

German attack upon Russia, too complex in its motivation to be understood at present, seems to show a combination of the three causes mentioned above.

Except for its island possessions, the United States is clearly outside the line of march of any European or Asiatic aggressor, but attempts at invasion may occur in the war upon which we have now entered, or later on if our increase in armament becomes permanent, thus providing an incentive for a potential enemy to strike first.

Since the hypothesis of the present pamphlet, however, is that of a pacifist United States, these two dangers would be ruled out; and as has already been said, the years of progressive disarmament and of international fair dealing which must precede the pacifist regime could not fail to disencumber us of the outlying possessions which now furnish serious provocations to attack.

The two great causes of modern war, covetousness and fear, would have completely disappeared as far as the United States is concerned.

With envy and fear out of the picture, with the custom firmly established of referring all disputes to international courts and commissions, it is difficult indeed to conceive of motives for invading a disarmed United States.

It is to be remembered also that the modification of the social mind which brings disarmament will have brought also a radical change in our own conceptions of patriotism and national honor. Patriotism is already becoming a very concrete matter, under the stress of civilian defense, and is expressing itself less in verbal protestations than in obedience to law and protecting love for one's fellow citizens—young men of military age as well as women and children. National honor will have transferred from the duelling code, by

which we once shelled a girls' school in Vera Cruz to wipe out the insult of a Mexican dictator, to the code of the gentleman, whose honor stresses such points as the meticulous fulfillment of obligations and refusal to profit by the weakness of an opponent. Citizens will covet for their nation the prestige of being the first to escape from the shackles of the war regime and will hail as a triumph every measure tending toward this culmination. As complete disarmament approaches reality, anti-militarism will *pari passu* have emerged as a sacred national ideal, for which patriots will freely sacrifice personal interest and if necessary life itself. Our state department, therefore, will be held strictly accountable for preserving friendly international relations and its efficiency will be measured by the skill with which it prevents disputes with other nations from approaching the danger line of war. To this department, rather than to the military, will be entrusted the lives and property of the country.

If asked how we know that these radical changes in social psychology and diplomacy will have entered into the situation, we reply that they are essential to the earlier stages of pacifist policy, and cannot fail to be accomplished facts before any nation is ready to take the final step of renunciation of all war.

Facing The Hypothesis

Once more we repeat our hypothesis, that of a country which has voluntarily renounced all war and done away with armament, this step having been prepared for by years of reliance upon policies of international justice and friendship rather than upon force or the growing threat of force, and of an unprovoked invasion by a foreign foe. Chimerical as may seem the idea of a foreign invasion under these conditions, the problem before us is confessedly a fantastic one, which we have promised to face in all seriousness. The imagination can