persistently neglected? Organized science scorns the claims of those who believe in "supernormal" phenomena, yet numerous men of intellect, including famous scientists, who have devoted careful attention to psychical research, have become profoundly impressed by the evidence. The eminent Harvard psychologist urges men of science to undertake an exhaustive inquiry.*

**I**N all ages the mass of mankind has believed in the occurrence of certain phenomena which have excited wonder because they seem to show that a few persons possess supernormal capacities. As science has become more and more definitely mechanistic, it has become possible to define these alleged capacities negatively, to say that they include all those which seem to fall outside the limits of the possible as prescribed by a strictly mechanistic science. These alleged capacities fall into two distinct groups: (1) Capacity for manifesting knowledge not obtained, directly or indirectly, through sense-perception; (2) the production of physical changes in ways that cannot be interpreted in terms of physical science as now understood and which seem to be irreconcilable with strictly mechanistic science.

We may speak of all alleged manifestations of these two classes as supernormal phenomena. If such phenomena, of either or both classes, really occur, they would seem to show that the categories of physical science are not adequate to the interpretation of life and mind. That is the essence of their claim upon the interest of men of science. For science does unmistakably claim, through the mouths of the great majority of its devotees, that its mechanistic categories are adequate to such interpretation; that the operations of mind do not transcend these categories, are not exceptions to its laws; that the world as described by mechanistic science is a closed system and that the phenomena of mind must be interpreted in a manner compatible with this mechanistic description of the world.

The essential question raised by these alleged supernormal phenomena is this: Can we find in them empirical evidence that mind transcends the categories of mechanistic science?