

**PRACTICAL POLITICS v. IMPRACTICAL POLITICS****The Survey.**

We have reached our destination. Like mountain climbers, we feel that on the way we have solved some mysteries and overcome difficulties, which, solved and overcome, seem to have shrunk in fearfulness.

Glancing behind us, we see far back the dark clouds and mists of superstition overhanging the path from which we have emerged into clear sunshine. We see before us the Road to Freedom, and beyond that the fascinating peaks of a new religion for mankind that can be scaled only from the plateau of the Promised Land, spread out in the distance far and wide awaiting husbandmen.

It is a land flowing with the milk of human kindness and the honey of a happiness now denied by man's inhumanity to himself. It is not for ascetics or voluptuaries, but for reborn men and women with sound minds in healthy bodies.

Its mental climate is bracing, suitable for the recovery of a population which has been kept closely confined in the Valley of the Shadow of Death, subjected to long servitude, enervated by exhausting pleasures or weakened by the feverish orgies of violence.

It is a land filled with the song of birds, the lowing of cattle, the humming of bees, and the joyous laughter of children, happy, strong and beautiful to behold. In such a land of thrilling activities and varied pursuits, chronic sadness and pressing anxiety to make both ends meet have no place, because there is free access to Nature's bounty.

Our Promised Land is not in the clouds, in a far-off country or on another planet, but under our very feet. Nevertheless, we may not enter except in spirit. To become a reality it must be shared by our fellows, whom we are about to rejoin in the Old World.

Remembering that we once had our vision dazzled by

mirage, we shall not expect immediate acceptance of our new view-point. Some of us used to hug our chains or think that the way was too simple. The scepticism of others shall be met with calmness and with a simple exposition of economic truth. Many are prepared beforehand, and they will accept after careful investigation. These will become stable adherents, while too ready an acceptance may only indicate an equal readiness to accept any doctrine for a short season.

Habits of thought that have taken years to acquire cannot be exchanged immediately for new ones directed from a new point of view. Pressing may defeat its object.

The sufferers from an affliction which may be called mental sclerosis, and which arrests adaptability, may be condemned to see from a wrong point of view for the remainder of their lifetime. Their feelings need not be outraged upon the assumption that their hostility is due to excessive original sin. They will be found in every class of society, and nothing can be done in such cases.

There will be no effective opposition, because our proposal stands upon the firm ground of justice ; but that is no reason why we should appear unsympathetic to narrow ideals and attempts to deal with intermediate problems. We must strive to show that they are part of one large problem which admits of a simple solution. Until justice is done the world will remain a battle-field, and ambulance work must go on.

The hardest to suffer are the mental invalids, who will querulously and irresponsibly inquire how we intend to obtain the Promised Land for them. We cannot ; they must do something for themselves, and not be disappointed if it is not handed to them in the twinkling of an eye !

#### **No One is without Influence.**

No one is without influence. It is for some to blow the embers on the domestic hearth ; for others to strive to light a beacon on the mountain-top ; it is for others to teach in the wilderness of high places, while for others again to hold up a torch in the dark jungles of the underworld. The tide rises slowly at the commencement and then accelerates ; so also the Good News will spread rapidly once the turn from fatalistic doctrine is made.

Knowledge of a great truth gives power to sincerity.

"I respect the man who knows distinctly what he wishes. The greater part of all the mischief in the world arises from the fact that men do not sufficiently understand their own aims. They have undertaken to build a tower, and spend no more labour on the foundation than would be necessary to erect a hut." (Goethe.)

No political, industrial or religious body has an exclusive mission for the redemption of society, nor is some chosen government divinely appointed to reconstruct the world. It is not incumbent to change one's political colour, union or church, nor is it necessary to segregate egoistically in order to proclaim that the State is for Democracy, and not Democracy for the State.

No statesman can legislate for reform if the people do not sufficiently understand their own aims. Was not Turgot forced to retire into private life? The most despotic government cannot withstand the demand of a people that distinctly knows what it wishes. It was a Tory Government that abolished the Corn Laws in Great Britain. The despair of a reactionary government that has got itself into a situation from which there appears no escape may be the opportunity of an enlightened section of public opinion.

Inexperienced converts frequently say: "Why does not the Government do something for the enlightenment of the public?" The wise mother trains her children how to be independent of her care, though she grieve about it; but it is not the characteristic of governmental masters to teach people how to do without them, because they represent human folly—*until the people are wise.*

Education precedes legislation, therefore educate.

It may be that the sluice-gates are not opened in time, and that the waters of blind rage, overwhelming Power and Might, rise and sweep into the abyss the arrangements made for the scientific exploitation of the masses, together with the puppets who are supposed to pilot the destinies of nations. After the deluge, the weathercock of the sword and the ballot-box having proved unreliable, appeal may be had to the Natural Law of Equity. Having tried everything else in vain, the Rule of the Land may be put into operation.

The Rule of the Land stands in direct sociological evolutionary progression. It is bound to come sooner or

later, and during a crisis the still small voice of Justice may be heard. It may come like a thief in the night

#### **“ Practical ” Politics.**

The realisation of a great need is doubly screened when men do not know that they do not know distinctly what they wish. Hastening towards the latest mirage, they say: “ We are practical people, and must take things as we find them. What you propose is very attractive, but it is not practical politics.”

It was the “ practical ” politics of the “ undertakers ” of the sixteenth century, after they had partitioned England, to plough and harrow the soul of Ireland, into which Cromwell afterwards planted the thorn of Ulster. Ireland has since been an armed camp pitched upon a powder magazine. Irishmen do not really wish to kill Irishmen, and Englishmen would be overjoyed to see a real Irish settlement. All wish to respect each other’s rights, but they do not understand their own aims distinctly. The real Home Rule for Ireland is the Rule of the Land.

“ Popery ” was the cry of the Protestant priests and rulers to rouse the “ civilised ” landless townsmen of England and the lowlands of Scotland to subjugate the “ lawless savages ” of the highlands during the reign of William III. The highlanders clung to the system of tribal possession of land, trusteeship being vested in the chief.

Chiefs were bribed to give up their independence with the offer of dominium, supported by the armed protection of the crown upon giving an oath of allegiance to the king. Refusal, or a show of refusal, was the signal for a war of extermination, in which “ loyal ” chiefs sought to extend their territory.

The massacre of Glencoe is a classic example of the atrocity committed by “ practical ” politicians. It was carried out by English soldiers, who had been quartered with all possible kindness for several days upon the poor people they afterwards ruthlessly butchered. “ Your troops,” wrote the younger Dalrymple to the commanding officer, “ will destroy entirely the country of Lochaber, Lochiel’s lands, Keppoch’s, Glengarry’s and Glencoe’s. Your powers shall be large enough. I hope the soldiers will not trouble the Government with prisoners.”

It is always in this direction that impractical politics lead.

During the recent Great War for the possession of Europe a "practical" politician, the ex-Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany, referring to Belgium, wrote to his ally, Francis Joseph of Austria: "My soul is rent, but everything must be put to fire and sword—men, women and children must be slaughtered."

### **Killing no Murder?**

The "practical" politician is a serious and somewhat sentimental enthusiast, who thinks that violent action is the only policy worth while and that any problem can be solved by slaughter: a visionary, impatient of argument, he fears nothing—except to be laughed at! Conscious of being really ridiculous, he suspects that one day the worst may happen. Cultivating a fierce aspect, therefore, he glares savagely round to see that everyone is preserving a solemn countenance!

He will tell you that the military occupation of India, Egypt and Mesopotamia by Great Britain possibly does rest upon a series of fictions, but if left to themselves native races would fight and kill each other; besides, it would never do for white women and children to be there without protection.

Does it make the position safer for white women and children in India, or anywhere else, that an unhappy General Dyer, because the natives of Amritsar held a peaceable meeting to discuss grievances in their own country, took it upon himself to turn out armed men and shoot upon them there in the enclosure, from which it was almost impossible to escape?

It may be that the meeting was being held in defiance of orders which he thought he had a right to give, and that feeling ran high because he had decreed that all natives should crawl instead of walk along the main street as a punishment for the wrong-doing of some unknown few; but is the murder of three hundred innocent men, women and children, who were defenceless, an act tending to the safety of the British Empire?

Yet the "practical" newspaper press said it was, and that it would save greater bloodshed in the future!

**The Rule of Fear is the Will to Extinction.**

"This I would say, standing as I do in view of God and eternity: I realise that patriotism is not enough. I must have no hatred or bitterness towards anyone." (Edith Cavell.)

The Mad Dog of Europe and his fellow "patriots" thought they were ensuring their safety by the sinking of the *Lusitania* and by the murders of Miss Cavell and Captain Fryatt. Imagining that the world could be conquered by frightfulness, the "baby-killers" shelled unprotected coastal towns and dropped aerial bombs upon English towns and villages. This "patriotism" brought about the end of the German Empire. Is the lesson not enough?

No; the British militarists desire to reign in the place of the Prussian scarecrows. They deceive themselves, and seek to deceive others: "Military spirit is not militarism; . . . Militarism is a disease, a form of megalomania; it is not British. . . The world has not reached a state where some other method of national education can be found equivalent to the qualities which a sound use of military training can bestow."<sup>1</sup>

Militarists are devoid of humour the world over!

After the Armistice, with the same lack of psychological verve as their late enemy, they bombed with aircraft open villages in India for the purpose of breaking up political meetings. It was afterwards, to their intense astonishment, that the Amritsar affair took place. A few more such incidents, and the British Empire will be as much a thing of the past as the short-lived German Empire.

**Cut-throat Empires are not Practical.**

With the engine scotched and steam blowing off at the safety-valve, it is certainly risky to remove weights from the lever, but it is dangerous to sit upon it. The visionary who does so is doomed in any case, and the inevitable explosion may destroy many innocent lives besides. *The remedy is to set the engine free.*

While injustice continues the withdrawal of troops from occupied regions may be risky; but it is clear that anywhere permanent peace rests upon institutions that are just, and not upon methods of coercion. It is the same in every country—

<sup>1</sup> *The Mission of the British Army*, issued by the Ministry of Reconstruction.

in India, in Ireland, in Russia, in Mexico, in Egypt, in the United States or in the United Kingdom. Militarism cannot overcome militarism.

### The Folly of Imperialism.

Why are white women and children living in India? India, Persia and Egypt may be countries to trade with and visit, but they are not intended by Nature for the domicile of Europeans. White people are not happy living in these localities, apart from the dangerous environment they make for themselves by reason of imperialistic domination.

In the Middle East, in the Far East, as in the West, there is native misrule. There would not be more if Europeans did not lend military aid to native tyrants for tribute, as, for example, monopolistic concessions to leagues of traders and moneylenders, European Governments themselves not being above taking part in the illicit traffic. While the ignorant natives of Asia and Africa are sucked dry through native channels, the equally thoughtless natives of Europe suffer from indirect taxation imposed by private trusts and public monopolies, the octopus arms of which cover the globe. Spurious Socialism is a many-headed monster! Imperialism is its worst form!

Since the Armistice the taxpayer of Great Britain has been ruining the health of his sons by sending them to keep what is called "law and order" in Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia so that a few oil, cotton, flax and tobacco magnates may build up Big Businesses. He pays about forty million pounds in taxes per annum for the support of this bureaucratic and military system, which enables Big Business to operate upon the producer abroad and the consumer at home.

Does he visualise the reality when he admires the Government recruiting posters? "See the world, and get paid for doing it!" "Carrying democracy's message to the frontiers of civilisation!" is the American version. At the bayonet's point—what a message! Seek ye first the reign of free production, free exchange, and free men, and plentiful supplies of sugar, tea, coffee, rubber, oil, cotton, rock phosphate and copra, among other things, will be added unto you.

Europeans and Americans would not remain to perish in regions for which they are unfitted were they to annex each their own home-lands by the adoption of the Rule of

the Land. In the profuse production that would ensue, free exchange with each other and with Eastern lands would be a matter of course. How long are we to continue picking each other's pockets?

Is it difficult to choose between practical and impractical politics?

**"I will not send American Boys to die in Mexico for Rich Men's Pocket-books." (President Wilson.)**

War is brewing in the Middle East for the control of the oil-fields. While British boys are sent to die in Turkey and Persia and taxpayers are being fleeced in the oil interests, there is a "strong" policy advocated by the "practical" politicians of the United States of America for intervention in Mexico.

Bandits of Mexico have robbed and murdered many fellow-countrymen, and also some venturesome citizens of the States. The Mexican President, Carranza, who denied the right of the syndicates to monopolise the oil land, and who made an honest attempt to form a stable government, has been murdered. He was condemned by the British and American oil trusts because his Government proposed to tax them according to the value of their concessions, which would have ended their power to charge outrageous prices to consumers for natural oil. By the same principle the other bandits would have disappeared also, because they were a product of alienation.

In Great Britain and the States the respective Governments confiscate the legitimate earnings of industry every day and no voice of protest is heard from the trusts; but when Carranza proposes to cease doing so, and instead to collect the annual value of the land, the hypocritic newspapers of New York and London, in the interests of "oil," stir up hatred of unthinking readers against him and pretend that the Mexicans encourage brigandage.

In the States and Great Britain foreign business undertakings are expected to abide by the laws of the country in which they operate. Why should the intruder oil syndicates of Mexico expect a special dispensation there?

Let the remedy be what it may with regard to the irregular banditti of Mexico, it cannot be one necessarily



entailing the sacrifice of innocent life, represented by the youth of the States and law-abiding Mexican men, women and children, the criminals in all probability escaping scot-free.

#### **Better a Devil you know than a Devil you do not know**

It is not clear that Mexicans wish to protect their home variety of bandit, but assuming that they do, they are not peculiar in this. The Germans protected their Kaiser and the other pirates. Britain and the States do the same, and resent foreign intervention. All nations fear a foreign master more than the indigenous tyrant or highwayman.

National feeling in this respect is very like that exhibited by the poor woman, the sight of whose bruised face moved the district visitor to ask pityingly: "Who did it?" The proud answer was: "'Im as 'as a right to!" Wrongs are claimed and accepted as rights where there is vested ignorance.

#### **Volcano "Controllers."**

"We are in the hands of an organisation of crooks. They are politicians, generals, manufacturers of armaments and journalists. All of them are anxious for unlimited expenditure, and go on inventing scares to terrify the public and to terrify Ministers of the Crown." (Lord Welby in 1914.)<sup>1</sup>

In Hawaii the simple islanders were in superstitious terror of the goddess Pélé of their great volcano Kilauea. It was the chief business of the high-priest and the priestess his sister to keep Pélé appeased with sacrifices. The power of these Volcano "Controllers," vested in the fear of the people, was so great that they had only to point to a man or woman and the unfortunate wretch was strangled by relations and friends.

Owing to communal custom there was a dearth of commodities, and a native might be killed by the priesthood for the sake of food and clothes not worth fifty cents. The temper of the high-priest was so fierce that no one dared tread on his shadow.

But strangers came to Hawaii who taught superior social custom and credence. At length the natives came

<sup>1</sup> See *How Diplomats Make War*, by Francis Neilson, published by B. W. Huebsch, New York.

to realise that their belief in Pélé was due to seeing things falsely. In great numbers the islanders forsook their allegiance to the cruel goddess until none believed any longer. Even the high-priest admitted: "I have been deceived; I have deceived others. I have lived in darkness, and did not know the true God. I worshipped what was no god. I renounce it all."

There were no more victims for Pélé.

### **The Infinite Value of Human Life.**

Ask any normal father what value he puts upon the life of his son. He would not have him killed or maimed for any money—not if he were to be compensated with an amount equal to the whole British National Debt. Let him be asked if he would, assuming it to be within his power, sacrifice the son of another father for this amount. He will give a reply in the negative.

Human nature is the same all the world over. Why then do we in the Old World sacrifice our sons, and the sons of others, in a wild-cat expedition to recover money lent to the Russians in the shape of munitions of war for the destruction of German militarism? Or it may be some shady imperialistic scheme of conquest in a remote country, the gains of which are not only problematical, but actually less than nothing, the losses beyond computation?

Is it practical to hold human life, which is infinitely valuable, cheaper than nothing? "Yes," say the Visionaries of the Thieves' Kitchen, "because the remote country requires development in the interests of its inhabitants. There is oil there."

The visionaries imagine it is profitable to exchange blood for oil!

### **The Manners of the Old World are the Manners of Slumdom.**

In the Old World of constricted opportunity due to superstition and of restricted production due to rule-of-thumb taxation, the table of our daily lives suffers from interminable shortage, not merely in the three great requisites but of everything that is necessary for human happiness.

Where life is empty and miserable as though we were in a beleaguered city, is it not our experience that appetite

is stimulated to excess or nauseated by disgust? Instead of desires in the great nutritive and reproductive kingdoms tending to happiness, it requires constant effort on the part of the individual to escape from despair. There are two opposite tendencies, both of which in varying degree may alternate violently in the same individual. On the one hand appetites are aberrated into feverish cravings that cannot be contained, and on the other there is the reptilian apathy of a living death.

The national table is surrounded by a hysterical multitude of ill-bred persons or of cold-blooded degenerates, jostling, scrambling and crawling, seeking to dominate and conspire. Parties and factions of hero-worshippers gyrate in perplexed circles, deluding themselves that they are indispensable to national progress. Opposing political combinations fail to see that their real interests are identical. Churches unable to understand their own aims call "Lord, Lord!" but contend for the right of way to heaven, obscuring the truth that the kingdom of heaven is within us when we respect the rights of others as we respect our own. Robbery cannot be overcome by robbery.

Instead of free and willing exchange between generously laden national tables there is suspicion, jealousy and bad temper. Each starving nation is a robber or a mendicant, and fails to perceive that its misfortunes are in the main due to its foolish institutions. Each blames the other in some way, as, for example, holding up raw materials, "dumping" finished goods, tariffs, taking over too much of the White Man's Burden or "Bolshevism," all of which offences manifestly hurt the offending nations themselves infinitely more than anyone else.

Honesty is the best policy for the individual, though associated with unscrupulous companions. Similarly, justice is the best policy for the individual nation, though the surrounding nations are slave-States. But each nation of the Old World is myopic, and fancies that free trade, for example, is only expedient when the whole world is free-trade.

It is thought more "practical" to retaliate and to get "even" by self-punishment. Not knowing distinctly what they wish, their remarkable "success" in this "practical" policy distresses them when they realize that

they do not achieve their real aims. But they each blame not themselves, but their neighbours, or they blame everything but the right thing.

Consequently nations are filled with consuming hatred and snobbery. Fixed by their superstition like the rats upon the varnished board,<sup>1</sup> the smallest movement is enough to set them savagely at each other's throats.

### The War "Controllers."

The nations of the Old World, worshipping false gods, are living upon the slopes of a volcano. So dreadful is the calamitous mental atmosphere that it is considered an impiety to suggest that, unlike the eruptions of Kilauea, war and civil commotion are within the scope of each nation's choice, and that it is possible to have real peace with universal disarmament by the adoption of free production and free exchange, men thereby securing what they are continually fighting for, viz. freedom.

It is vainly imagined that freedom can be obtained by violence, and that the fundamental injustice which throttles wealth production at the source, rendering intertrading a dangerous proceeding, may at the same time be retained. Hence it is that the volcano is always in a state of activity, with periodic eruptions of extreme violence.

The diplomats, "who lie for their country's good," unlike the priests of Pélé, do have some influence upon the activities of their volcanic god. By making misunderstandings more completely misunderstood through their secret diplomacy, they can so conjure a situation that many minor potentialities combine into one grand explosion when the match is applied.

The well-intentioned busybodies of slumdom intervene in the domestic affairs of the house divided against itself across the way, and thereby produce a street riot. With a power vested in the dread of the ignorant masses, the war "controllers" are as unfortunate in producing the very effect they set themselves out to avoid when they intervene in an affair of "honour." They produce a world war.

### "Vengeance is Mine, I will repay."

The war "controllers" in their other rôle as "controllers" of peace and goodwill are not any happier. The

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter V.

"Big Five," in their attempt to take an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, cut as unheroic a figure as the extinct volcano "controllers" of Germany. The impractical folly of the Peace of Versailles is scorned by the justice of Nature.

The "dreamers" have been vindicated who asserted that in hurting others we hurt ourselves. Since the Armistice, largely owing to the wreck of Europe, continued by the blockade, the cost of living in Great Britain has advanced by leaps and bounds. It has been advanced yet further since the "Iron Hand" policy in Ireland impeded production and choked off the exports of food-stuffs to industrial England, where 400,000 acres more of arable land have fallen out of cultivation. Meanwhile, the Supreme Council, which could not afford to be laughed at, has seen to it that the war-god was appeased with sacrifice.

The taxation per head of population in the United Kingdom was in 1920 more than any other country in the world, not excluding defeated Germany. Twenty little wars were in progress.

#### **The Prospect offered by Impractical Politics.**

The soldiers, wise in their generation, have no faith in Leagues of Nations or in the witchcraft of diplomacy.

"Our peace must be a peace of victors, and not of vanquished," said Marshal Foch in an interview (April 1919, *Daily Mail*). The Marshal argued that the French should have a barrier at the Rhine against Germany instead of one only by the Saar Valley. "It is our only safety, and the only safety of the British. We must have a barrier. We must double-lock the door. Democracies like ours, which are never aggressive, must have strong natural military frontiers. Remember that those seventy millions of Germans will always be a menace to us. Do not trust the appearances of the moment. They are people both envious and warlike. Their natural characteristics have not changed in four years. Fifty years hence they will be what they are to-day.

"What was it saved the Allies at the beginning of the war? Russia. Well, on whose side will Russia be in the future? With us or with the Germans? I will show you a map."

The Marshal did not believe that wars had ceased upon earth, and he wanted security when the armies of Great

Britain, the United States of America, Australasia and Canada were far away. "Bolshevism," said he, "is a disease which attacks conquered countries. Conquering countries like our own will remain free from it."

During the short period since the interview there have been several aggressive French and British expeditions into Germany and Russia. The Allied democracies have aided the megalomaniacs Koltchak, Denikin, K.C.B., Yudenitch, Petlura and Wrangel. The militaristic Poles have been supplied with ammunition for their disastrous attack upon Soviet Russia, and would have had more, but for the gallant refusal of the Thames dockers to load the *Jolly George*. The Japanese have been encouraged to occupy Siberia. Meanwhile, the United States having withdrawn, Britain, France and Italy have been engaged in a sordid scramble of private profiteering and national aggrandisement, in which each bought the other off by the sacrifice of something that belonged to none of them.

After an unsavoury controversy as to who won the war, there has been an unseemly dispute as to who should pay for it. Rent has even been claimed by the French Government from her Allies for occupied trenches. Property has everywhere been put in the place of humanity. There is no real friendship anywhere in consequence.

The people of Europe had hoped for a Peace of Justice and Mercy, which would lead them out of the misery in which they were plunged, but they have been given a Peace of Vengeance which has led them into despair. Innocent children have been condemned by the post-war blockade to the slow death of consumption, rickets and foul disease. They have been made to suffer for the sins of the guilty warlords who were given sanctuary. The soldiers, who hated war and were driven to the shambles, have been handed over to the merciless profiteers. In German cities Marshal Foch has placed black troops of occupation, and in famishing Vienna the mothers say to their children: "What terrible misfortunes the English have brought upon the world!"

The fears of Marshal Foch are well founded. Everything possible has been done to bring about that combination of circumstances suitable for the birth of a new opposing militarism in Central Europe. He is mistaken, however,

in assuming that "Bolshevism" is a disease which attacks conquered countries only.

Was France a conquered country when attacked by "Bolshevism" about one hundred and twenty years ago? Was there not an attempt made then to double-lock the door against the people of the Revolution, who were supposed to be "both envious and warlike"? Is it not remarkable that what saved the "Allies" on that occasion from the "Huns" of the militarist Napoleon was—Russia?

There is no safety in the fences of the Supreme Council, or in Marshal Foch's barrier for France, Britain or anyone. The hope of Europe is that Russia does not become a country of landed proprietors, but leads the way in the adoption of the Rule of the Land.

The prospect offered by the impractical politicians is black indeed. "The magnitude of the next war, if no means are found to prevent it, will be far greater than we have yet experienced or imagined. It will be a war of continents—of Asia against Europe—if the relations between States or combinations of States are to be carried on lines similar to those which have prevailed in the past.

"Every human device has been tried to stave off war in the past. Treaties, alliances, balance of power, diplomacy have all failed. It is not to be expected that the nations of Europe or of the world will attain within measurable time the degree of political identity which unites the races of Great Britain; yet it is not fantastic to believe that along that road is the world peace. Perennial peace for the world can only be won by the levelling up of nations." (Sir Douglas Haig at Edinburgh, 1919.)

But Sir Douglas, now Lord Haig, did not know distinctly what it was he wished, consequently he advocated more "preparedness." In the United States of America they are preparing a great Navy, and the newspapers say it is "the most dangerous competitor with which British sea-power has ever been confronted."

This is not the "levelling-up" that will make for perennial peace between the nations.

### **The Aftermath of War.**

Since the Armistice the atrocities that provide copy for the sensation Press and the cases of shattered affections

that engage the time of the law courts register the amplitude of the wave of crime from the explosive eruption of wholesale murder, pillage, theft, fraud, forgery, treachery, incendiarism and immorality that we call the Great War. Life has become more complex and wearisome, and disillusionment reigns in the place of war-time buoyancy. A hysterical anxiety for the future alternates with a recklessness of consequences.

In a case (January 1920) wherein a woman had died as the result of an illegal operation, Mr. Justice Darling, who made no reference to the economic cause underlying such unnatural behaviour, said that we were committing race suicide. With so many enemies knocking at the gates of the British Empire more children were required.

To undertake the upbringing of children destined to be *chair à canon* is not an encouraging prospect to give to shabby respectability struggling to meet the rising cost of efficient education in the stampede of beggar-my-neighbour! It is, however, all the prospect that impractical politics has to offer.

The London *Daily Mail* (February 1920) drew attention in an editorial to the preponderance of one million females over males in the population of the United Kingdom, and this was said to be an inevitable accompaniment of a high civilisation such as ours. The merits of polygamy and female infanticide were solemnly debated in view of the national urgency for male children to defend the Empire.

Have the impractical spendthrifts in human life at last reached the climax that was attained by the buried Eastern civilisations? Our civilisation must be "high" indeed!

#### **The Broad Acres of the Earth have been narrowed.**

In the United Kingdom the cities, villages, public parks, small gardens, unoccupied town lots, docks, railways and common roads only cover 15 per cent. of the area of the country. Apart from this portion, there are five acres of all kinds of land available per average family. The allotment-holders showed with regard to food what could be done even on one-twentieth part of an acre, and the shortage in houses and other things could be repaired in a similar direct manner—that is, by the application of labour to land.

Although the population is probably less than before the war, soldiers returned from "fighting to defend their



lives, their liberties, their homes and their families" cannot find employment. The narrowed acres have further shrunk during their absence, due to the traffic in land, and the soldiers are invited to emigrate overseas and there to find new homes. But the "land sharks" are lying in wait for them there also.

What superficial thinkers do not realise is that it is not merely a question of how much land is necessary for the support of the population. So long as there is a negotiable value in sites the evil will appear and get progressively worse, no matter how thinly populated the country may be. The soil of a given country will support in comfort only a free people.

In Ontario, where there are 480 acres of land per average family, ex-service men are unable to find employment and standing room. It is proposed by the Government of the province to assist them out further west to Saskatchewan, where there are 1,800 acres per average family of six persons.

It is of course whispered confidentially by the impractical politicians, who lately in loud speeches extolled the brave soldiers and the virtues of Army discipline, that the men are demoralised by Army life and will not now fit neatly into the narrow niches of pre-war slavery!

### **Race Problems.**

In the competition of "do without," Eastern races like the Japanese by long practice have succeeded in doing without more than white settlers like the Australians and Californians, who are nevertheless experts in doing without children.

Almost every other person one meets in California is a land-agent, whose function it is to see that no liberties are taken with Californian soil, and they are screaming because the Japanese, squeezed out of their own country, are answering the call of the idle acres.

In Australia they have also arrested the natural growth of white population through their superstition, and in their small numbers they fear the settlement of the yellow man in the northern territories, where the climate is unsuitable for the white man.

The solution to the so-called race problems is everywhere the same. It is to break down the barriers to the

broad acres by means of the practical Rule of the Land. Then the white man will multiply exceedingly and replenish the earth where it is intended by Nature he shall. He will then welcome the presence of the yellow man, allowed to expand into adjacent situations which he only is adapted to fill.

But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth, When two strong men stand face to face, tho' they come from the ends of the Earth.

#### **That they may receive their Sight.**

The impractical politicians, when they wish to appear profound, talk of the "blind forces of Nature." When they put forward "Birth Control" as a remedy for the evils that beset us, they speak savagely of "Nature's curse of fecundity" or of "the blind and futile fecundity of Nature."

If Nature were blind, we, who are her children, should never see. But Nature is not blind; it is we who have not yet received our sight. Men and women must be blind who speak in one moment of "an all-seeing God," or of the "unerring vision and love of the Eternal Disposer of events," and immediately afterwards talk of Nature as "blind."

#### **The Seeds of Future Madness.**

In consequence of our blindness the wide world has been so narrowed that in the congested thoroughfares of human intercourse it is not possible to give way to each other. The strongest men in the hostile environment may experience unwonted feelings of hatred towards their fellows. They turn them aside, for hatred is the seed of future madness.

Apart from industrial and domestic misunderstandings, the economic consequences of the so-called Peace, carried along upon the insane momentum of the War, have promoted cleavages between the friendliest Allies. Between Canadians and Americans across the border there are unreasonable differences and heartburnings over their respective burnt-offerings in the recent Great Sacrifice.

Between the States and England frivolous difficulties have arisen about finance, the exchange and the League of Nations—a general hotch-potch hotly flavoured by the irritating intrusion of the Irish question.

New York newspapers have resumed their former amusement of twisting the British lion's tail, and in London an

obscure periodical has placarded the hoardings with ravings such as "What is America's Game?" and "America's Insult to Our Dead."

It is all so perplexing to the student of affairs who has not yet learnt that the phenomena of life, of mind and of social relationships are as much the result of cause and effect as are physical phenomena.

### Realities of War.

If war could be ended merely by a realisation of its horrors, it would have ceased long ago. Like poverty, vice and pestilence, war is a component of superstition, and it, like them, will continue until the simplicity of scientific religion dissolves the complexity of rule-of-thumb guesswork.

From the point of view of progress the painfulness of consequences arising from error is good. It is God's or Nature's fiat, "Children, not this way!" It is well, therefore, that writers like Sir Philip Gibbs should reveal to those who have not had actual experience how terrible war is. It is well because, seeing that the consequences of error are so painful, men's minds may be turned from error to search for justice.

But just as unimaginative people gloss over the social crime of poverty and vice, so they seek to deceive themselves and others about the nature of war. The Great War, far from being a war to end war, has only given the elderly preachers of death, who lamented that the war had not been carried on long enough, a new bloodstained text. The silent sacrifice of youth in the shambles of Flanders made no appeal to the colour-blind cynic who earns a living by filling the newspapers with false views.

The following example is from the *New York Times* newspaper (March 1920):

*"Germany not 'War' Responsible.*—Unlike Barbusse and other defeatists, Mr. Gibbs waited till the war was over before he allowed himself to write in the strain of *Now It Can Be Told*. For that he is to be commended, but his justification for writing in that strain at all is more than dubious. Of what he set down as an observer the accuracy need not be questioned, but his conclusion, which he asks his readers to accept—the conclusion that 'This is war!'—can be and should be denied.

"The true conclusion from his facts is different—'this' is what must happen when unprepared peoples are suddenly forced to defend their lives, their liberties, their homes and their families from the attack of a nation that has long been making ready for the greatest and most ruthless of all robber raids. It is not 'war' that should horrify Mr. Gibbs, but the German Government, for that Government was responsible for every one of the horrors that excited his righteous indignation. . . .

"And what alternative does Mr. Gibbs propose to the horrors he calls war? Submission to domination when next the same or another brigand race starts out to conquer the world?"

Our valiant critic would appear to be labouring under the following threadworn delusions: that militarism, or desire to dominate, is peculiar to the Germans; that Germany alone was responsible for the war; that a nation or nations, by copying Germany's example in "making ready," can effect security; that a nation can create a great military machine without becoming militaristic and behaving aggressively.

Philip Gibbs did not set himself out to show how war could be avoided, but he did propose an alternative. He said, "Let us have Peace." Peace with submission to domination is of course an anomaly. Such a thing never has existed and never will exist, and that is why there is continual strife in the world. At the present day every nation is a subject nation, either to indigenous or to intrusive masters, and one category can be as dominant as the other. In the existing circumstances all Governments are compelled to act like brigands.

#### **The Real Defeatists are the Worshipers of the Brazen Ass.**

No nation being free (though it protests that it "never, never will be slaves"), all nations are at war within and without. Any nation, therefore, is in danger of defeat and subjugation to some rival gang. But there is no permanency.

In the struggle for supremacy, which has no finality, the new gang in their turn are doomed to be overcome by fresh rivals. There cannot be peace upon the existing foundation. *The real defeatists are they who accept things as they are and put their trust in organised violence.*

**The Realities of Peace.**

The basis of Peace is Justice, and no nation that has not annexed its own country, thus becoming a Sovereign People, may hope to find peace. So soon as a nation respects its own rights it begins to respect the rights of others.

Nations, like individuals, profit by example that is permanently advantageous. It is in this direction only that the consummation of a Brotherhood of Nations lies. First there must be a reign of Justice, which will bring about a profusion of Goods. Then will follow a reign of Benevolence.

Landless nations, oppressed with an increasing burden of Ills, are filled with envy, hatred and malice. Each is jealous of the other and possesses a consuming desire to dominate neighbours. Leagues of such nations inevitably become leagues of pickpockets, liars, bandits and cut-throats.

**The Super-volcano.**

Until this Central Truth is recognised, earnest men, not sufficiently understanding their own aims, will go on paving the way to greater mischief.

Addressing the members of Lloyd's on the subject of the League of Nations (July 1920), Lord Robert Cecil said: "Many people still believed in the doctrine that the best way to ensure peace was to prepare for war. The late war was a final condemnation of that policy, for at no period of the world's history had the nations of the world been prepared so elaborately for war. Others thought that safety might be sought in an alliance so strong that none would be able to attack it. The history of the world had strewn the ground thick with the fragments of such alliances."

After his lordship's speech, an unintelligent Major-General, late G.H.Q., unconsciously withdrew the lamb's clothing that covered a lion's cub by saying, "The League of Nations was providing the same businesslike machinery for peace as the Versailles Council had done during the war!"

Lord Robert's honest soul is in the clouds, and while he sees up there an incoherent Ideal that is not a Super-State, he does not realise that his friends below are busily engaged in constructing "businesslike machinery to enforce universal peace."

Verily, the poseurs of the League of Nations have under-

taken to build a tower reaching unto heaven, and they have bestowed no more attention to the foundation than they would for the erection of a hut. Instead, they are acting upon the assumption that "peace, goodwill, justice and the protection of the weak against the strong" can be found in the provision of leagued Power and Might so great that none would be able to withstand the alliance.

The protection of the weak against the strong has ever been the declared intention of such projects. Every form of oppression that we suffer from has had its origin in the creation of businesslike machinery ostensibly for the protection of widows, orphans, sick, poor, working classes and small nationalities. Yet how true it is that all that is necessary for our safety and welfare is to establish institutions affording everyone equal opportunity to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

That the visionaries of the League of Nations stipulate "sanctions," the use of the instrument of blockade and other forms of organised violence to enforce covenants, is an unconscious admission of failure to understand the meaning of justice. As Lord Robert himself points out, history teaches that peace and goodwill have never been established in this way. Reconstruction, therefore, upon such a basis is doomed to disaster.

Their unfinished structure has already given ominous warnings of impending collapse. Quite early in the course of its construction President Wilson, the head architect, was injured by flying fragments of masonry. In his absence a horde of new designers have made elaborate attempts to ensure the stability of the building. The effect of their bolstering has simply been to overweight the treacherous foundation.

But they do not see the approaching crisis due to their retention of a basis that has shown itself, in its culminating effects, to be fundamentally and hopelessly defective. They say, "We are practical men. Application and industry, with reconciliation to things as they are, is better than to seek a new Utopia."

It is thus, with wise-sounding phrases, "practical" men drift from bad to worse policies and final disaster.

Not sufficiently understanding their own aims, the advocates for a militant League of Nations, to their intense bewilderment, are finding themselves being drawn into the

centre of a new volcanic formation. Around them on every side the participant nations are making ready for the time when the League shall split asunder upon its shaky foundation.

Since the dawn of civilisation there never was such "making ready." Upon the land there are guns capable of throwing shells one hundred miles into crowded cities, and crawling tanks that make the land unsafe for democracy. The sea is infested with the most modern craft for unrestricted warfare. There are powerful bombing aeroplanes for the air that can operate six hundred miles from their base. Great strides have been made in the preparation and use of deadly poison gas and high explosives.

The League of Nations upon the present foundation is a potential super-volcano of a new militarism. It can only exist for a season as an additional weight to the safety-valve. The inevitable explosion will take place when the pressure within enslaved Society mounts beyond the limit of forbearance under wrong.

#### **"Morituri te saluant."**

Even now the seams open in many directions, and small craters splutter here and there. The earth trembles with warnings of greater evils to come. The atmosphere of national and international relations is clouded with gloomy portents. From past experience we know that the next great suppuration upon the fabric of Society will surpass any former eruptions.

Then shall we hear again the war-priests chant their hymns of hate, marching in procession under banners inscribed with such words as Liberty, Christianity and Civilisation. On munition work men and women will exchange their souls for thirty pieces of silver. The spell-bound youth of the nations will salute "the bald-headed vultures with spectacles on," and will deliver themselves for sacrifice upon the Altar of Patriotism, from which fresh rivers of blood will flow.

The prison walls will close further in upon us in consequence of this physical and moral violence.

#### **We are worshipping False Gods.**

Governments and Leagues of Nations do not really control these phenomena, any more than the child in the railway

carriage controls the movements of the train by pulling at the window strap.

Like the individuals composing them, States are subject to Natural Law, or to what we sometimes call the Will of God. Their ordinances must be in accordance with the Natural Law of Equity or they will bring about mischief. In acting unscientifically, by attempting to establish "discipline—iron discipline for all," which is contrary to the Discipline of God or Nature, they resist the march of civilisation, and Society struggles violently to free itself.

Since governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them, freedom cannot be won by fighting governments, nor by governments fighting each other. The destinies of mankind, though we forget or be unaware of the fact, are shaped not by man-made discipline, but by the Discipline of God. "Call no man master upon earth, for One is your Master, the Father which is in heaven, and all ye are brethren."

Are we to continue worshipping false gods, dying in a Fools' Paradise?

### Let us renounce It All.

Seeing falsely, men attempt to supplant the Will of God by impractical politics. Owing to their omission to put into operation the Rule of the Land, which is fundamentally necessary to modern conditions of life, and which is in accordance with Natural Law, communities, especially forward communities, are afflicted with terrible social evils.

Natural Freedom is a Law of Necessity which may only be preserved by conforming to the Golden Rule of Equal Rights and Equal Duties. Practical politics lie in this direction alone. Let us turn our backs upon impractical politics. Let us obey and live.

\* \* \* \* \*

So when the world is asleep, and there seems no hope of her waking  
Out of some long bad dream that makes her mutter and moan,  
Suddenly, all men rise to the sound of fetters breaking,  
And everyone smiles at his neighbour, and tells him his soul is  
his own.

KIPLING: *The Dawn Wind.*