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Three Articles on Liberal Policy by

GILBERT MURRAY

With a Preface by

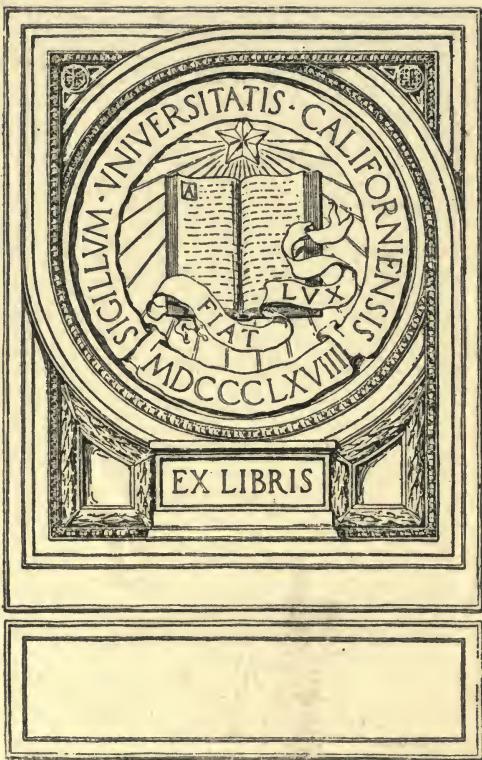
THE RIGHT HON.

VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODON

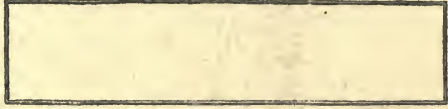


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# THE WAY FORWARD

Three Articles on Liberal Policy by

**GILBERT MURRAY**

With a Preface by

THE RIGHT HON.

**VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODON**



UNIV. OF  
CALIFORNIA

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B.L.

*Contents*

	PAGE
PREFACE . . . . .	7
I	
THE GROUNDWORK . . . . .	15
II	
THE SETTLEMENT ABROAD . . . . .	25
III	
THE NEW ORDER AT HOME . . . . .	34



UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

## Preface

**S**TATESMANSHIP is too large and complex a subject to be defined adequately in a sentence, but it may rightly be said that one of its chief qualities is to see facts as they are, to distinguish between what is vital and what is not essential, to concentrate on what is vital and to reject or oppose anything, however plausible or apparently desirable, that will hinder or prevent the attainment of the main object. It is in the spirit of true statesmanship that these articles of Professor Gilbert Murray deal with the war. His account of the entry of the British people into the war, and of what we and other democracies are fighting for, is, I believe, literally and absolutely true of the great mass of people at home or at the front.

Public Right as the law of the civilized world ; Freedom for all nations and for the men and women inside the nations ; the deliverance of humanity from the power of the Sword :

this is his definition of the objects to be attained, and the articles are evidence of the strength and depth of his conviction that war is justified till these objects are secure. There must, he says, "be a peace based on the defeat of German aggression, the downfall and discredit of Prussian militarism" ; and, however that peace becomes possible, whether it be as the result of internal change in Germany or

of allied victories in the field, it must be true now to say that it will have been attained by war.

But things may be attained by war that cannot be maintained by force alone. Bismarck is reported to have said that you could do everything with bayonets except sit upon them. Professor Murray's examination of the problem of the settlement seems to me to be full of reason and wisdom, and all the more valuable because it deals with some points that are now controversial. More than a century ago Burke said that he did not know how to draw up an indictment against a nation. The United States entered the war this year with a great public statement by President Wilson making a sharp distinction between the autocratic and militarist German Government and the German people. Great consequences depend upon whether these statements are true or whether they are not.

The statement of President Wilson was not received here without some marked dissent. Do we believe it to be true, or that it will become true? There are some ugly facts against it. The wholesale cruelties in Belgium; the wanton brutality of submarine warfare, especially in such cases as that of the *Belgian Prince*; an almost inexhaustible list of actions that even in war are held to be cruelty or murder; all these things are condoned or

acquiesced in without protest by the German people. We are told that there was positive and general exultation in Germany, over the sinking of the *Lusitania*. On the other hand, our knowledge is very imperfect of how these things are really known to the German people and of what they have really said or thought about them. It is more than probable that the German Government have concealed much from and misrepresented much to the German people, and taken the utmost care to prevent any inconvenient opinion in Germany from being expressed there or known to us. Some discount must be made for this, but how much or how little it is impossible yet to say. A distinction between the German Government and people can only be made by emphasizing the iniquity and responsibility of the German Higher Command and Press Bureau.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The use of poisonous gas supplies a limited but concrete illustration of what is meant. If I remember rightly, a few days before the first use of this gas by the Germans a German official communiqué stated that the Allies had used it; and Germans believe that the Kaiser reluctantly consented to the use of poisonous gas, being compelled thereto in self-defence against its use by the Allies.

The truth is that till the Germans used it the Allies had never thought of using it, had not even prepared any for use, and not one of us believed that anything so abominable would in these days be used.

There is now an impression that the Germans have undergone more suffering than they have inflicted by the

One ugly fact unfortunately appears to be beyond dispute, and not subject even to hypothetical qualification. At the outset the war was popular and was hailed with popular enthusiasm in Germany, and in no other country. There had been within living memory three wars, made—he is reputed himself to have said so—by Bismarck; each of these had been completely successful; a school of writers in Germany had made the idea of war familiar and popular; there was a belief that the German army was invincible and must be supreme; that defeat or even failure was impossible; war was synonymous with success and speedy victory, ending in a divinely ordained German predominance.

It is incredible that this belief will survive this war. There are some indications that it has already perished or is perishing, and, if so, we shall sooner or later get concrete evidence of the fact. The German people will then think and feel about war and militarism as we think and feel about it; and, if they make themselves masters in their own house, the conditions contemplated by Professor Murray, which are also those demanded by President Wilson, will be forthcoming, and peace will be possible. Let us realize, when that

use of poisonous gas. If so, it is rightly and deservedly so, and the moral to be drawn by the German people is obvious. But they will not draw the moral till they know the truth,

time comes, that peace to be secure must be real peace, a fresh and fair start for everybody, and that any settlement which entails continuous economic boycott means not peace but continuance of war in one form or another, and will in itself be evidence that the end of the fighting has been inconclusive. In other words, the overthrow of militarism is the great object: if that is really accomplished peace can be made secure; till it is accomplished peace will never be secure. Therefore all the strength and pressure, military, naval, and economic, of the Allies must be used till the Germans are ready to admit in the conditions of peace that the wrongs done by their militarism must be redressed; till they find some way of dissociating themselves from the methods, military, naval, and diplomatic, that have now brought upon them the censure of practically the whole world: till, in fact, they see the truth about Prussian militarism and realize that it makes life intolerable for them and for everybody; after that it must be made clear that life without militarism is tolerable, for them as for the rest of the world. In no other way can peace really be secure.

I do not see how the problems and possible alternatives of the settlement could be better stated and discussed than in Professor Murray's article on this subject. We must, however, remember that the British Government cannot

alone by itself decide what claims it will formulate. I am not thinking in this connection of agreements with Allies, such as that of September 1914; these are binding, and entail mutual obligations on the Allies to support each other according to the agreements made between them, but they presumably do not entail obligations upon us to put forward specific claims on our own behalf when the time comes. I am thinking of the self-governing Dominions. The British Government cannot speak in the matter except in consultation and jointly with them; and the great attention and appreciation with which the wise and able speeches of General Smuts have been received in this country lately is one evidence of the general recognition of this fact. Meanwhile public opinion here and in the Dominions will have to form and shape itself, and these articles by Professor Murray are a contribution of the highest value to clear thinking, right reasoning, and wise conclusions.

Liberals will no doubt agree with what is said about the new order at home. War has caused us much reflection, but it has not made the views about Free Trade, Social Reform and Progress, that we thought true before the war, seem less true now; on the contrary, it has made them more, and not less, urgent. It is probable that after the war political controversy may be on lines that cannot yet be anticipated



or foreseen. The problems of Finance and Labour may take new forms. The millions of men who have served in the war may come back with new ideas and a new perspective. Men who had no very decided views about politics before they joined the army will possibly come back with very strong views as to the sort of country and conditions in which they wish to live in peace, after having risked their lives and endured the trials of war.

We at home cannot tell yet what effect the tremendous experience of this war is having upon our own perspective and sense of values. While a pool is agitated by a storm we cannot see below the surface; when a river is in heavy flood it is sometimes difficult to see where the true course of the river is, much less can the changes in the river-bed be seen. Not till the storm is over can we see down into the pool; not till the flood has subsided can we see what the river is like. So with ourselves, while we are elated, agitated, or depressed by one tragic event of the war after another, when most of us are daily suffering private grief or anxiety in varying degrees, we cannot look into ourselves and see what our real thoughts and feelings will be after the war, though we may feel sure that we shall in some way be affected or changed by the experience we have gone through since August 1914, and are still going through. But the change will not be reactionary; it will,

on the contrary, probably make men ready for much that they were not previously prepared to accept. For the present the whole energy of the Executive Government is necessarily concentrated on the daily work of the war, and our attention is fixed upon the progress of it; but when the nations at war with Germany see that, whatever the constitutional form of the German Government may be, they can in fact deal with a responsible German people; and when that people is ready to discuss a settlement in a spirit which will, amongst other things, make a completely restored Belgium as secure in future against unprovoked invasion being plotted and planned on the eastern side as Belgium was previously secure on the western side; then we too should approach the question of peace in the spirit in which Professor Murray deals with it. He is strong in the sense of the danger, the wrong, and the aggression that were the origin and are the present cause of the continuance of this war; he is strong also in his foresight that, if the outcome of this awful struggle is to be a real peace, a peace that is secure, it must have in it such good right and justice as shall, in the coming years when passion has cooled and minds are clear, make it steadily approved by the conscience and upheld by the sanction of the world.

EDWARD GREY

(GREY OF FALLODON)

*September 22, 1917.*

# The Way Forward

## I

### THE GROUNDWORK

**F**OR more than two centuries Great Britain has counted in the councils of Europe pre-eminently as a Liberal Power. At the Congress of Vienna, when the Liberal cause at home was near its lowest, and England was represented by Castlereagh, the English Conservative proved to be the most Liberal member of the Congress. For, if the dominant trend of British thought is somewhat suspicious of novelty and profoundly opposed to revolution, a certain rude but fundamental attachment to Liberal principles seems to be bred in the bone of the average Briton ; and Great Britain could hardly cease to be a Liberal Power without ceasing to be herself. It is from that point of view that the present writer, himself a believer both in England and in Liberal principles, wishes to face the problem of British policy.

For, in spite of certain appearances, our

British Liberalism has not been destroyed by the war. It has been fortified. In spite of our many set-backs, in spite of our present sense of exile and discouragement, our horizon has been widened, our experience deepened, our opinions have grown into a faith. It is a faith for which our country has shed blood and endured great suffering, and it would be strange if we betrayed it.

For, unless all our chief statesmen are using the language of mere hypocrisy, the cause in which we are now fighting is the central cause for which Liberals have always stood. Our Allies are all the great democratic nations of the world; our enemies the great despotisms. In the few countries that still remain neutral the Liberal and Socialist parties are with us, the military and reactionary parties against us. On the other hand, war itself and the whole atmosphere of war are so horrible, so profoundly illiberal, that we are, as it were, shaken by the confusion of violent events, and cannot without an effort get our minds clear and realize what our policy is. That effort I am now asking the readers of these articles to join me in making.

In thus asserting the Liberal cause I am making no attack on other parties. Liberals like myself accept fully and frankly the principle of a Coalition Government. Doubtless there are drawbacks to all coalitions; and

some coalitions seem to us considerably worse than others. But coalition in itself is desirable, because it provides the nation with a common front; and because, under the pressure of present danger, men of goodwill have, as a matter of fact, drawn honestly together. Mr. Asquith, in power or out of power, stands simply for the higher central mind of the country. Mr. Balfour has made speeches full of the fine Liberal tradition, has accepted Home Rule and denounced "the blood-stained tyranny of the Turk." Mr. Bonar Law has broken into poetry over the Russian revolution. And Mr. George, from the extreme left wing, has flown to the centre with such an impetus as to be carried perhaps a little beyond it. The drawing together of men of sense and goodwill is not a pretence; it is a real fact, and a fact that we should be grateful for.

If that is so, where do we Liberals stand? There are some Tories, of course, even now, though I think not a large nor a growing section, who seem to have abated nothing of their old love of violence, their old hatred of democracy and reason. It is as if they could neither learn nor feel. They rage in the good old way in the *Morning Post*, clamouring for measures to force neutrals into war by oppression, to force Ireland into rebellion by conscription, to wreck the agreed Reform Bill, to enact Tariff Reform during the truce. In the

intervals they would persecute any one who seems at the moment to be friendless, and would reduce the rations of small German children in English workhouses in order to show their disapproval—or is it their admiration?—of the ill-treatment of helpless English prisoners in Germany. They are our old antagonists, the would-be wreckers of a sane Conservatism as of a sane Liberalism. We know where we stand in respect to them.

How do we stand towards the more moderate and enlightened Conservatives? Our differences, though often great in practice, have in principle been largely differences of emphasis, differences in the degree of importance which we and they attached to different parts of the same field of work. We stood for democracy and the destruction of privilege; they agreed, but pressed for the preservation of what they supposed to be valuable elements connected with particular privileges. We aimed with all our strength at avoiding war, though we took pains also to be prepared for it. They prepared for it with zeal, though at the same time they wished to avoid it. They admired English civilization so much that they wished it to stay unchanged; we admired it so much that we were eager for it to go on growing in the same direction. We put our hearts into the improvement of national life at home, they put theirs into the increase of national strength abroad.

But these are old differences. We know them, and shall fall instinctively back into them. They do not necessarily prevent mutual respect and co-operation.

How do we stand towards the Pacifists? We too love peace, and have always worked for peace. But there are some things which we rate still higher than peace, some things which we think worse than the shedding of human blood. The Pacifist does not, indeed, say—it is unjust to accuse him of saying—“There is nothing for which I will die”; but he does say, “There is nothing for which I will kill”; or at least, “There is nothing for which I will plunge nations into this waste of killing and dying.” And we say quite firmly, “There are things for which I will die, for which I will kill, for which I will ask my countrymen to kill and die; and the cause involved in this war is one of them.”

How do we stand towards the Revolutionaries? Are we content with this society in which we live? Do we not feel its failures and basenesses, how it has oppressed the poor, how it has followed advertisement in the place of truth, and worshipped money in the place of greatness? We feel all this. But our answer to the Revolutionaries was given in our acceptance of the war. We felt, and we feel still, that Great Britain, British society, British freedom, imperfect as they are, are things

so great and so beloved as to be worth dying for. We differ both from the Revolutionary and the Conservative. Unlike the Revolutionary, we do not wish to shatter the present England: we will give our blood to preserve it. Unlike the Conservative, it is not this mere present England for which in our hearts we fight; it is the England that ought to be, that can be, that shall be.

The war, and the causes for which we entered upon the war, give the clue to the whole problem. When we entered the war we took upon us a heavy sacrifice for the sake of some principle or set of principles, which at the time we realized very imperfectly. In such moments the average man does not exactly analyse his feelings, or succeed in weighing truly all the points at issue. He is faced by something—a prospect, a threat, an evil thing coming towards him; and instinctively he says, “No, not that! I would rather die!” That is the spirit in which we English Liberals entered the war. We were faced by something which we would never, while we lived, accept; we possessed something which we would never, while we lived, consent to lose.

What exactly were these things?

Partly, no doubt, we fought, and are still fighting, in mere self-defence, to defend our country and our freedom from mortal danger.



But we hardly realized that at the beginning ; at least, not most of us. We entered the war not in fear, but in anger, to prevent the accomplishment of a crime. It was the crime against Public Right, the sheer bottomless wickedness of the invasion of Belgium, that first roused us to the fighting pitch ; and we soon saw that the invasion of Belgium was only one in a whole series of crimes. I need not dwell on them. They amounted in the gross to a complete denial of the existence of law between nations, and the effect has been to commit us whole-heartedly to the practical assertion of that law. Throughout most of our history England has been, by current diplomatic standards, a very honest Power, and in the years before the war most conspicuously so. But after the war our whole conception of the duty of nation to nation must be reinforced and re-interpreted. We must stand emphatically and irrevocably for the rule of Public Right.

Next, we fought for the freedom of small nationalities. We found the enemy crushing Belgium, devastating Serbia, terrorizing Denmark and Holland, maintaining a bloody despotism in the Turkish Empire. We realized that Europe could never find peace till the small nations were freed from the oppression of the great. Again it was a reinforcement of our old principles. Of all the great empires known to history, ours has certainly,

been the most liberal, the least intolerant. But the war has made us more sensitive than before to the few rusty spots on our large shield, and given a keener edge to our old pride in the freedom of our wide Commonwealth. How can the champion of small nationalities be contented while Ireland is permanently discontented? Ireland, of course, stands apart. The Irish are ourselves, a race practically indistinguishable from Scotch or Welsh or English. The problem in the East is quite different; different, again, the problem in Africa and the South Seas. We cannot have free institutions everywhere. But the war has made us determined that in every corner of the Empire, however impossible freedom and self-government may be at the moment, we must at least keep them in mind as goals. We must govern honestly, and sincerely for the benefit of the governed. We must be always tolerant, and never cruel. We must move towards freedom, and not away from it. We must govern like Englishmen, and not like Germans.

Last of all we discovered, some of us quickly and some slowly, the truth of what Mr. Asquith stated in the first fortnight of the war, that no future peace, no freedom, no higher life for the masses of mankind, is possible while Germany still remains an armed camp, and the German Government a military despotism.

Europe cannot be half slave and half free. If the rest of us are to continue free, the Germans themselves must attain freedom, and escape from the eternal shadow of the sword.

No household can sleep in peace while the house next door belongs to a madman with a taste for firearms, who asserts his divine right to rule the whole terrace, and makes his grown-up sons and daughters obey him like dogs. If his children, some of whom we believe to be sensible folk, will put him in irons and manage the house themselves, we will all shake hands and go about our proper business. But if not, we must let our proper business go hang, and sit up every night with shot-guns.

We get here to the very centre and root of all the evil. The miseries of Europe, the baulked hopes, the frustrated efforts, the steady backward lapse towards barbarism, the strange unconscious brutalization of our own natures, which makes the horrors that once infuriated and sickened us seem now like matters of common life, calling for no comment: all these things are proved to have their root in one cause.

Militarism is the enemy. We English before the war were the least military of the Powers of Europe, the least military Power in the world, except America. But we had our black spots. Some at least of us had our illicit ambitions. A British Government not long ago suppressed

by war the independence of two brave little Republics who might surely have been handled in wiser ways. We Liberals hated militarism then and always. But we could not hate it then quite as we hate it now, because at that time we did not fully know it, and now we do. By militarism I mean the government of a State in time of peace by its war-lords, the concentration of its national effort on war efficiency, and the regarding of war not as a desperate last resort, when all else fails, but as a normal and legitimate instrument of policy. That spirit, that policy, is the central part of all the evils against which we fight.

This, then, is our first rough answer to one who asks what we Liberals have come to, and where our Liberalism has vanished? We are those men and women in Great Britain who from long ago believed in certain principles, and when the time came for those principles to be weighed in the scale against life and death, answered that we were ready to kill and die for them: Public Right as the law of the civilized world; Freedom for all nations, and for the men and women inside the nations; the deliverance of humanity from the power of the Sword. These are the causes for which we fight, and these are the principles which must guide us both in making peace and in building up our own future.

## II

### THE SETTLEMENT ABROAD

**P**UBLIC Right ; Freedom ; the destruction of Militarism : these, as we have seen, are the three principles for which we Liberals, as Liberals, were prepared to enter the war. What light do they throw on the problem of the settlement?

There are two spirits in which the war can be fought. There is the simple old half-animal patriotism which, without any reflection or self-criticism, sees its enemy ahead, and seeks utterly to destroy him. This temper sees all Germany as the enemy, and all Germans as equal villains, with no fine distinctions between Liebknecht and Hindenburg. It means to crush, to dismember, to mutilate ; so to subdue Germany that she shall "never again raise her head." And, of course, if it guided our policy, it would unite all Germans, whatever their own views and principles, in a battle for sheer life around their Kaiser, and teach them that the Prussian army was their only hope.

The other spirit is that of Liberalism. It sees that the enemy is not all Germany, but a spirit

that possesses Germany. True to Public Right, it wishes for justice, or the nearest practical approximation to justice; but not for revenge. True to Freedom, it wishes not to crush Germany, but to make Germany free. It appeals to the democratic parties of Germany against their enemy and ours.

The first spirit says to the German people: "Your leaders are scoundrels. We intend, as soon as we have defeated them, to hang them and then to persecute you at our leisure." The second says: "Your leaders are scoundrels; get rid of them, and we have no mortal quarrel with you." The first offers the Germans no alternative but to fight to the last man; the second offers always the alternative of a tolerable peace. It must indeed be a peace based on the defeat of German aggression, the downfall and discredit of Prussian militarism. But it need involve neither suffering nor dishonour to a free Germany.

Fortunately for us and for the world, the first spirit, though far from dead, is powerless. The permanent "crushing" of Germany is as impossible as it would be insane. All our Governments from the beginning of the war have been, in the main, working in the direction of the second policy, though one could sometimes wish that their language on these important matters might be less rhetorical and more unmistakably plain.

What sort of a peace, then, is required by Liberal principles? It must be a peace not based on injustice or mere "right of conquest"; it must leave the nations free—Germany included; and it must carry no seeds of future war. The Russian Republic has proposed for our acceptance the formula: "No annexations and no indemnities." The phrase is ambiguous, and in one sense we could not think of accepting it; we could not leave Armenia under the Turks or ask Belgium to forgo her due reparation. But the Russians themselves have explained their formula: "No annexation" means "The self-determination of nationalities." No country is to be annexed against the wishes of its inhabitants. That we can accept. Similarly the rule "No indemnities" has been explained at the Stockholm Conference. It means that no nation is entitled by mere right of conquest to extort money from the conquered. It does not mean that where one nation has done a clear wrong to another it is to get off scot-free. It is likely enough that at the end of the war there may be many claims for reparation going.

No annexations against the will of the inhabitants; no indemnities except in accordance with international law; so far so good. But many questions remain; too many and too intricate to treat in a short article. Especially there are questions as to the future of various territories, which neither are nor at present can

be free or "self-determined," but have been conquered by one belligerent from another, such as Mesopotamia and the German colonies.

These are questions in which the right method is all-important, and the wrong method disastrous. The wrong method is for each conqueror to treat each question as an affair of honour, and to swear that he will never in any circumstances give up what he has taken; that the world may reel to ruin, but Japan shall never abandon Kiao-Chau or the Australian stars cease to wave over Mount Schopenhauer. The right method is that stated by Mr. Lloyd George in his Glasgow speech; that however strongly we may feel on some of these questions, they are all to be decided on their various merits by the international peace conference.

There is in our demands a great division: an essential minimum which is a matter of principle, and a large fringe, important but secondary, about which we are willing to negotiate. Some difficulties may be solved by give-and-take. For example, we cannot give back to the mercies of the Germans the African populations who have helped us against them; but it may be quite possible to give or sell them other territories in exchange. It may be possible to establish some system of International Control for tropical Africa. The essential is that Germany shall evacuate the free territories of which she is in unlawful posses-



sion, and admit the principle of reparation to those whom she has wronged. All else is matter for negotiation.

So much for the beginnings of peace. But the nature of any possible peace depends to an enormous extent upon one consideration. Germany under her present rulers has developed an unpleasant habit of trying to murder her neighbours in their sleep; and the nature of the peace that is coming depends on whether Germany prefers to retain that habit or to abandon it. The sign of its abandonment will be fairly simple. It will be the rejection of Germany's present rulers, whether by the direct overthrow of the dynasty or by some complete change of Government and Constitution. It is not that we claim to dictate to Germany the sort of Constitution we wish her to have. The rule of freedom demands that Germans, as much as Poles or Armenians, shall choose their own Government. But it makes a profound difference in our attitude towards them in the future what sort of Government they choose.

Take first the best possibility. Suppose we gain our ends; the Kaiser is deposed by his own people; a Parliamentary Government is established in Germany, with, in all likelihood, a Liberal-Socialist majority. Then the way of peace is plain. Germany joins the League of Nations. She accepts arbitration and the reduction of armaments. She sets all her griev-

ances before the tribunal of the League. Her main concern will be to pay her debts and reconstruct her shattered society.

In that case, the terms once settled, there must be no cultivation of hatred, no penalization of Germany, no boycott or "war after the war." There must be less international barriers than before, not greater ones. There may well be bitter resentment felt by individuals who have suffered, or had their friends suffer, through the devilries of German warfare. Things have been done in these last years too horrible to be easily forgotten. But at least we will not deliberately cultivate hatred. When we have signed the peace we will try to make it a real peace, and show the people who have driven out their bad rulers that they have not done so in vain.

It follows that, in the event of a satisfactory peace, our fiscal policy must be absolute Free Trade. True, there may be a small number of special industries which the Government must keep under its own control for purposes of national safety, as now it keeps the making of armaments. That is no breach in the main principle. But for the general policy of the Liberal party, and, I trust, of the British nation, Free Trade stands more firmly established than ever. Free Trade means sound economics and a clean international conscience; and after the war we shall be in need of both.

However, once given a sound peace, I have little fear for the future of Free Trade; and that for two main reasons. First, because under the strain of the war all the Protectionist countries of Europe have failed, while the one Free Trade country has stood firm and financed them. Next, because at the end of the war, when Germany and Poland and Serbia, and all the starving and half-starving nations come suddenly into the world's food-market, no sane man will be anxious to raise the price of food still higher because he happens to dislike the persons who grew it.

But there are higher and more permanent reasons also why Liberals should cling to Free Trade. Protection inside a country acts normally as an injury done to one part of the nation in order to benefit another part—an injury to the unrepresented in order to help the influential. Between nations it is a form of mutual injury—a secret, timid, half-committal form of malice, which is incompatible with true peace, and is one of the chief seeds and justifications of war. This time Germany was in the wrong in making war; all the world knows and confesses it. But if we and our allies first arrange to possess three-quarters of the globe, and next proceed by tariffs to shut Germany out from our possessions, then the next time Germany plots a war Germany may be in the right. At the end of this war we want peace, we want free-

dom, we want some approach to brotherhood. And no man who believes in those three principles can advocate international boycotts.

And suppose there is no real peace? Suppose the war ends in an uncertain issue, with Germany compelled by pressure to evacuate the occupied territories, but stiffer than ever in her resentful ambition and more reliant than ever on her Hohenzollerns and their blood-and-iron? What then? Well, in that case none of the above will hold. We shall still have a neighbour who wants to murder us in our beds, and our policy will be merely a preparation for war. That way lie conscription, and the Paris resolutions; the boycott of German goods, the League of Nations degraded into an alliance against the common enemy, and the death of freedom throughout the world.

The real issue will probably lie somewhere between these two alternatives. It is impossible to discuss details of policy till we know what circumstances the policy is intended to meet. But, in general, if the peace has in it any elements of good-will and permanence, it will be the business of the Liberal party to cultivate those elements. We cannot, of course, gamble with the safety of our country. We cannot disarm ourselves in the face of an armed Germany. We cannot neglect any present precaution for the sake of a far-off aspiration. But we can at least strive always for peace,

refusing ever to believe that any war is really "inevitable." We can work unremittingly towards the establishment of correct relations in the place of mutual intrigue, of cordiality in the place of mere correctness, and eventually, in the place of precarious diplomacy, towards the building up of a true League of Nations, which shall be both a permanent court of arbitration to adjudicate on existing differences, and also a sort of international or inter-parliamentary council to take thought for the avoidance of such differences in the future. And in all this we shall have the help of our three guiding principles: Public Right, Freedom, and the incessant war against Militarism.

### III

## THE NEW ORDER AT HOME

**P**UBLIC Right; Freedom; the Escape from Militarism: the problem at home falls into two parts, and each part alone is enough to tax all the courage and resources of a statesman. Our aim is to build up in England a New Social Order, an order based on Freedom and Public Right, not on the struggle for money; an order in which, as far as possible, every British citizen may possess a birthright for which it will be worth while for his brothers to have died. And, secondly, we have to do this at a time of extreme poverty and economic peril, when our credit is shaken, our best foreign customers ruined, and it needs only a few false steps to bring us to widespread bankruptcy, unemployment, and famine. I shall not attempt here to go into the details of a concrete social programme. I will only try to indicate first the main principles which should govern that programme, and next to consider how, amid the ruin wrought by the war, any constructive programme at all can be made possible.

But, first of all, we must escape from the shadow of militarism. We must change the general setting of life from a war basis to a peace basis. War government is not only harsh; it is both clumsy and inefficient. Our first need is a return to sound administration, a return to sobriety, economy, and honest work, in place of so much "hustle" and extravagance and mere advertisement.

Then, as soon as peace comes, the various symptoms of our temporary militarization must go. We shall have had enough of spies, especially those whose duty was to spy upon their fellow-countrymen. Let "Dora" descend to the limbo where she belongs, and with her all those forms of "M.I." that are especially attached to her. They have doubtless done useful service. Now let them take their wages and go; and henceforth let no living creature, British or alien, human or quadruped, be condemned upon the evidence of their records—evidence which the accused may never hear, and consequently can never answer.

The completeness of our escape from militarism will depend, of course, on the degree of our security. That security is not likely to be perfect, and it is no part of Liberalism to neglect the defence of one's country. It is no use arguing in detail about measures of defence till we know approximately the dangers to be met. But, in general, Liberals will do well

to resist all schemes which either violate the principles of 'freedom' or in some disguised way subject the working classes to the authority of the rich. Fortunately, the best preparation for a good Army is a healthy nation; and on those lines there is room for agreed action. We democrats certainly wish the young Manchester factory hand to have, if we can manage it, all the chances of the Rugby boy. And if the Rugby boy owes part of his health and vigour and power of discipline to the drill and camping out and scouting that form a normal element in his recreation, we should, I think, welcome similar facilities for all adolescents in the country.

But, suppose peace firmly established and the remains of militarism fairly exorcised, there will rise immediately before the nation one tremendous material task, the task of paying our debt and re-establishing our broken prosperity. If we fail in this we fail in all our hopes. For our hopes depend on our power to carry out in a time of distress a social programme which was considered too expensive in times of prosperity.

This is a question of hard work and sound economics; not to be solved without co-operation and patience and mutual honesty; certainly not by tariffs to help one industry at the expense of another, or by the granting of doles to particular interests. The sphere of



taxation cannot be much extended; it is doubtful whether the rate of taxation, at any rate upon earned incomes, can be much increased without injury to trade. Sober economists are thinking seriously of a levy on capital; but, apart from the difficulties of collecting wealth which does not yet exist, such a measure could only serve for some one great occasion, such as the paying off of debt. It would not form a permanent source of revenue for social improvement. The best way to increase the yield of the taxes is to increase the whole wealth of the nation. No democrat, however ardent, can shirk this issue. He can only devote himself to seeing that the increased wealth is fairly divided and used for the good of the whole people.

Good farming and scientific agriculture will increase vastly the productiveness of English soil. We must provide every facility for agricultural education; we must, after due trial, take away the land from those who do not work it properly and entrust it to those who do. This part of Mr. Prothero's programme is sounder than his wheat-doles.

The experts on coal economy tell us that at present we use for industrial purposes some eighty millions of tons a year, but that if the coal were converted into electrical power at the pit's mouth, and the power distributed by cable, we could do the same

work for some twenty-seven millions. If this is true, or anything like true, there should be no further question. We must set up those power-stations at the pit's mouth, and if private interests or corporations stand in the way, we must gently but firmly remove them out of the way. We shall get thereby for the whole people cheap power, cheap light, cheap heating, clean cities, and, if we use the same amount of coal as at present, something like three times our present productiveness. It is not for Liberals to cavil at these great advances. We must only take care, vigilant and incessant, that the advantage accrues to the whole nation, and is not snapped up by any private interest. The proper method here seems to be nationalization.

Again, the American students of "Scientific Management" have shown that in the ordinary processes of industry there is a very large amount of waste labour and unnecessary fatigue. They have studied the exact proportions of work and rest that produce the best result, the exact length of shovel and the exact load at the end of the shovel that produce the quickest stoking. In one series of experiments, by the careful elimination of unnecessary movements, an artisan who was formerly able to assemble a machine in  $37\frac{1}{2}$  minutes was enabled to do it in  $8\frac{1}{2}$ .

Here, too, the improvement must be accepted.

Only, the first thing is to make sure that the reduction of fatigue is real; that the workman's strength is really being economized and not exploited all the faster; that the increased productive power of the workman as a tool shall be used not merely for benefiting his employer and raising his own wages, but also for lightening his labour, increasing his leisure, and raising his standard of life as a man and a citizen.

And who is to judge of these things? We are thrown back, not upon increased inspection, nor yet upon State control—valuable as these are—but on the old, well-tested Liberal principle of government by representation. We must democratize industry as we have democratized politics, and see that all the men and women who collectively, by hand or brain, do the work, shall have a reasonable voice in settling both the rewards of their labour and the conditions under which they live.

Industry in the early nineteenth century was a pure despotism. The master had all the rights and the men none. As trade unions grew it came to be a despotism more and more tempered by strikes and threats of strikes, and treaties and arbitrations—a despotism cruelly harassed, but never quite ready to accept a regular constitution. What we now want in Industry is Parliamentary Government, in which representatives of men and masters shall regu-

larly meet to discuss the affairs of the industry. Joint committees, like those in the Newcastle district; standing Industrial Councils, such as those recommended in the interim report of the Reconstruction Committee; the exact method cannot be laid down beforehand. The first thing, in all probability, is to get Shop Committees to settle, with local knowledge and without delay, the difficulties that arise in each particular shop; they will naturally lead to Local Councils for the area, and to National Councils for the trade as a whole. The details must be found gradually by experiment. But it looks as if the best clue through the problems that now embarrass industry was to be found not in State control, not in revolution, certainly not in reaction and repression, but in the old Liberal principle of Representative Government.

There are scores of subjects on which space forbids me to dwell. Housing, health, and wages; the better planning of the machine of government, both imperial and domestic; more devolution and more self-government for India; arrangements for more continuous consultation with the colonies and the development of our present close relations with America; all these represent old Liberal aspirations, brought further towards fulfilment by the events of the war. Education—in a sense the whole hope of a better England centres in that word, and I will not treat of it at the tail of a political programme.

Mr. Fisher's Bill gives us at least a great beginning. Woman's citizenship—the vote is already won; it is for women now, in equal counsel with their fellow-citizens, to help to settle the laws that affect them and the ultimate position which they wish to occupy in industry. Temperance—a drink-ridden nation can never be the equal of a clean and sober nation; and now that most of the United States have “gone dry” with such successful results I doubt if England can afford to spend a hundred and fifty millions a year for the pleasure of weakening the efficiency and checking the social progress of Englishmen. Our Liberal remedy has been always the same, Local Option; to let each locality choose whether it will have drink shops or not. American experience shows that, when once such an experiment is set going in a few localities, the object-lesson will work.

Public Right, Freedom, and escape from the power of the Sword: our three principles have run somewhat together, for each one of them is the condition of the others. You can have no justice without freedom, nor permanent freedom without justice; and neither is possible when men move under threats of force. The three form a unity, of which the outward political symbol is Parliament, and the inward directing spirit is Brotherhood. We Liberals believe in Parliament because, with all its faults, Parliament is the instrument by which Englishmen

have gained their liberties, and may best hope to increase them; by which Englishmen who differ most strongly in their views and desires are compelled to hear one another patiently, to reason with one another, and to work out some method of living together by persuasion and not by force. Parliament is still our best friend, because the only alternatives to Parliament are our worst enemies, the rule of the purse or the rule of the machine-gun.

Men must solve their differences either by force or by persuasion. There is no third way. And the way of persuasion is the way of brotherhood. Before the war it was a matter of common agreement that English society was based on too great inequalities. A few men and women held most of the wealth, and with the wealth went privilege, comfort, respect, and opportunity. The poor were shut out not only from material possessions, but from their due access to the possessions of the mind and the spirit. On that state of things there has supervened a vast change. Rich and poor, the possessor and the possessionless, have met together in the place called "No-Man's-Land"; they have offered together the last and infinite sacrifice, and received together those most shining of all honours, which mark the men who in brotherhood have conquered fear. How can they possibly unlearn that great mystery? We used to admit in the old days that all our fellow-

citizens, if not all mankind, were "brothers in the sight of God." Perhaps our sufferings may have taught us that the thing which a man is in the sight of God is, after all, the thing that matters.

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