

the criminal classes, and unwilling conscripts cannot be depended upon to maintain the policy of ruthlessness.

Meanwhile, such countries as remain neutral at first, not sufficiently idealistic to protest at the threatened invasion, will soon be pressed by their own business interests to demand that ports be reopened and commerce with our people again made possible.

The invading government finds prestige and finances decreasing day by day, while the popular will to war, upon which military power depends for existence, has withered and died for lack of that upon which to feed. At home and abroad the expedition becomes the butt of ridicule. The opposition party, which openly or underground has long awaited the moment of weakness, stands ready to strike for control as soon as the bulletins of unsuccessful terrorism have had their effect upon workers and taxpayers. If some face-saving pretext is not speedily found to bring the recall of the mutinous forces, the military government will go down to defeat, carrying with it the hollow fabric of dictatorship in that country.

The Chances of Victory

But can this complete and speedy victory be guaranteed? It cannot. Pacifists are not endowed with omniscience, merely with common-sense, and non-violence cannot claim immunity from those chances of war which have brought so many campaigns to naught.

The outcome indicated is inescapable, however, granted the two points of our hypothesis: first, that the invaded population is united in unarmed resistance, and second, that the enemy nation, though ruthless and unscrupulous under an artificial standard of ethics, is not a community of pathological fools. Non-violent resistance is the only type of defense which, from beginning to end, yields to the enemy not even a prospect of any of the

usual rewards of invasion: prestige, glory, indemnity, subject people, trade or military advantages, available territory, triumph of ideals. The pleasure of wanton destruction is the only satisfaction to be derived, and it is true that this impulse is to be reckoned with in dealing with children, with imbeciles, with intoxicated or desperate men. By no stretch of imagination, however, can the mere lust of killing strangers motivate the sane business men of an industrial nation to keep on financing armies indefinitely for unprofitable idleness overseas.

All victory consists in breaking down the will to war of the enemy people. Military defense tries to do this through fear, which frequently produces the opposite effect. Non-violent defense works through self-interest, slower to arouse but more reliable in the long run.

It will be noted that the foregoing plans take absolutely no account of appeals to the compassion or ethics of the enemy. We have done this, not from a belief in the existence of nations or human beings completely callous to such an appeal, but in the desire to make our hypothesis as difficult as can be conceived. It would be unscientific, however, to shut our eyes to the existence of religion, humanity, and love of justice as elements in individual and group psychology, or to the principle of Satyagraha, or Soul-force, so eloquently set forth in such books as Gregg's "Power of Non-Violence." While our plan of action has relied throughout upon the self-interest of the foreign country rather than upon anything more lofty, yet, to the extent that soul-force, religion, or any type of world idealism exists, its power will be wholly at the service of the tactics here outlined.

Under the old system, religion and ethics in the foreign country could usually be harnessed through fear to the military machine.