

THE BULWARKS OF PEACE

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The bulwarks of peace by Heber L. Hart

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PREFACE

MANKIND are at length fully alive to the terrible evils of war. But, in order that everything possible may be done to avoid these evils in the future, it is necessary that those who influence the opinion of the various nations should have a clear apprehension of all the means which are available for the preservation of peace, and, at the same time, that they should appreciate the danger of placing excessive reliance upon the efficacy of any particular measure.

At present there appears to be a disposition on the part of many generous minds to believe that the formation of a League of Nations for the purpose of preventing wars will in itself result in the practical maintenance of general peace. It certainly, indeed, seems probable that a confederacy of this kind, which has been advocated by several great thinkers in the course of the last few centuries, will be actually established at no distant date. In order, however, that the new organization may be well adapted for the fulfilment of its function much consideration will have to be given to its constitution and to the nature of the covenants to be

entered into by the confederating states. And, in any case, it is desirable to recognize the fact that it could not possibly achieve complete success until such moral and political conditions prevail throughout the world as would ensure that these covenants should in all circumstances be observed or enforced. Accordingly, the widespread assent which has already been given to the suggestion of a League of Nations does not by any means dispense with the necessity of the continued study and pursuit of all "the things which make for peace."

In every department of science or art there are fundamental principles and facts upon which its students and professors alike proceed. No problem, indeed, can be studied effectively without some previous acquaintance with the subject in connexion with which it arises. And if we seek to ascertain the best means of securing peace it is well that we should keep in view the elements of social order. We ought to take into consideration the relation of war to the evolution of humanity; the causes of wars in modern times; the reasons for the difficulty of entirely eliminating or completely counteracting these causes; the influences and forces whereby men living in communities are inclined or constrained to orderly behaviour, and the extent to which these influences and forces are applicable to nations and states; the scope of general rules and administrative ordinances respectively in relation to social order; the nature and practical

value of International Law ; the essential sanction of right ; the social function of force ; the processes whereby an aggregate of individuals coalesces into an organized society ; and the special functions of the English-speaking peoples in relation to world-order.

Many manuals of war have been written : this little work is intended to be a Primer of Peace. It is an attempt to provide a compendious statement of the material facts and guiding principles which should be borne in mind by anyone who is considering what ought to be done by the governments and peoples of the various states of the world with the object of preventing the outbreak of wars in the future. In the Table of Contents the effect of each chapter is stated in the form of a distinct proposition. The reader will therefore be able by glancing at this Table to perceive at once the lines upon which the text proceeds.

H. L. H.

March 1918