

The War Against War

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While statesmen strive anew for world peace by pact and conference, science is lending practical aid by breaking down national barriers and jealousies

THE Western World is clinging to its hope of peace with a tenacity which would have been laughed at before 1914. But the memory of that sacrificial host of eight and a half millions of men who died then and in the years that followed, is one which even in our land of brief regrets has survived the resistless hand of Time. In spite of reverses which all thinking men admit, and malign forces which all observing men recognize, the war against war appears to be gaining ground. The forces of Peace are moving against the works of War.

The dream of permanent peace has attracted mankind in all ages. Homer sang of it; Christ preached it; women of all time have prayed for it. But in no previous century has so much thought and effort, or so many spoken and written words, been devoted to the problem of abolishing war, as in the decade just ended.

Waves of pacifism have always followed war, even righteous wars. Those loudest for peace have not always been most willing to fight for it during war, but the present movement has enough support from those

who responded when their country needed them, to command the respect of all those to whom patriotism and love of country are still the highest duty of citizenship. Results are becoming apparent. At the very least the world is becoming accustomed to the thought and language of permanent peace. There remain now but a few who question the sincerity of those to whom "the war to end war" was a slogan which helped millions to carry on to the end. True enough, war was not ended by the World War. We cannot ever abolish the institution of war. But we may, perhaps, limit it to righteous war, and even the likelihood of that can be enormously lessened by the deliberate international coöperation which we may count as one of the major results of the World War.

PROFESSOR Gilbert Murray, in *The Ordeal of This Generation*, remarks that, "Whereas formerly the Foreign Secretaries of the Great Powers never saw each other from the cradle to the grave . . . now they meet intimately in private and public about every three months and discuss

the smallest clouds on the horizon like friends." A man need not be a super-optimist to recognize this changing relationship of the world's leaders as a thing of solid promise. Nor is it any less truly so because at times, as in the recent Hague Conference of the Allied Nations, the old passions flame up, and irritating and uncompromising utterances seem for the moment to indicate the contrary. Fundamentally the evidence is unmistakable that the leaders of our modern world are moved by the same desire for peace which so strongly motivates most of the rank and file.

BEFORE the war it was quite the tacitly accepted function of diplomacy to work in devious ways for the aggrandizement of one nation at the expense of another. Now — as witness General Dawes in London — it is the effort of diplomacy to work in open and straightforward ways for the mutual conciliation of national aims. And behind this change of diplomatic method lies a constantly growing demand of the people in all lands for an assured state of world peace. We read the evidence of this demand every day in every paper. Such constantly occurring expressions of important groups of individuals are exemplified by the recent resolution of the International Advertising Congress pledging its support to "all movements working to attain those objects (peace), thereby helping toward better understanding and closer relationship between the nations of the world."

All these tentative strivings toward international accord trace back to the terrific impact of the World

War upon the conscience of civilized men. That was a blow which brought the nations up standing and faced them in a new direction. And moving in the new direction they have made coöperative effort, or reasonable compromise, the order of the day.

Whether or not this order continues in force need not, however, depend alone upon the surviving memory of the last world conflict. A new factor is becoming every day more important. The all but incredible technical development over the past decade of methods of swift, world-wide communication should facilitate the movement toward peace. Properly used the new agencies of communication may make out of the imperfect present a future vastly better. And of all the methods of communication which should help to this culmination, the newest promises to be the most potent.

RADIO represents a force of incalculable value upon the side of those who are seeking world peace. True, it undoubtedly represents also in some ways a growing problem to the Powers; already there is rivalry between them for leadership in world communication. But while it may bring its own problems, radio brings also new promise. For the hitherto hindered and inarticulate small nations it may become an open door on to the world stage. No invention since printing holds out brighter hopes for mankind of every color and creed the world over than does radio with its allied potentialities in telephoto transmission and television.

Truth must be the rock upon which international accord is built, and more than any agency which

brings men's minds together the radio is a guarantor of truth. For, as Professor William Bennett Munro says in *The Government of American Cities*, "Here is a channel of propaganda that cannot be easily controlled by any single interest or by the promoters of any single cause."

THE peril of nations in all epochs has been the demagogue. The multitude always listens to the strong-willed man who knows how to impose himself upon it. Men in the mass lose individual will and instinctively follow one who possesses the quality they lack. One of the major virtues of radio lies in this: that though a single leader may address millions (President Hoover doubtless will speak to more than one audience of fifty million before his term expires) the old, often harmful contagion of the mob is gone. The magnetism of the spellbinder does not reach beyond the microphone. His purple periods emerge colorless except for the color of truth. His flashing eye can exert none of its old hypnotic power. We sit at home and amid accustomed surroundings weigh his words temperately. We come to know our man as we never knew him when we were one of an excited crowd. The very tones of his voice, over the radio, proclaim his hypocrisy or his sincerity.

It may well be that the greatest of all the contributions of science to mankind is that of radio which enables the average man to achieve that detachment which is necessary if he is properly to measure the righteousness of the honest leader, the unrighteousness of the demagogue.

"Radio," says Sir Eric Drum-

mond, Secretary-General of the League of Nations, "and the League are both in their youth. They are growing on somewhat the same lines. Assuredly their fruitful coöperation will make for the peace of the world."

"By means of radio," he goes on, "information can be put on the air in London, received in New York, and re-transmitted to London in the space of a few seconds. It is not easy, even for those who serve the cause of peace, to realize the enormous new force which now makes for that better understanding between peoples upon which peace must ultimately depend. Before it, distances and time almost cease to have importance. People hear each other and know each other."

I CANNOT go all the way with the League's Secretary-General. Distances and time still have a great importance. Indeed, they constitute the two greatest barriers to that understanding upon which Sir Eric rightly puts such a high value. Time in particular! While one half of the world is engaged in its vital activities the other half is asleep, and in consequence all too often misses first hand knowledge of what has taken place.

For example, any programme broadcast from our Atlantic Coast after seven o'clock in the evening (and the most important programmes are given then or later) can hardly find an attentive ear in the British Isles. Seven o'clock in New York means midnight and sleep on the other side of the Atlantic. Again, radio transmission and reception of oral programmes is still hampered by great distances; and the barrier of

different languages must be taken into account. We are considering, however, not only the accomplished fact, but the inherent promise. We must not forget that the nations' confusion of tongues has in itself been one of the sources of international division; and since the most appealing of broadcast entertainment is in English, there should be in future days a stronger incentive for other peoples to master English as a second tongue. People distrust what they do not understand; let them develop a common medium of communication and still another cause of international mistrust will fall by the wayside of human progress.

CERTAINLY then, this much can be accepted: more and more the people of one nation will come to know the people of other nations, thanks in part to the future progress of radio communication. And in knowledge lies sympathy and understanding. There have already been marked advances of this kind. I listened to President Coolidge's address on February 22, 1927, in a London hotel. At the time I was impressed by the indifference of the Englishmen about me. They were interested in the fact of the address, not in what it contained. I very much doubt if such indifference would be as marked today. It was less in the case of President Hoover's pre-election radio addresses. I believe it will be still less noticeable in 1932.

So, while national representatives are conferring more and more frequently, the individual citizens of their respective nations are more and more inclined to establish those common contacts of education,

amusement and news which radio is making possible. The result which we may reasonably hope for is that result which newspapers, motion pictures, motor cars and increasing travel have already promoted to a large extent — the spread of a more universal culture.

IT is obvious that in this new world of ours we are witnessing the breakdown of isolated and self-sufficient national cultures. Already even the Chinese coolie, the Brazilian cattleman, and the European peasant are coming to crave the same material luxuries that are standard in the world's capitals. As the communication of ideas and the transportation of commodities expand still further, we will see ways of thinking, standards of living and intellectual ideals likewise approach uniformity.

It is hardly to be argued that the conspicuously differentiated cultures of nations in the past have too often bred distrust and even conflict. Amid all the complicated causes of wars, the crusading sense of superiority felt by one people as regards another cannot be ignored. We need go no farther back than the World War to find an outstanding example of this. Whether the cause of a war be economic rivalry or imperial aggrandizement, the motive power that permits its prosecution is often the popular feeling that it is a holy war for the imposition of a superior culture on a lower. In this, and in many other ways besides, discordant national customs and systems of thought have promoted belligerence. Hence we may well see the hand of destiny in that inventive genius which is slowly blotting out national

idiosyncrasies at the very moment that the possibility of world peace has become an international ideal.

Surely the unfounded jealousies between national populations will diminish as the citizens of each come to adopt the same fashions, share the same interests, enjoy the same amusements, hear the same public speakers and profit from the same educational opportunities. Through future decades this auspicious movement toward common cultural sympathies will be increasingly promoted by radio in alliance with the press, the talking motion pictures, the phonograph and the automobile.

Parenthetically, the United States may feel the satisfaction of a leader in this forward movement, for her inventors and industries have devised or perfected each of these agencies. It was, for instance, from the pioneer American station, KDKA, that broadcasting spread to many lands until today it embraces every part of the civilized world.

Not broadcasting alone, either. The swift transmission of news and commercial communications is now a major task of radio, and in that, too, the United States has led. Today, in New York City alone, the corporation which I serve offers to individual business men direct touch with England, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Sweden, Norway, Poland, Turkey, Argentine, Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, Porto Rico, Dutch Guiana and Portugal. San Francisco is the centre of a network which reaches to China, Japan, the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies and French Indo-China. Let us not

forget that while trade rivalries and international business competition increase through such facilities, this ever more tightly interwoven business fabric is itself another guaranty of peace.

True enough, such lightning communication may be a cause of dangerous misconceptions. With news correspondents closely reporting every meeting of international leaders whose hands hold the peace of the world, a thoughtless, intemperate utterance may be flung to millions of readers and given an importance the statesman never meant it to have. The careless reader, the irresponsible headline writer and the half-baked participant in an international conference, are a trinity very dangerous to the tranquility of our modern world.

But granting such a possibility of harm, I doubt if it ever could be as great as the harm done in earlier days by more slowly travelling bulletins. Then the dangerous report, when it finally did arrive, festered in the national consciousness long before any ameliorating word came. Now the *amende honorable* can follow so closely that the original statement has hardly struck before the assuaging statement is at hand. The truth formerly never overtook the lie, while in these days it sometimes catches it.

People tend to think in inherited patterns. Today we think too much in the disjointed pattern which our fathers and grandfathers made for us out of their conception of a disjointed world. Universal intercommunication has begun to weave a more harmonious world upon which

we can build a more harmonious pattern to hand on to our children. That pattern, while it will be far from perfect, will contain less of suspicion among peoples, and will inspire efforts better calculated to promote

peace. Perhaps more than all the diplomatic conferences in history, radio is helping promote peace, and clearing the way for a long step upward upon the shadowy trail which leads toward Utopia.

Wave Music

BY WILBERT SNOW

BEHIND this bowlder on the shore,
 After a night of wind and rain,
 I lie and let the waves restore
 The jaded tissues of my brain.
 Why can no inland mountain strain
 Weave me the spell of waves that break,
 No inland waters float a seine
 To catch my fancy's silver hake?

There is an undertow in me
 That only moves when some great gale
 Kicks up an undertow at sea
 And wakens the coast with artillery hail:
 The surface drums' loud rolls assail
 Huge cliffs in bristling undismay;
 Beneath, orchestral basses flail
 Dark ledges hidden in the bay.

There may be in an island birth
 A need unknown to inland men —
 Need for an armistice with earth
 To let salt tides flow in again.
 "Dust to dust" was spoken when
 The tribes had not yet found the sea —
 A deeper call has come since then —
 "Salt brine to blood" for men like me.