

**THE STRUCTURE OF LASTING
PEACE; AN INQUIRY INTO
THE MOTIVES OF WAR AND
PEACE**

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The structure of lasting peace; an inquiry into the motives of war and peace by Horace Meyer Kallen

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HORACE MEYER KALLEN

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*An Inquiry into the Motives
of War and Peace*

By
HORACE MEYER KALLEN, Ph.D.



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To
JACOB DAVID KALLEN
My Father
A MEMORIAL, AND A PLEDGE

FOREWORD

TO my dear friend, Mr. George Bernard Donlin, editor of the *Dial*, of Chicago, this little essay owes its inception and completion. Early in the fall of 1917 he urged me to set down for the *Dial* these opinions of a pragmatist on the meaning of the state, its bearing on the nature and hopes of man, and on the possible future of international relations. I have done so, as well as I knew how, amid the stress and confusion of many other enterprises, each with an insistent claim on my attention. What here appears is reprinted substantially as was given to the public in the columns of the *Dial*. There is much that I should have liked, had circumstances been favorable, to have formulated otherwise, much that needs elaboration and expansion, not a little that since the essay was completed has been invalidated by events.

Its main thesis, however, stands, confirmed and strengthened. It is this: The

FOREWORD

propitious future of mankind is in the hands of the armies of the democracies and the radical and labor organizations of the world. The débâcle in Russia has denuded the present German government of the last shred of its hypocrisy. Its peace terms to the Bolsheviki, its nefarious installation and reënforcement of reaction in Finland, in Poland, in the Ukraine and in Rumania, show it set with all its power of arm and head and heart against democracy. It fears the propaganda of the Revolution more than the guns of armies, and all its peace-provisos have had in view the insurance of reaction quite as much as its own territorial and commercial aggrandizement. Its aim, in these peace agreements, has been to make the world safe for autocracy, or at least, for the existing economic and social order, with the perpetuity of exclusive national sovereignties, economic rivalries and vested interests that this implies.

This aim has its sympathizers among large and very influential classes amid the democratic powers. It has its protagonists in the governments of those powers.