

## CHAPTER XIX

### A MONUMENT TO PEACE

The collapse of Germany frees the Mediterranean. Her dream of empire is at an end. Turkey is prostrate. Her subject races are forever freed from Ottoman control. The highways from the Occident to the Orient are unmenaced. The world has unbroken communication with itself. The Allied nations are in unchallenged control of this whole territory.

The defeat of the Central Powers enables the democratic world to establish a peace that will end the age-long wars that have sacrificed the energies of mankind from the beginnings of organized society. In this struggle the Mediterranean nations and the Near East have been the continuous sufferers.

This monument to peace should be a free Mediterranean, under the guardianship of the world. It should be the ward of civilization

administered in the interest of the world. For private control of the Mediterranean there should be international control; for exclusive possession of waterways and harbors there should be international waterways and harbors; for private concessions and the closed door there should be international concessions and the open door. For exclusive exploitation there should be international financing and an end of exploitation. This ancient centre of civilization should become the ward of the peace-loving world.

The Mediterranean belongs to the world. The states round about it belong to themselves. The Mediterranean itself is part of the high seas, as are the straits and waterways which unite it with the seas. And the only solution to the struggle for its control is to make it a world highway, and by so doing, to end the struggle for control of strategic places and the trade routes which connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans with the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa. The Mediterranean should be made international territory. The land routes and the water routes, as well as the territories round about them should be free

from military or political dominion. The territory to be so internationalized should include:

*One.* The Balkan states, Turkey, Asia Minor, Persia, and Mesopotamia.

*Two.* The Bagdad Railway from Austria-Hungary to the Persian Gulf.

*Three.* The Mediterranean waterways from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indian Ocean; the Adriatic, Black Sea, the Straits of Gibraltar, the Suez Canal, and the Dardanelles.

*Four.* The harbors of Constantinople, Salonika, Smyrna, Trieste, Alexandretta, Basra, and other strategic ports should be open to all nations on equal terms. They should be world ports.

This whole territory should be free from political control by any single nation or group of nations. It should be free from military or naval operations and the maintenance of any military establishment by any Power.

This region should also be freed from economic privileges or discriminations. The trade, commerce, and economic life of this great territory should be permitted to follow its natural channels under the supervision of an international tribunal provided for that purpose.

The whole world should be permitted to use the waterways from the Atlantic Ocean and the railroads from Austria-Hungary to the Persian Gulf on equal terms. They should not be used for military or naval purposes. In other words, there should be an end of military dominion of the entire Mediterranean basin. This should be international soil. It should be under the control of the world, and its neutrality should be guaranteed by an international force.

The states bordering upon the Mediterranean should abandon their naval establishments. If possible, they should abandon their military establishments as well. There should be no armed vessels of any Power (except for transit) within the confines of any enclosed sea, just as there are no armed vessels on the Great Lakes. This would free the smaller states from the drain upon their resources in their attempt to keep up the pace for armaments—a pace which they cannot successfully maintain, and which only involves them in trouble.

If the military menace of the Powers can be removed from the Mediterranean; if the

Balkans, Turkey, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Persia, and other peoples can be freed from political control; if equality of trade is guaranteed to all nations alike; then it will no longer be necessary for individual nations to struggle for the control of this territory. Then the apprehensions which have kept England, Russia, and Germany in a state of nervous tension for the greater part of a century would be at an end. If, in addition, the closed door and economic privileges of all kinds were ended, and the rights of self-determination were extended to the Balkan states, to Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine, to Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco, the entire Mediterranean would become neutral territory: such neutrality to be guaranteed and protected by the world.

Such a neutralization of territory finds a counterpart in the conventions between the United States and Canada for the abolition of military and naval establishments on the Great Lakes. For nearly a hundred years there has been no armed vessels, no military posts, and—far more important—no thought of war between these two neighboring peoples. The

Great Lakes have been free. And the absence of war preparations has in itself created a sense of peace. No one thinks of war as a possibility, and no sane man would suggest the abandonment of the treaties of neutralization which have served the two countries so well.

This world empire would not disturb the internal sovereignty of other states. It should not impair the freedom of Italy, of Greece, of the Balkan states, of Austria-Hungary, of any of the countries round about the Mediterranean except to preserve peace and security. Other nations would be admitted to the council of nations that control the Mediterranean as they agree to observe its decrees.

The empire suggested would be democracy's equivalent of the empire sought by Germany. It would be the twentieth-century solution of the struggle which has been going on for the control of the Near East since the beginning of history. It would end the power for evil of the Turk. It would free Russia and the Austria-Hungarian states from fear that the avenues of communication would be closed against them. It would reopen the trade routes

to the Far East by way of the Bagdad Railway and the rivers of Mesopotamia, and by so doing promote the economic life of Persia, India, Armenia, and the rich regions of Mesopotamia and the East.

The capital of this world empire should be Constantinople. It should be the world's cosmopolis governed by an international commission. Constantinople lies at the heart of three continents: Europe, Africa, and Asia. Here again should be the seat of a world empire as it was for hundreds of years.

Out from Constantinople would run the world highways. These highways would include the Dardanelles, the Black Sea, and the lower Danube. The Bagdad Railway from Austria-Hungary to the Persian Gulf should become an international railroad financed and controlled by the League of Nations. It should be completed and extended to India by way of Persia. It should connect with the harbors of the eastern Mediterranean in Syria, and Palestine as well as the Black Sea. It should form part of a great Oriental transportation system intersecting all Europe, from London by way of tunnel under the Channel, through

Paris, Milan, and the Balkans, as well as from Hamburg, Berlin, Vienna, Budapest, and the Balkan states. It might be extended to the Pacific Ocean through southern Siberia. It should be the economic bond of permanent security as it was to have been the symbol of German power. The railroad should be open to all nations and peoples on equal terms. It should be like the open seas.

The Suez Canal is in theory an international waterway. The Adriatic is a cause of controversy and a source of fear on the part of Italy, Austria-Hungary, and the Balkan states. It is their only outlet to the world. The rivers of the Balkans, especially the Danube and the Vardar, should be internationalized.

The harbors of the eastern Mediterranean should be free ports. Salonika, Smyrna, Alexandretta should become international harbors. Constantinople, under such protection, might become one of the great ports of the world, as nature intended it to be. It should be free from any customs tolls or tariffs. It should be the great entrepôt of trade of three continents, the clearing-house between India, Persia, China, and Japan, and the east coast



of Africa with the industrial nations of Europe.

This is the function Constantinople was intended to perform. It was its strategic trade position that made Constantinople the centre of the world in ancient and mediæval times. To it the trade of the Far East found its way across the plains of Mesopotamia. It was and still is nature's gateway to Europe.

This world empire would be the guardian of the Balkans. It would be the protector of Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Persia, Palestine, and other dependent peoples to be later admitted to its suzerainty. As democracy advances, Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis, and Morocco might pass under its jurisdiction, as well as Central and South Africa.

For the first time in history it is possible to relieve the whole territory from bondage, war, and the struggle of the greater Powers to control its life in the interest of empire.