PATHS TO PEACE

Two Essays in Aims and Methods

by

FRANK PICK

Mr Pick was one of the several distinguished men who for a short time have occupied the position of Director-General of the Ministry of Information. The reasons for his resignation have not been made public; but it is no secret that he felt that the work of the Ministry was stultified by the lack of any clearly defined peace aims. When he was free to speak he attempted his own definition of what was wanted. Altogether some twenty-one topics are canvassed for consideration and treatment, twenty-one aspects or phases of the new order that now exists. But what the author provides in this work is an eloquent and deeply-thought exposition of the political, ethical and economic foundations of any post-war society. Above all it is a call for spiritual rebirth, and may be regarded as the political testament of a great Liberal organiser.

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FRANK PICK

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TO

F. L. McD.

FOR HELP AND GUIDANCE

'Length of days is in her right hand;
In her left hand are riches and honour.
Her ways are ways of pleasantness,
And all her paths are peace.'

Introduction

SOMEONE had to write these essays. The accidents of my employment this last year forced upon me the consideration of the problems of which they treat. In a sense I have felt that I ought to write them, though I have put off the task. Certainly they could have been far better written by others. Still the personal element is of no importance at all. What alone is important is that the point of view set out here should be in people's minds where it can ferment and eventually settle, leaving a clear, transparent draught of opinion for use and refreshment.

I should acknowledge that the quotations from Benito Mussolini and William Cobbett were borrowed second hand from *The Social and Political Doctrines of Contemporary Europe*, by M. Oakeshott ; and that the figures indicative of the economic position at the opening of the war were based mainly upon enquiries conducted by Colin Clark. I trust these latter are not inadvertently misused.

FRANK PICK

June 1941

PATHS TO PEACE

I

The Sword of the Spirit

I will fight with the sword;
but shall I not fight with the spirit also?

THOSE who talk of peace and peace aims find themselves at the outset in a quandary, for there can be no peace.

There can be no peace because the German government now maintained in power by the German people has no respect for its engagements. Whatever it says may be broken whenever convenience or expediency requires. It knows not the nature of a bond. Treaties, promises, pledges, undertakings are mere bits of paper whose only validity is their continued usefulness to the maker, which lie ready to be burnt in the fires of war whenever it pleases that maker. There is indeed no government in being with whom it would be possible to make peace.

There can be no peace because the German government now maintained in power by the German people has flouted all the traditions of Christianity; all the charity, the faith, the hope garnered painfully from the wreckage, which the last barbarian irruption caused in Europe. It has reverted to a heathenism which was imagined to be buried in the darkness of time, in the darker recesses of the mind, in the darkest confines of civilization. Whatever there is of light, it persecutes and oppresses. Its standards are those of the termites, creatures that live out of the sun. It has no human or Christian standard in its conduct of war. It has none in its approach to peace. So there can meanwhile be no moral or spiritual basis for peace.

There can be no peace because the German government now maintained in power by the German people has destroyed freedom and uprooted democracy. It has dictated the course of life not only to its own diverse racial and social groups of people but to the many neighbouring peoples whom it has overrun. It has crushed the varied natural associations of men to allow the monstrous growth of its own one-track organization of control for its own ends. It has set aside

the just rule of law for the haphazard evil of the informer and the sneak. It has claimed to be a master-race entitled to found a civilization of pride and luxury on the labour and tribute of subject races. It has proclaimed the glory of naked and brutal force. All the individuality that gives grace and brings progress is to be brushed aside; all the co-operation of fellowship is to be regimented to a servile pattern under a tyrant. So there can meanwhile be no political or social basis for peace.

The British nation, with the freely given help of its partners in empire, is fighting not only to preserve its own freedom and integrity, but as trustee for five hundred millions of peoples of all races and religions and polities throughout the world. Further, it owes a debt to those small nations, who have resisted the German onslaught and who have fallen under German domination into torment and ruin, which it must not fail to redeem whatever be the price. It is the temporary home of numerous refugees, who must be re-established in life. The British nation dare not, in honour, make peace until the freedom of all these peoples and nations is once more restored and secured.

There can be no peace because the German government now maintained in power by the German people professes a new order which brings in its train want and fear as it strides across Europe. By its deeds and not by its words must it be judged. It represents no satisfactory and advancing standard of living for all. The new order is merely another set of idle promises, fair words, that will never be redeemed except for the chosen few, set forth to cover a selfish, brutish accumulation of greed and lust, with which all honest and decent government is bound to wage war. So there can meanwhile be no trade or economic basis for peace.

There can be no peace until the Nazi scourge that has corrupted and devoured Europe, with all who support it, is blotted out; until the defilement of its touch is cleansed away.

* * *

Yet everyone is compelled to seek peace, and to quicken their zeal in devising ways to peace, in the good hope that one way may soon prove a path along which all may march towards the goal, and for this purpose it is essential that the goal should somehow be defined. It must be a common goal, for there can be no peace from which some

are excluded. An imperfect peace is no peace. This is the justification of this essay.

Sir Robert Vansittart's *Black Record* is an evil communication, not so much because, as some have shown, it is inaccurate and unhistorical, but because it is out of touch or harmony with right thinking. It offers a partial presentation of facts, coloured to bring out all that is bad in the German people. It forgets deliberately the other side of the picture. To be partial is for a man to deny his own intelligence; to be prejudiced is to disable him from the conduct of affairs. Edmund Burke said a long while ago what still stands true:

> I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people.

Much as passion may strive to escape the issue, it remains inexorably sure that peace must be made with the German people. Towards this end *Black Record* makes no contribution, and while it remains, disowned officially indeed, a considered expression from governmental circles towards a conception of peace, it must excuse the attention it so little deserves, as the provocative cause of this further contribution towards another conception of peace, and the fundamental questions which such con-

ception raises. Only free discussion can clarify and answer these questions. This is a mere beginning.

John Ruskin, writing in *Sesame and Lilies*, speaks of the lessons to be learned from the arts and labours of life. He says :

> The more beautiful the art, the more it is essentially the work of people who *feel themselves wrong* ;—who are striving for the fulfilment of a law, and the grasp of a loveliness, which they have not yet attained, which they feel even farther and farther from attaining the more they strive for it. And yet, in still deeper sense, it is the work of people who know also that they are right. The very sense of inevitable error from their purpose marks the perfectness of that purpose, and the continued sense of failure arises from the continued opening of the eyes to all the most sacred laws of truth.

What is thus said of the creative arts may be said just as truly of all creative effort. We should have a consciousness of evil because we have a sense of right. It is this instinctive sense of right which we must nurture and save, which alone can avail, bit by bit and piece by piece, to put the evil of the world in its place. It is this instinctive sense of right which temporarily seems dead in the German people and which the salvation of the world requires that we should strive to rekindle.

There is nothing that is wholly evil. There is nothing that must not in God's good time be transmuted into a part of that perfect whole after which we eagerly seek in our thoughts and deeds. The essence of God, all his attributes, make clear that there is nothing that can in the end fall out of his Heaven. It is the cardinal principle not of this or that religion but of all religion. What evil there is is due to some partiality, some limitation, some insufficiency. If its partiality can be once related to the whole, if its limitation become a self-denial, if its insufficiency can find its completeness elsewhere, then the evil gives place to good. Such is the starting-point from which we must set out. Lies there will be and cruelties, deeds of wickedness and acts of shame, just as there are pain and madness, storm and conflagration, flaw in iron and rot in wood. All these come and go, but evil as an enduring principle cannot be. The creative spirit must sooner or later overwhelm and convert it.

This is no new doctrine. Our own poets have borne testimony to it. Shakespeare puts lightly into the mouth of King Henry V the words :

> There is some soule of goodnesse in things evill,
> Would men observingly distill it out.

Robert Browning in *Abt Vogler* enlarges it passionately :

> What, have fear of change from thee who art ever the same ?
> Doubt that thy power can fill the heart that thy power expands ?
> There shall never be one lost good ! What was, shall live as before ;
> The evil is null, is nought, is silence implying sound ;
> What was good shall be good, with, for evil, so much good more ;
> On the earth the broken arcs ; in the heaven, a perfect round.

And even in *Major Barbara* there is no escape from it. Mrs. Barnes, the Salvation Army Commissioner, may use it in a cant phrase, and George Bernard Shaw may fancy it ironical, but its sincerity triumphs in spite of this :

> 'The longer I live the more proof I see that there is an Infinite Goodness that turns everything to the work of salvation sooner or later.

It embraces one of those living truths which each generation, nay, each thinker must restate in the circumstances of his own problem, for that is the condition of its continuing life.

Then must it not always be asked whether the conquering nations of 1918 did not themselves

prepare the ground and compound the atmosphere, which inevitably pushed the German people along a course which was bound to lead to evil. Admittedly alterations in the terms of the Treaty of Versailles were made from time to time in an attempt to mitigate its burdens and broaden its accord, but always piecemeal and often grudgingly so that the course led on and the mitigations became so much evidence of weakness rather than of change of will. To forget the last Peace will be to forget peace altogether. The world cannot afford another example of the sort. There can be no true peace except by agreement. To quote Edmund Burke again :

> Nobody shall persuade me where a whole people are concerned, that acts of lenity are not means of conciliation.

Somewhere and somehow there must, therefore, be faith, faith in the goodness of things without which we dare not live. The first fruit of this faith must be conversion. The contending impulses and desires that find expression in war must be reduced into a steady impulse, a confirmed desire in one direction towards a unity of heart and mind. What is indeed needed of all nations—and of all citizens of all nations for it comes home to everyone—is a

conversion, a belief in conversion first, and an actual conversion second. There is a devil in every one of us and that devil must be exorcised. Conversion is a psychological reality. John Wesley found this out and established Wesleyan Methodism on it as on a rock. There is some resolvent idea which like the shake of a kaleidoscope alters the whole pattern of things. Everything remains but in some ordered and accordant fashion. There is some awakened will which turns man from careless, heedless acts and habits into a disciplined manner of life. There is some co-ordinating principle in the intelligence which brings the most wayward elements into harmony, into subjection to a dominating purpose. There is some passion for living among one's fellows that directs all our hopes and fears towards a goal which is itself peace, because it foreshadows a just and considerate structure of society, because it embraces love and pity. Whether it be one or all of these aspects or methods, or a mixture of them, the result is conversion. The devil disintegrates; conversion reintegrates. All that was falls into its place in a new and enlarged conception of life and its opportunities, like the heterogeneous, meaningless bits of a machine when assembled by the engineer, or like

the confused and patternless blobs and smudges of colour on the palette of the artist until deftly placed by him on his canvas. Some scrap more of the infinite, so to speak, has been embodied in the finite and the sense of the infinite spreading around us is revivified and made more keen. What is human is felt to border on the divine. Art gives this assurance in its greatness, and shall not the common life give it too in its goodness.

To say that the German people need conversion more than others may be thought a tendencious statement, yet there is much evidence in their conduct of war to justify it. The position of the German people is, therefore, a matter requiring special attention. What has happened there? They have been subjected to a mental and physical drill to induce them to direct their wills towards one activity, that of Nazi-ism and all that it implies. They are oppressed by propaganda, not only direct but pursued in the most subtle ways, which keeps that doctrine ever in the forefront of their consciousness. They have undergone a forcible and arbitrary conversion which we must count on that account to be superficial. They have suffered this since 1933. It was not there before. The German character had been

worsened by the strains of war and its aftermath of doubt and despair, by the miseries of an economic breakdown, so that it was little able to resist the remorseless drive of Nazi-ism; but the German character, whatever else it might be, was not Nazi. More and more the divergence of new and old must be widening within the German mind. The internal conflict must be acute, however much it is buried beneath formal practices and formal opinions, however much it is smothered under ceremonies and observances, forced upon it by the Nazi organization. Somehow and somewhen the internal tension should become so great as to burst through into the centre of consciousness and deflect the will. This should result in conversion or an inward change. The Nazi doctrine, good and bad, must take its appointed place in some wider and more generous body of doctrine, through which the German people will once more come into contact with what we call 'western civilization' and with Christianity, to its joy and profit. That which is organized from without can never have the strength of that which grows from within and is founded in a tradition stretching back through centuries, a tradition which fills the subconscious mind as well as the marginal conscious mind.

The narrow canalized stream of an ideology cannot prevail against the free ocean of thought. The issue of the conflict can never, therefore, be in doubt, but only the moment of escape into the larger life. Speaking of the marginal realm of consciousness passing over into the subconscious, William James in *The Varieties of Religious Experience* says :

> It lies around us like " a magnetic field ", inside of which our centre of energy turns like a compass needle, as the present phase of consciousness alters into its successor. Our whole past store of memories floats beyond this margin, ready at a touch to come in ; and the entire mass of residual powers, impulses, and knowledges that constitute our empirical self stretches continuously beyond it.

It is from this marginal realm that we must look for that invasive alteration which will set up another ruler in the German mind, which must precede the setting up of another ruler in the German state.

Certainly for us there is no more urgent task than to explore how the German people may be converted, so that there may be some speedy prospect of a common language of ideas finding expression round a conference table as soon as

opportunity offers. Rather, therefore, than pursue *Black Record*, is it not much more important to seek the foundations of German thought and character in those places in which we have liberally borrowed ourselves in the past, in those places which all honour? Upon such foundations can we not hopefully build? For example, is it possible to overlook the simple sincerity of Oberammergau and its Passion Play? No one could visit that upland valley and avoid the feeling that whatever of acting or presentation there was, was sublimated into something poignantly real by the almost fierce intent of a Christian community. It is an illustration of conversion much to the point, for artifice might have survived, if there had not been that overwhelming alteration which religion brings. For example, is it possible to be deaf to the profound splendour of Beethoven to whose music ideas attach themselves unconsciously as though it compelled them? Or to the religious enthusiasm of John Sebastian Bach that expressed itself so eagerly and gratefully in music? Or to the romantic glory of Wagner, who found in music a language capable of expressing meaning and emotion in intimate relationship, which, because it has been accepted, in some sense, as a common fund of expression,

now seems commonplace, so that some decry it, not realizing that all the common acquisitions of civilization could be decried on similar grounds? For example, does not Heidelberg or Bonn or Weimar stand for a gift which is part of the great European tradition? Are there not plenty of corner-stones upon which those who would wish to build a temple of peace could not begin to work? To trim, to dress, to clear away the rubbish and weeds so that the stones are squared and clean, fit for the mason—that is the task. Are not the German people still interested in all this? Why, even if war must be destructive, should not thought and imagination continue to be constructive?

And it is possible to come to even closer grips with this problem of some common language of ideas, if we retain an open mind. Without approving or even condoning the faults and perversions of the ideologies they enshrine, was there not something useful and profitable in the Nazi and Fascist systems? Take as a sample a paragraph from a document of 1932 by Benito Mussolini:

> Thus Fascism could not be understood in many of its practical manifestations as a party organization, as a system of education, as a discipline, if it were not always looked at in the light of its whole way

> of conceiving life, a spiritualized way. The world seen through Fascism is not this material world which appears on the surface, in which man is an individual separated from all others and standing by himself, and in which he is governed by a natural law that makes him instinctively live a life of selfish and momentary pleasure. The man of Fascism is an individual who is nation and fatherland, which is a moral law, binding together individuals and the generations into a tradition and a mission, suppressing the instinct for a life enclosed within the brief round of pleasure in order to restore within duty a higher life free from the limits of time and space: a life in which the individual, through the denial of himself, through the sacrifice of his own private interests, through death itself if need be, realizes that completely spiritual existence in which his value as a man lies.

Can we not almost subscribe to this? Indeed, has not war made us subscribe to this? Those who have examined their doctrines and their practices in an objective way, have appreciated the value of the discipline which they taught before it was transformed into a discipline of might and machine; of the social solidarity which they gave to a society verging upon disruption; of that sense of unity which they brought to a lost and straying people. Their notion, too, that a wider basis than politics was essential to the functioning of a nation,

that, so to speak, all associations must be associated, was equally important as a lesson for these latter times. The British people have these lessons to learn; why should they not learn them from their adversaries? The great and daring experiments in government that have characterized the revolutions in Germany and Italy—and in Russia also—are experiments from which we can gain experience, if we will, which will stand us in good stead; while at the same time we shall be finding points of contact with those countries which we think have fallen out of the way of peace. We shall be finding our own contribution of stones to the building of the bridge that must span the gulf between us before there can be peace again.

The fact that these ideologies degenerated into servitudes and that tyrants great and small came to hold power in their name and that their ideas were corrupted into arbitrary commands, while grievous and horrible, cannot altogether destroy their good qualities or their novel outlook. Tyrants are symptomatic of social evil. They rise to short-lived power, one after another, while a society is at war with itself unable to fashion a common purpose and pursue a common aim. The Greek cities passed through such a phase and now the

disease has beset the European nations. Yet it can and will be cured. The immediate prospect is the more unhappy because the numerical arrangements and machine-like organization of the Nazi and Fascist parties have enabled tyranny to be practised on an enormous scale from the petty tyrant of the constituent cell to the gauleiter of a province and the arch-dictation of the Reich government. What hidden misery and wretchedness lies behind this brazen front of crude authority can only be guessed. It must extend far beyond the Jews and communist and outlawed classes without shadow of doubt. It must secretly gnaw the hearts of many whose recollections go back to the old Germany, too easy and sentimental, if you like, but certainly not Nazi. These tyrants are like a cloud of locusts, settling on a fertile land, consuming and impoverishing.

Equally sharp and decisive is the fact that these tyrants are not the German people. Those who hunt out anthologies to prove this or that thesis must know that counter-anthologies are just as likely. The test is the ordinary character of the ordinary person, a democratic test;—the German we know or recollect. The record of the tyrants is so reckless and shameful in spite of their successes

that the German people must in due course of time reassert themselves and at some critical moment tender to Europe a government of quite another sort as a first stage towards the opening of a period in which war can be discontinued. It has been said that the gangsters are in power. There can be no truck with gangsters. It is essential to discriminate between them and all that is left of the homely, honest, industrious, genial German people ; though we must not, in the extreme case, overlook that gangsters are themselves capable of repentance and through repentance may reach to lasting goodness. Logic requires what faith can scarce allow.

The German, and for that matter the Italian, people cannot be left out of any peace settlement. The best must be made of them as of the allied nations. No one can afford the luxury or nurse the revenge of an open wound or sore in Europe. It can only infect and poison the whole body politic and destroy eventually the comity of nations. There is not a chance of any nation being left out of a settlement on this occasion, and a settlement cannot be dictated, it must be agreed. The peace must be one which offers promise of healing to all with the brief passage of years. The body politic of Europe must be made whole and sound again.

Civilization is a unity, and no one part of it can be reconstructed without affecting every other part. In fact, there can be no civilization until it is complete. The strayed companion will bring back with him a revised sense of values, a keener appreciation of rights and duties, and a greater satisfaction in plain and simple things. Without evil, there can be no good; without repentance, there can be no understanding. The Gospel under picturesque and comparatively simple phrases often contains a meaning much more profound and penetrating than we imagine.

> What man of you, having a hundred sheep, and having lost one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost until he find it? And when he hath found it, he layeth it on his shoulders, rejoicing. And when he cometh home, he calleth together his friends and neighbours, saying unto them, Rejoice with me, for I have found my sheep which was lost. I say unto you, that even so there shall be joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine righteous persons, which need no repentance.

* * *

Whilst we look forward to peace, we engage with our utmost power and determination in war, because for us at any rate there stand certain

sacred principles, which have been challenged and, throughout many countries of Europe, forcibly overthrown. We believe that until these principles are re-established there can be no peace. Without assurance of that we dare not make peace. These principles are expressed in two words, freedom and democracy; mere words as they stand, but words full of intense passion and significance when interpreted in all their aspects and relationships across the two thousand years of our history. Their definition is not so much a matter of the dictionary as of the annals of a people. Still even though it is impossible in the narrow compass of a paragraph to describe them adequately, something should be said in amplification of the bare word.

Freedom is a right to self-determination, by a person in a society, by an association in a state, by a state in the commonwealth of nations. It advances stage by stage as civilization advances, and grows more complex. Its only limitation is the equal right of every other person or association or state to the same measure of self-determination. There are those who analyse freedom into its elements as freedom of body or of movement, the right to go where and when one will; freedom of thought, which carries with it freedom of speech

or of expressing thought; freedom of association without which no society or state could be built or fashioned at all. The analysis shifts and gleams according as now one, now another, aspect of freedom comes uppermost. The most authoritative recent pronouncement is surely that of President Roosevelt in his Third Inaugural:

> In the future days which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms. The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want, which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear, which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbour—anywhere in the world. That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation.

The key to all advancement, the foundation of all progress is the variety of activity, endeavour, hope, aim, imagination, that springs from freedom alone. Every nation must produce its own version

of civilization. Without freedom we know instinctively and clearly that we are dead. That is the grim reality of this war.

Of democracy it is more difficult to speak, as it is an institution still in process of unfolding and developing. It is a living idea to a few nations only, and while its history runs back over seven centuries it is relatively new and experimental still. Its roots are in freedom. It means that whatever limitations for safety, decency, order, or justice it is requisite to place upon freedom, whatever measures are requisite for the equal freedom of all, are settled and determined by the people themselves, speaking with equal voice and acting with equal authority. It is more than a form of government, though that is what most people think it, because their outlook is narrowed to what may be called political democracy in which an elected parliament seems the crowning work. The importance of this outlook is not to be belittled. It reaches us every day, in the conduct of our affairs, as the rule of law. It defines our rights and our duties. As William Cobbett says in *Advice to Young Men and Women*:

> . . . in order to act well our part as citizens, or members of the community, we ought clearly to

> understand what our rights are ; for, on our enjoyment of these, depend our duties, rights going before duties as value received goes before payment. I know well that just the contrary of this is taught in our political schools, where we are told that our first duty is to obey the laws. . . . The truth is, however, that the citizen's first duty is to maintain his rights, as it is the purchaser's first duty to receive the thing for which he has contracted. . . . The great right, therefore, of every man, the right of rights, is the right of having a share in the making of the laws, to which the good of the whole makes it his duty to submit.

We now realize that beyond political democracy there is a social democracy and an industrial democracy, though what passes under these names sometimes digresses from and even perverts true democracy. We have digged and planted and watered ; yet we have not brought them to full flower and fruition. War 'even as dung spread upon the field enriches it to a good harvest', so too this war has given us a deeper measure of understanding of democracy. And we are glimpsing before us an economic democracy for which the institutions are waiting to be framed and established. Here it is that the study of our adversaries' ventures,—and of the Russian revolution,—may help to define our own cardinal principle

for peace. Has not the twist of circumstance even forced upon us a duty to safeguard the virtues of the Soviet constitution? Unknowingly they have been trying to apply democracy to the organization of industry, of art, of religion, of sport, in their soviets and corporative groups. Democracy is being seen facet by facet, but the jewel is not yet seen in all its splendour when it may satisfy the eyes of all peoples. It is being cut and polished, which is both a delicate and a hard process, of which war may prove an essential part. The fundamental notions have to find their appropriate revelation. We know what we are seeking. We dare not claim that we have attained our search. The trials of war are proving a fresh opportunity to learn, and the evils of war, with its harsh and cruel discipline, are becoming in our hands, because we will it so, instruments towards a peace more beneficent than that which we have left behind us, towards a larger democracy in which all the world may be enviable partakers. Always the transmutation of evil into good is going on where there is the will.

What, then, we seek to establish is a new Europe, but not a new order. What we cherish is an old order, living and growing, still having its imper-

fections that we strive to remedy, still having its trials and pains that keep us alert and strong. The new order that springs cut and dried to the minds of those who draw up plans and specifications, who lay down doctrines and ideologies, is, as it were, brought out of a museum. It is full of fancy or learning or calculation, but it lacks the gift of life. It is dead and mummified, fit only for examination and dissection, not for use and service. Behind all utopias, it is said, there is the dictator. We have to go back to seek a firm foundation upon which to go forward. It was said that we had passed from status, or fixed position in the state, to contract, or to such a position as we made for ourselves. Now it looks as though we must step back to status again, to re-explore the path that leads to contract, for somehow we seem to have gone astray. Freedom of contract arrived too soon, before capital and labour could bargain on equal terms, before the classes of society became conscious that society overruled class, before nations unequal in strength could yet secure consideration on an equal footing. We cannot afford to sacrifice tradition ; we can afford to retrace our steps and march again. All that we have suffered and endured, must not be thrown away when it can

be transformed into an experience of value, garnered into a habit of conduct. The old order shall indeed become a new order, but none can say just when the change comes.

Yet the individualization which freedom confers must be balanced by an integration of society in ever-widening circles, if stability is to be maintained. Movement and counter-movement must be equal and opposite, to borrow a mathematical conception not less true in other fields. Every gain may involve some sacrifice, though the measure of advantage turn on how far the one outweighs the other.

The time has come when the world must advance another stage on the road to civilization. Unless it can make this advance it must perish. The integration of society must be widened immensely and effectively. The stages of the past are patent in history. There is the family as the original social group steadily moving towards the patriarchal family, which was a little self-governing kingdom in itself, sanctified by household gods and bound by custom. There next comes the grouping of families in tribes, and after a while the union of tribes in cities, with law taking the place of custom and elected magistrates the place of king. The

cities united in leagues, but at this juncture political cohesion failed and the ancient world came to a stop. With the Middle Ages, the land rather than the people became the basis of society and feudalism proved a means of linking manor with hundred, hundred with county, county with province, province with country. Rapine and warring died out stage by stage, but still countries warred one with another. As the cities of the ancient world, so the countries of the mediaeval world by revolution, by injection or insinuation, exchanged conquering kings and emperors for elected parliaments and councils. The urge towards democracy continued. Now countries must be united in some still larger unity. Europe cannot continue to exist as a competitive, often belligerent, group of over twenty national states. They are too small to be self-supporting. They are a constant source of weakness and danger. They can only survive in so far as they can develop mutual associations for trade and help. No peace can merely put them back unless they are prepared to collaborate together as a whole, economically, culturally, defensively. Here is another cardinal basis to be examined and determined in readiness for the coming time

It is only necessary to turn to the New World to see that this fresh stage in social integration has already been accomplished and therefore presents no serious obstacle. Who could affirm that the United States of America constitute a homogeneous whole? There are the New England states, with their puritan tradition. There is the commercial metropolis of New York, and the industrial metropolis of Pittsburg, with a quite conflicting tradition of big business. Over the Alleghenies stretch the prairies, now peopled thickly with large cities, contrasting one with another, as Detroit and Cleveland, as Kansas City and St. Louis, near in space but distant in temper. Chicago is a counterpoise to New York, but with almost a huckstering outlook on trade, bred of fine margins of profit on mass-produced foods. Over the Rocky Mountains again are fresh aggregations of population like Los Angeles and San Francisco which, looking away towards the Pacific, have cultivated a spirit and character all their own. Travelling from north to south there is the marked distinction of the old colour line between the free and the slave belt, even though slavery has long since gone, not without the violences of civil war. There are the problems of the negro population, and of the

segregations of Scandinavians, Poles, Italians, Germans, Slavs, which predominate in certain states. What might have become colonies of conflicting nationals have all gone into the melting-pot to produce the American nation, proud and self-reliant, conscious of its self-sufficiency. And in spite of all the diversity which persists to give pattern and texture to American life, we can recognize to-day that a stirring unity of hope and purpose is knitting all together into a resolute mass, determined to achieve a free and liberal civilization of its own. Under President Roosevelt the rate of coalescence has been quickened, for he has put before his people a goal so plain and sharp that they know their destiny and desire it. Within this federation of states the products of soil and manufacture can be freely exchanged. The natural capacities of its many parts can supplement each other to the common gain. The very scope and variety of its elements is a source of efficiency and economy when recognized and developed without hampering barriers.

What the United States has achieved, Europe can also achieve. It is, however, necessary to realize what it means. The sovereignty of the European states cannot be absolute. They must

agree to surrender some part of it in order to put themselves in subjection to a larger law, an international law which will determine their rights and duties, one to another. Yet under that international law, all states will be equal and each will have an equal voice in the conduct of their joint affairs—no one becomes sovereign over the others but all are free.

No mere League of Nations will ensure this. Something much more compulsive on the one hand, if willingly accepted on the other hand, is wanted. Pope Pius XII in his encyclical *Summi Pontificatus* issued in 1939 states this view in the plainest terms :

> The idea which credits the State with unlimited authority is not simply an error harmful to the internal life of nations, to their prosperity and to the larger and well-ordered increase in their well-being, but likewise it injures the relations between peoples. For it breaks the unity of supra-national society, robs the law of nations of its foundation and vigour, leads to violation of other's rights, and impedes agreement and peaceful intercourse.

To victors as to vanquished the challenge comes ; whether they have that goodwill towards men which will enable them to face the sacrifices and consequences of an attempt to found a peace upon

a genuine union of countries in a broader conception, if not of a federated state, of a group of states bound to a common fortune and a common purpose.

This larger sense of unity which to-day becomes the most important element in a genuine prospect of peace cannot be achieved by devising institutions and making plans, necessary as these may become for its achievement. A plan must be carried into effect; an institution must function. For this, there must be a directed will and a firm intent, which are not made but grow and which in the strictest sense of the term must be religious. Somehow and somewhere we must cultivate in ourselves the will to advance along the way of progress. In fact the war must go on, or war must succeed war, until we accomplish this will, or destroy ourselves for our failure—and not us alone but all peoples. We cannot fail to recognize that both Nazi-ism and Fascism have all the characteristics of a religion. That has been their strength, even though we are sure they are founded in evil. We may see signs of their becoming fanatical and exaggerated because of their evil implications; but we may not seek to undermine this religious fervour. We must convert it into

channels which we know to be right not of ourselves or of presumption, but of tradition and of the record of history. We want not a religion of a race or country, we have outgrown that. We want a religion which shall give a new hegemony to Europe as, under the auspices of the great Pope Hildebrand, Roman Catholicism gave a hegemony to Europe struggling back into the light out of the Dark Ages. Ours is a Dark Age if we but knew it, and for us must come enlightenment, a sense of spiritual unity, a belief in brotherhood, a moral purpose, which only a religion can give. That the whole world is ripe for a fresh religious impulse is almost unquestionable. Who dare dispute that our professed religions have exhausted their spiritual power and are dead shells relying on a letter they cannot revivify and covering their deadness with the observance of forms and ceremonies to which habit and wont give much more value than they deserve? Yet the war has revealed that the sacrificial urge is awake, that a charity beyond the conventional notions of charity is active, that a passion for service thirsts to find opportunity and fulfilment. It is disorganized and spasmodic in appearance. It flourishes largely outside established institutions. If it could be canalized

into some channel, its quality and capacity would multiply a hundredfold. Some failure of that sort was the weakness which let down France, for instance. It is the fault that distracts our own aims and enfeebles our own efforts—and needlessly. Can we think of countries like Holland or Greece or Jugoslavia without being astonished at the evidence which they afford? Yet from the hierarchies of the churches, with odd exceptions, how protesting or plaintive have been the voices. Where indeed is the prophet and teacher who shall inspire our thoughts and our acts so that we shall unitedly march along our appointed road, the road that alone can lead to an assured peace?

There is a strange likeness between theological opinion in the latter half of the eighteenth century and political opinion in the first half of the twentieth century. Then there were theological -isms developing into schisms, with profuse outpouring of controversy. Sir Leslie Stephen finds little in the mass to give humorous or sensible relief to the dull boredom of dead argument. The assaults upon orthodoxy were, however, destructive and opened the way for the rationalizing, scientific approach to religion which grew in strength throughout the nineteenth century, but which has failed so far to

re-energize the spirit of religion to make it an active power among us. Now all the -isms are political, and there is the same profuse outpouring of controversy. Is it too much to expect that we shall not this time let them harden into schisms ? Toryism and Communism are both extreme views, though one is much more behind the times than the other. All extreme views are prone to evil. Democracy is still imperfect and incomplete. It still can assimilate what is good in the ideas of its sectarian rivals. Indeed, should we not recognize in all this keen and strident sectarianism in politics that people feel there is something missing, something wrong and are casting about to cure it ? Those who can approach the task in a liberal spirit must eventually prevail by enlarging the democratic tradition ; and a century hence the historian of our political -isms may be as hard put to find humour and sense in our voluminous debate as we are to find it in the theological conflicts of the eighteenth century. Should we not therefore be warned against heresy hunts and doctrinaires, and treat them with the critical aloofness they deserve, gleaning all ideas of any value to further and develop our tradition of democracy not only in politics, but in society, in industry, in economics,

in all fields of human endeavour; and what is more, to gather a fresh momentum that will carry democracy into the ravaged, darkened countries of the world?

* * *

The war has also brought into greater clearness the constitution of the British Empire. In a sense which was hidden and overlaid before, it has become a union of free peoples conscious of a duty, not confined to their own portion of the world, but embracing the world as a whole. Freedom and democracy are not safe until all partake of them. There can be no more significant fact than that all parts of the Empire (save one) have rallied to the cause of maintaining the rule of law, which is the groundwork of freedom and the crown of democracy, throughout the world. Even the action of the United States of America, once, we may be proud to note, associated with us in empire, if now separate, is not less significant. It is in the great tradition which has indeed outgrown the Empire to embrace all free peoples. It may almost be said that the Empire has lost its boundaries, has lost its specific bonds, to become something much more magnificent and enduring.

It has become a movement, the power of which cannot be destroyed, the purpose of which must be realized because it is the living power and purpose of God.

Even those parts of the Empire which had so far not attained to what is called ' dominion status ' have altered their character unmistakably. Without the formal organization to decide their own fate, they have yet decided it spontaneously and joined themselves to the common effort, knowing that only under the tutelage and with the assistance of those now governing them can they attain to that independence which they covet. They have thus become for us a trust and no longer an appanage. As soon as maybe, they must share in the fullest measure, the freedom and opportunity of the rest. It matters little what race or social system or professed religion may prevail among them, the responsibility of the Empire, our responsibility, is now to set them up upon a firm foundation of their own, to order their own life and manage their own affairs, as partners in the community of nations. The only obstacle to the prompt attainment of this end is a sufficient education and training in the political and economic fields to prevent the idle repetition of error, to

prevent them falling into mischief that the lessons of the years have taught us to avoid, together with an assuredness that the equality and solidarity of all peoples and countries is to be respected and honoured in their hands.

If good fortune and great opportunity should have enabled one nation or one people to take the lead in human affairs, it is seen now that this was not for its gain but rather for its burden, for it has added to its duties and responsibilities. There has been thrust upon it the hard pioneer work of building the road which others must follow. No longer can there be lesser races or inferior peoples whom it is permitted to exploit. The brazen logic of the German claim to be a master people has proved the key to unlock the exactly opposite notion. Out of evil, good has already come. Yet the German claim has its practical implications which it were folly to overlook. So long as it is maintained, the Germans disown their share in the trust. It is inevitable, therefore, that they should be excluded from power over weaker and backward peoples, until for them too the lesson has been learnt that there is no dominant race, that capacity only compels service, that exploitation has ceased. When it is patent that there is a change of heart,

then the German people can take their place equally with the rest in the task of raising the standard of life and with it the grace of freedom everywhere.

This is no time for an easy sentimentalism. For it is incumbent on us to undo what the German armies have done. Our most urgent business is to become a liberator, of those whom Germany has overrun and oppressed, and not only a liberator but a restorer. Whatever redress is fairly possible for afflictions and robberies and cruelties brought upon them must be secured, with this limitation only that it bring not greater affliction and misery upon the German people or drive them into disheartenment and desperation so that once again they become the prey of tyrants, for social injustice is a hot-bed for their up-springing, and we cannot afford the weary round again. The evils of these temporary conquests which Germany has made must be turned to good. Those who suffer are the only fit judges of how this can be brought about; but putting aside mere passion for vengeance, it is to be hoped that all the liberal and generous elements in the oppressed peoples are applying their hearts and minds to a solution of this dilemma of redress without wrong,

which may well be a crucial test of the reality of peace.

Yet if there is no method by which a whole nation can be brought to justice, this cannot mean that justice shall not be brought home to particular people. The administration of justice is, in essence, individual and personal. All the facts and circumstances of the particular case must be ascertained and proven before justice dare pronounce sentence. Only by such solemn but unfaltering process is justice attained. There can be no collective justice, for it is a contradiction in terms. There can only be a justice adapted to the offender or wrong-doer in question, and from such a justice none should escape, though some mercifully may.

To argue that the form of empire advanced by the German rulers must be undone, while arguing that the form of empire now exemplified by the British peoples must be maintained, in the name of democracy and freedom for all, may seem at a point contradictory, even though the differences should by now be patent. It leaves available the specious plea that there are nations that 'have' while others 'have not'. It is well, therefore, to demonstrate that this distinction becomes purely academic. The various parts of the British Empire

not already their own masters, cannot be used or employed except for their own advantage and the advantage of the world at large. This is to accept the policy of the open door,—subject only to the interest of the colony or dependency itself,—the practice of equal opportunity, the abolition of privilege and preference. With exploitation gone there must be a radical readjustment of attitude in all quarters. The development of a colonial regime, which shall give just and true expression to the new conception of imperial trust, is a matter to be undertaken now. The topic can only be left here as a suggestion not for study simply but for action.

Recognizing that the basis of wars is largely economic, there remains the problem of an international economic order which shall give an equal and fair chance to all to establish a standard of living, decent and adequate to a good life. If we believe in democracy, then this indeed is democracy. Free trade has fallen out of favour, not because its principle was wrong but because the scales were weighted in favour of some and against others who practised it, and because many would not practise it at all. This weighting was largely because the standard of living of the different

countries varied so greatly. Free trade, or, at least, much freer trade, is inevitable in a Europe which is to consist of a multiplicity of small states and countries however loosely associated. Barriers to trade cannot be maintained with any prospect of a continuing peace. The free trade which signifies that each country should produce the goods, whether natural, agricultural or industrial, with which it is either best endowed or best equipped to grow or fashion, is surely an acceptable idea as affording the most generous contribution to a high standard of living for all; but that all share alike in this high standard is no less essential, so that the handicap of the standard is not with the advanced as against the backward peoples; for a common standard of living is precursor of a common civilization, while no civilization can endure unless its livelihood is secured. Therefore a revival of the free-trade doctrine and of the conditions within which it can operate is another pertinent subject of study now. How is Europe to be managed as a co-ordinated and mutually self-supporting group of states, not forgetting the world outside Europe as well? German logic has said that Germany alone shall be industrial and that the rest shall serve her as vassals in agriculture, mining, fishing, and so forth. She

has an economic policy of serfdom. Against this we are driven to set an economic policy of freedom. Any peace must contemplate a broad economic construction of the sort outlined above, if it is to contain hope of permanence and healthy growth, not based on dictation to serve some particular national end, but based on that which will yield the greatest advantage to the whole community of states.

Once again it may be necessary to go back to go forward; to pick up free trade on a basis of barter agreements, step by step, until a more simple and easy method of exchange can be elaborated. The power of money in the international sphere must not be allowed to reassert itself as a political or social factor, or even as an economic factor except as a tool or servant. The capital that is required for reconstruction must be stripped of all power to influence affairs. It must pass through some international organization which ensures this. The rate of interest must be driven down to the minimum that will enable the accumulations of capital needed to be achieved. Now that exploitation of colonies and dependencies has gone, all capital employed in development should be divorced from individual or personal profit.

Those who feel surprised or resistant at this can be met with a quick and conclusive answer ; what is now being done for war is worth doing much more for peace.

For the crux of the argument can be stated only too plainly ; that what we are prepared to sacrifice for war, we must equally be prepared to sacrifice for peace. This is not to be taken to mean the minor hardships of food restriction, of restraints on liberty of the person and such-like, but it is to be taken to mean a conception of the state and of the family of states as a social entity or integration, which rules out finally all self-aggrandisement, all particular favours or privileges, which literally is prepared to rise above the narrow conception of this or that state into the all-embracing conception of Europe as a co-ordinated and co-operative stronghold of western civilization, a counter-poise, an exemplar, if the noble traditions of the past have weight, to the co-ordination and co-operation of peoples which the New World of the Americas presents to us. Let us learn of our children. We seek a peace as active as war, as untiring in its endeavours, as determined in its purposes to achieve the victory of a good life for all, and that is what each one of us really cares most about. The vic-

tories of peace, how much more splendid and enduring are they than the victories of war.

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The man of matter-of-fact mind will be impatient by this time that practical proposals for peace are not explained. There will be many questions on his mind to which he will be seeking an answer. The League of Nations, for instance: how far does it contain any promise of a settlement of an international constitution capable of adjusting the complicated affairs of Europe? Certainly the League has elaborated an apparatus of international commissions of enquiry and recommendation which can usefully be preserved and extended. An impartial research into, and establishment of, the situation in a group of countries in relation to any given social or economic problem is of the greatest value. The comparative method provokes thought, which in the end leads to the determination of an agreed standard or practice. As a device for the assimilation of the diverse ingredients in a common culture, it is hardly to be bettered. By linking together rights and duties, opportunities and responsibilities, it can also be made the motive force towards a general raising of the standard

both of livelihood and of culture, towards turning the blessings of research into daily habit. Beyond this the League appears to be discredited and bankrupt of moral power, so that a fresh start should be made in building an organization to decide in common those matters which are common to all.

Not that there should be any attempt at some cut-and-dried federal scheme or indeed at any fixed constitution. The organization must grow up to meet the occasion. The flexibility of our own constitution and its history show the merit of this. As need arises solution must be found. What is important is to establish a framework and an attitude of approach which will ensure that within the framework the solution will be sought now in one direction, now in another. There must be ample opportunity for free associations in all sorts of ways to meet common ends, and out of these associations after a while something specific and definite will mature, which will be the joint labour of all taking part in them and which each will therefore think theirs, to endow it with affection and honour. A hot-house plant forced into bloom will only wither in the open air. The blue skies of Europe will still be flecked with cloud and rain. Fair weather, thank goodness, cannot be perfected.

The new economy which the war must impose on all the belligerent countries is another practical issue calling for examination. It must be a consumer's economy, aiming at a liberal supply of everyone's needs. This is the inevitable reaction to the privations of war. It must be a consumer's economy because only by that can people be fully employed. There must be a survey of housing, of furnishing, of clothing, of food, of equipment to ensure (the phrase will come) a minimum standard of living for all, even if it is a minimum not calculated to the lowest level of subsistence but raised to a standard of decency and amenity at which we can be pleased. Really what we seek is not a minimum but an optimum, that which will best serve and nourish us in body, mind and spirit, and to be severely practical for a moment certainly an optimum of food, for a sound body is the beginning of a sound mind and spirit. We want a standard of living as high as we can afford. The higher the standard, the greater the prospect of full employment. There will, therefore, be scope for amenities and pleasures as well as for commodities and necessities. No longer will the producer and his margin of profit be dominant in the economic field. Industry and manufacture are

for the service of the people, not for the profit of the capitalist. This cannot rule out all profit, for the profit motive would seem an inescapable stimulus to individual effort, but it would be curbed and restrained. Evil comes with excess or deficiency. After all, in an economy of small profits, small profits will be as great a stimulus as large ones now are.

The new economy must also be an economy of peace. This is the most important transformation to be secured. Almost all countries have warped their natural economy to strengthen themselves for war. This process has entailed vast waste and artificial poverty. If once the war factor can be set on one side, if once security for a peace economy can be attained, then the leap towards a better life can be made quite astonishing and the countries of the world will scarce know themselves in their new-found affluence. The task of reorienting our economy will not be easy, especially if dislocation is to be avoided, and it will only be possible if we have the courage and imagination to set before ourselves a life more liberal and generous than any we have hitherto dared to expect.

It is not the purpose of this essay to venture into these practical paths. They are mentioned

because they are recognized to be the concrete elements which must be brought to the building of peace. There are those expert in economic, social and political science to whom the suggestions can and must be put. Here it is sufficient to lay down in outline a notion of peace which alone seems to hold out possibilities of endurance and to set out the conditions and circumstances which alone seem to enable it to be realized. While force asserts itself, we must pray and work for the victory of arms.

The victory of arms may be, and probably is, the essential preliminary to the victory of ideas. We may fondly hope not, but the wounds of war may be essential to open the mind. There can be no standing aside from war as an evil, if we believe that out of evil good will come. We are compelled to seek a victory of arms; but we must be prepared to see the victory of ideas transcend the victory of arms whenever the chance comes.

The Nazis can see no peace in the world they have overrun. The darkening clouds of oppression overshadow them too. They must be feeling the scorn of hate and the bitterness of empty success. For them too comes a searching of mind and

heart, the attempt to find a path to peace in the darkness they have created. They have to find release from the heavy round of watch and discipline. Force cannot always be maintained. It grows weaker with use, until at last it breaks down, however brilliant may have been its successes. A new harmony and unity is just as incumbent on them as on us. There can be no smile on the face of Germany ; the iron mask she wears must be cast aside before she can greet peace.

The circumstances of the times are favourable to such a peace. The collapse of nations, morally rather than physically, is both a warning and an opportunity. Germany herself is in moral collapse, and as in certain diseases when the mind fails the body flourishes, so it is with her. The price of her physical strength has been the surrender of all her other strengths. She is become a paranoiac. There is a search everywhere for a sounder foundation upon which to build. Compromise with evil has gone on long enough. The failure to redefine the fundamental conditions of security and progress in terms of our current industrial and mechanistic civilization has been evaded far too long. This industrial, mechanistic age stands utterly condemned, except to those whose

standards are material success, for some only. With such resources as no previous age has ever dreamt of, with capabilities and aids which are almost miraculous, we have neglected the raising of the standard of living and have turned them all into engines of destruction. Our folly is patent nightly in our bombing and counter-bombing. Our development is unbalanced. We are children with dangerous weapons in our hands. Our outlook and conduct are undisciplined, and what discipline we know is not the self-discipline of freedom, but the orders of the sergeant-major, who crops up, not in the army only, but in every walk of life. The religions of the past have let themselves be dried to husks, for want of the living spirit being renewed and reinterpreted in and through them, generation by generation. It is a spiritual impulse that is needed, a spiritual impulse adapted to filling, not the older civilization of the eighteenth century, that science and invention killed, because they came in too strong doses and like a poison affecting one part and not all, but this new civilization of which we are dimly aware, from which there is no retreat, a civilization of factories and machines to be liberalized and humanized, of mastery over nature to be employed

for human advancement, of pride of wealth to become public and not private. Who shall help in the discovery of this spirit ? This is a democratic age. It desires a democratic spirit. It is thus everyone's business. It means giving up a lot of the things we love and like for other things which in the end we shall love and like more. If conversion must overtake the German people as a forerunner of peace, it must also overtake us all before the peace can be concluded. Everywhere there is evil which must be transmuted into good. The alchemy of the spirit must distil in each one of us a striving after a better life, and a will to attain that life. Each, in his place, may make his offering by putting himself in accord with the world that he would like to see, by revising his relations with his fellows to match that world. The revolution of our outlook and conduct which the emergencies of war can produce, must be sustained and continued for the humdrum days of peace. This can only happen if we are possessed with an aspiration and a hope which has the fervour and passion of a new religion, a religion which says ' Thy Kingdom come ' and means it.

II

The Armour of Light

> The night is far spent and the day is at hand :
> let us therefore cast off the works of darkness,
> and let us put on the armour of light.

PEACE AIMS would seem to fall into two distinct groups. There are those which relate to the clearing up after the war and concern the settlement of territorial boundaries or the adjustment of economic and financial difficulties. Nothing practical can be said or written about such aims at this stage of the war, as they cannot be effectively dealt with until the conditions and circumstances of the peace are better understood ; but certain broad principles almost define themselves which are implicit in any true peace. Then there are those which arise out of the revolution in thought and habit, in fortunes and ways of life which a totalitarian war inevitably produces. These aims are taking shape bit by bit and month by month. While largely internal to a country,

they have international reactions. There is no excuse for not proceeding to define them. In fact, there is danger and harm in putting off the task. The sacrifices and hardships of war are made tolerable and worth-while by turning the prospects of peace into something more than vague promises.

War acts as an accelerative of movements and modes of thought. Civilization changes, before the eyes, its shape and purpose; herein lies its vitality. The social structure has not yet become rigid, bringing with it the torpor of decay, but remains flexible and capable of modification. Ordinarily the rate of change is gradual and continuous, and passes unnoticed unless some effort is made to measure it over a term of years. In war, the rate of change is quickened so that, not unfairly, it may be described as revolution. The Britain of this summer is both materially and spiritually different from the Britain of two summers ago. We are all conscious of it. There can be no going back. What has been done for war, stands good for peace. All the industrial improvisations, the social departures, the economic controls hastily adopted to serve the needs of war should now be correlated and revised to meet the ends of peace. Shall they not, with amendment, offer some

consistent pattern or scheme of things upon which the hopes and aims of the people can be realized? That seems everyone's desire.

The field of political consciousness is now wide. The old concept of a governing class is dead and gone. The notion that opinion is generated among a restricted fraction of the people is also dead, if not quite gone. The intellectual group, no more than the moneyed group or the landed group, can now claim to direct policy. Church and chapel, landowner and industrialist, trade-unionist and co-operative are all on an equality and each alone is no longer a decisive factor in determining what shall be done. The political parties with their party organizations have become reflecting mirrors of their constituents' wishes—distorting to match their party nostrums, enlarging here, diminishing there in a quaint humour not wholly surprising—rather than constructive projectors or instruments of reform. Amidst all the divergences of opinion, however, there remains a solid core of agreement for which we must seek expression. The new social pattern must find appropriate place and scope for all these elements so that the particularist tendencies, bred of freedom, may have such play as will keep the social fabric

shot through with the colour and splendour of life, weaving a web of durable magnificence.

That there should be movement towards a pattern or plan would seem a natural expectation. The people turn to the government for a lead, yet it is not so much from the government that the lead must come as from the people themselves. The movement is in a strict sense democratic. The urge is from below. The people have all sorts of notions of what they want, and in looking to the government it is not to tell them what they want so much as to define those wants and shape the political and social machinery which will enable them to be realized. The people know that they cannot have all that they want, for their wants are often in conflict. They feel incapable of that trim and balanced plan which will afford them the substance of their desires if not the imperfect letter ; and the government is the only body to which they have been taught to look for the formulation of a programme.

To-day, however, it is necessary to seek earnestly for that plan in the expressed, in the half-expressed and even in the almost unexpressed aspirations of the people, and to commence setting out, piece by piece, what these are, so that, shortly, they

may be sorted and put together to build up a harmonious picture of the society towards which the people are marching.

The key to any scheme or plan is the choice of a new social pattern. Perhaps the most recognizable social pattern in English history is that of the parish or manor. It still survives from the Middle Ages in odd examples almost intact even now; the church and the manor house, the farms and cottages set about a village green, the inn, the spacious gardens, and the common land, which make a picture to be seen with delight and comfort here and there. The people who lived within these hallowed precincts bore something of the resemblance of a large family. They stood together for mutual help and assistance. They shared common pleasures and bore common adversities. Vicar and squire were their natural leaders, but all had a voice. The industrial city of our presumptuous pride is without pattern, and its emptiness of function or sense has spread downwards to infect and spoil the smaller market and county towns. There is a great blank to be filled. It would be hard indeed to say what association would be chosen most frequently to represent the association which was felt to have the widest purpose

and meaning, the greatest value and surety. For some it is still church or chapel. For others it is trade-union branch or women's institute. For yet others some club or even public-house company. Rarely indeed is it neighbourhood or local government area. Some definite, tangible, effective social unit is essential to any scheme or plan.

Any such pattern must allow for diversity in unity, for variety in community. It must be expressed, for example, in a building programme. The coming housing will take on the pattern, and the institutions will give expression to it. The dominant note may still be church or chapel, but one designed for use every day of the week and for every type of social bond—the institutional church with specific duties to discharge on behalf of its members, in which the consecrated part is less conspicuous, if more important, than the secular part of offices, club-rooms, meeting-places, and so forth. Or it may be a school, but for all ages and all classes—the institutional school with its cinema, gymnasium, lecture hall, canteen, which enable it to play its share in every phase of educational endeavour effectively. Or it may be a club-house for all voluntary activities. Or it may be all three. Behind the outward expression in build-

ing, there will be the inward realization of what society means and is. The new pattern, fit for its purpose, beautiful in its fitness, should give as much delight and comfort as the old village. That is the challenge to the generation that is arising.

Yet to take heed that fine words and fair notions run not too far away with the builders, it is as well to remember and record that selfishness or the serving of self-interest is the strongest primary urge. It is essential, therefore, to harness this self-interest to whatever scheme or plan may be. It is essential to show how self-interest can only be served by serving others, by re-creating or rather re-awakening the instincts of the herd at their finest, to foster and strengthen the society that is to be built. Much that is talked amounts to no more than substituting one selfishness for another. The selfishness of the capitalist may only give place to a like selfishness among labour. The exclusiveness of rank may be paralleled by the exclusiveness of club or union. All such get society just nowhere. There must be a transmutation of self into social channels, which may forecast a revival in religion, a reinterpretation of charity in terms of works and not gifts, a renewal of public spirit in many fresh manifestations, a restoration of

faith in a good life everywhere, which indeed is Utopia. What war has, in very truth, caused to burst into flower must continue to bloom in peace. The instincts are there and are sound. The puzzle is how to ensure their release when the strain and stress of war are relaxed. Somehow the sacrifices and endeavours, the aspirations and desires that are born under the dark night of war must be carried over into the bright day of peace.

Then there must be no reluctance to destroy what is outworn and useless. The sentiment that causes this people to cherish a past until it becomes a nuisance and a hindrance must be curbed. What survives, other than as a museum-piece set apart, must justify itself by its value to the living. There can be no acquiescence in a fear or cowardice which will not make trial of that which reveals the temper and spirit of the new time, but which prefers to tender a variation upon an old theme, a sort of pseudo-antique, appealing to memory and not to service. There is much satisfaction to be obtained both actually and figuratively from the devastated areas of London; if they speak of destruction, they speak more loudly of opportunity. There may be profit in the example. This must not be read as though to destroy were

to be general. The country is fortunate in having a living and healthy tradition. The germs, the early shoots of much that will be sought, already exist. Growth is continuous and uninterrupted, but like the serpent, the old skin must sometimes be sloughed to afford opportunity for freer growth and, beneath, the new skin is resplendent and gorgeous.

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So far the ideas set down have been by way of general introduction, and to complete the outline it will be well to survey some of the major chapters of a complete scheme or plan. These, the expert must fill in and develop, for no one person can draw up such a scheme or plan as is required. It is a task for many. Even the experts can only state the problems for open discussion and ultimate acceptance maybe in some modified form, by a wide and responsive audience. The main object of this essay will be achieved, if it should stir some circle of knowledgeable folk to come together and provide an outline in sufficient detail as to define and describe the new shape of society that not they but the people at large may hope to see steadily come into being after the war—the

real and living victory. Who has the chastened imagination which shall unfold the vision that is the desire of all men's eyes?

The fundamental issue of the war is freedom. There are two aspects of this to be explored. First, there is the freedom, which is the expression of the individual, the group, the society, the nation, and the limits which must be set to it as compared with the regimentation and enforced uniformity against which the fight is being waged. There are aspects of this elemental freedom which will bear revision and redefinition. Second, there is democracy in government as the expression of freedom. With the growing scope and complexity of affairs, government must seek fresh organs for conducting its business. A political government is seeking, with the aid of a bureaucracy, to become a social government, an industrial government, an economic government. It is inherently incompetent to undertake such activities and its bureaucracy still more so, as those who take part in its war activities sadly discover. Besides, the resort to bureaucracy assuredly carries these activities further and further away from freedom. It is important to learn what is good in the Russian experiment of the soviets for this or that purpose,

in the corporative state as expounded by fascist Italy. It is equally important to reflect upon the strength and solidarity of the pyramidal organization of Nazi-ism in Germany. That these ways of life have their defects and evils is clear to see, but that should not blind the eye to their good. The democracy of this last hundred years would not be amiss for an overhaul. Its institutions and practices will bear review, nay, must suffer it, if they are still to contain and nurture the seeds of freedom. The ground requires ploughing in again to clear it of weeds and strengthen a goodly fresh crop, though it be only grass.

Next in order must come the accepted foundations of any post-war society. They may be summarily treated under five heads. First, security for livelihood, home, family life, leading up to practical measures for ensuring employment and training for employment, the widening of the scope of social insurance and other like measures such as exercise the mind of the present Minister of Labour. Second, a standard of living which safeguards the health and full development of all citizens and relieves the nation once and for all of the shame and disgrace of the underfed, the stunted, the deficient. Already the League of Nations has

started work on this subject in its nutritional aspect, and just before war broke out was proposing to develop this further through a committee under the chairmanship of the present High Commissioner for Australia in London. The subject should be taken up and concluded now so far as Great Britain is concerned. The Ministry of Food in its policies and controls and regulations should be giving effect to it, looking beyond the exigencies and stringency of the day to the responsibilities and plenty of the future. And to mention Great Britain only is without narrow selfish intent, but merely to keep within the ambit of this text. Third, solidarity or an attempt to create a community rather than a class spirit, and to carry over into peace much of the compassion and co-operation arising out of the emergencies of war, about which enough has already been said to indicate the scope of the subject. A sense of unity becomes indispensable not only from above in a national consciousness but from below in a local consciousness. Who is our neighbour? is again a pertinent, testing question. Fourth, health as a state service, so that no one can fail of full preventive and remedial treatment even if only on selfish grounds as cheapest for the state. Medicine is not a commodity to buy or sell, it is a

public utility service much more important than gas or water or electricity. Is the Ministry of Health conducting its war ventures with any such conception in mind? Fifth, a new social contract, suggested by the editor of the *Economist*, which would define the duties that the citizen owes to the state in return for the benefits and rights which the state confers upon him, even guarantees to him. At the moment there is too much of a one-sided conception of the state. The stress is placed upon what is to be given rather than upon what is to be received. The state is no more and no less than the mass of the citizens in their relationships one to another. Reciprocity is the mainspring of its action.

Education will also demand fresh treatment. There must be a new conception of education as the art of living, or skill in living well. The pedagogues have held sway far too long, and are ensconced in the Board of Education. The scholastic and technical education of the past is either too much or not enough. Too much in that it contrives a formidable syllabus, which perverts every school to its pattern. Not enough in that it falls short of that perseverance which makes the craftsman, the scholar or the scientist. Education must be a preliminary training for some specific

place in economic life, whether administrative or commercial or industrial, as well as professional, and in addition a discipline for a liberal social life, for the satisfying use of that abundant leisure which a properly organized social life must eventually bring. It is much more than extending the years at school. It is providing one type of education for the countryside, another for the small town, yet another for the industrial city. It is variants within each of these types to suit the geographical, the physical, the cultural needs of different regions. It is finding in every human activity scope for education and means of culture. It is recognizing the craftsman of the hand and eye equally with the craftsman of the tongue or pen. Further, education as opportunity must be enlarged and developed. The poverty of leaders that now besets the state and that makes any reconstruction of government a mere game of musical chairs must be remedied by seeking talent and ability wherever they may be and by encouraging and securing their unfolding and training in the interests of the state so that the highest posts in politics, in commerce, in administration, in industry, are open to all as well as the highest positions in literature, science and art, for which some provision has already been

made. There must be a field of competition for all these higher posts, for then the whole standard of qualification, of outlook, of achievement, will speedily be raised. The lack of effective competition to-day has caused a slackening of endeavour and advancement. In the right treatment of this problem may be the luckiest and most fruitful measure of any scheme or plan, for it will discover the means by which the scheme or plan may be realized and established in ever-increasing might and splendour.

Then there are the moral and spiritual aspects which cannot be overlooked or left to care for themselves, debatable as they may be. The issue of the war appears definitely to have placed on Great Britain and her allies the burden of attempting to realize once again what is meant by Christianity. The nation is committed by its opposition to the neo-paganism of Germany to a christian solution, not in a theological or sectarian sense but in a broad and tolerant sense, which in itself is all to the good. Two separate subjects seem to deserve consideration. First, a concrete notion of a church as an institution having specific responsibility for the welfare of its members. The Roman Catholic Church has preserved this notion intact

in its tradition. It can be transplanted with advantage to other churches. It needs revivification so that the church is to be judged by what it gives and not by what it gets. The mere parasitic type of church is dead, something grafted on to a civilization of which it is no organic part. What now are the functions of a living church? They must embrace all current phases of life and cover the seven days of the week with their influence. When Sunday is a day of rest and recreation, not specially connected with religious exercises, religion will recover from the misfortune of Sunday and find itself an integral part of the business of every day. Second, there must be a new crusade to restore and re-establish the hegemony of Christianity so that throughout western civilization there are once again common standards of conduct and common sanctions for evil. There must be some code of morals, some court of appeal to which all within the great family of nations are subject and upon which all can rely, though the legal analogy may be too narrow and severe.

More debatable ground is reached when the economic foundations of a new order require statement. Yet there can be no escape from a scheme or plan for agriculture as the basis of a

national economy and as setting the pattern for rural expansion and development, the largest portion of a state. Or from a scheme or plan for the pooling and opening up of world resources and unloosing the trammels of international trade, even though this trespasses much beyond the confines of Great Britain and introduces complicated and difficult factors. Or from a scheme or plan for the rebuilding of shattered cities and for preventing finally the selfish scramble for profits out of the development of land. The monopoly character of land has been painfully evident long enough and now this monopoly, by control, must become subservient to the interests of the state without compensation.* Or from a scheme or plan for the conversion of money into a tool or servant, rather than a power or master, for a true political economy based on the people's good and not a mercantile economy, masquerading under that title, based on the selfish exploitation of economic strength.

And so at length the lighter side is reached which offers reward and encouragement. There is the

* This topic is developed in the author's pamphlet 'Britain Must Rebuild', No. 17 in the Democratic Order. It may serve as a type of the pamphlets that are wanted to complete the twenty-one subjects of this programme.

problem of leisure and its occupation. Surely there must be outlet for the imagination in some novel festivals to serve as a reminder of all these hopes and aims, to keep fresh in the memory the goal towards which all these reforms are tending. The liveliness of a civilization is to be reckoned by the enthusiasm with which its festivals are celebrated. Surely, too, what is provincial must become matter of praise, for it is local effort that calls for stimulus and local competition is the spur. The choral societies of Yorkshire, the brass bands of Lancashire, the Highland games are but illustrations. There is not a city or county which should not seek its special distinction. The liberal life which is the crown and substance of all that has gone before would bear exposition in a myriad forms. What the Greek cities accomplished, which has guided over two thousand years of civilization, why should not the English cities re-accomplish in modern terms. Only thus is there escape from the Dark Ages that again threaten the world. Is the tree of life to flower here or must some alien race plant a new tree ? That is the choice.

The notion of a Commonwealth of Nations has its place in this programme, for it must affect the internal policy and practice of each nation. For

what is good for one nation is good for all, adapted to its needs and circumstances. Some cursory review of the effects of such wider conception of the problems completes this summary of the scheme or plan that is wanted. Altogether some twenty-one topics have been canvassed for consideration and treatment, twenty-one aspects or phases of a social order which is to spring out of the order that now exists. They form the armour of light. There is much to be done by way of preliminary labour, and first of all twenty-one people are wanted to carry these twenty-one topics beyond a bare generality into something practical and specific on the one hand for which the people can strive, into something ideal and spiritual on the other hand at which the people can hopefully aim. For the two aspects of each topic may not be forgotten, if the reformation is to be sure and lasting. As this is to be a Christian order, it may be likened to the Kingdom of Heaven which has been promised to the world for nearly two thousand years. Is it indeed at hand? That all depends upon the way in which the aims of peace are approached and executed. It may be likened to a grain of mustard seed, or to a net cast into the sea, or to hidden treasure; but in these days it must also be

likened to a legislative programme which attempts to embody the various subjects here outlined.

* * *

And when the design is completed, the armour has still to be forged. What labour in the smithy must be suffered before the shining pieces can be fitted together and the toiling craftsman converted into the steadfast paladin ready to uphold security, security against want, security against fear—everywhere in the world—so that none shall shatter the substance of this dream. For substance it can only have, if we are prepared to work hard and unremittingly to realize it.

Let us, therefore, look at the state of affairs as it existed just before the war broke upon us, and reflect upon the kind of civilization we can afford. The census returns show that 96 per cent of the men of working age, that is between 16 and 64 inclusive, returned themselves as gainfully occupied, and 36 per cent of the women. The women, who discharge their primary function of building and peopling a home, are not occupied according to the categories of the census, so that adding them it may safely be assumed that as many, if not more, women in proportion are as fully

occupied as men. It is thought that among the men, a number who reported themselves as occupied, imposed an unfair strain upon the nation, in their favour, and that probably the idle part of the population was about 6 per cent. It is not high and there is little margin here to pick up. The great and direful waste represented by the unemployed, because the wit to direct industry and to control distribution was lacking, is omitted, for it is an evil which must, whatever else happens, be cured so that it exists no longer except, maybe, in a minor sporadic fashion like a mild complaint.

If next we look at how people are occupied, we may be less satisfied. About 1,000,000 were engaged in agriculture, and almost 8,000,000 in industry. These are the producers. Then about 1,200,000 were engaged in transport which, even if sometimes excessive, is essential. After that there are 7,500,000 engaged in distribution and 1,500,000 in domestic and personal services. It is here that reduction should be possible. There is too much warehousing and shopkeeping, too much passing of goods and commodities from hand to hand. Why should it take one worker to see to the distribution of what another worker produces? Yet that is roughly what these figures show.

There is a larger margin to be saved here. For example, there are fewer than 20 homes to each shop ! It is estimated that the cost of distribution adds over 40 per cent on to the proper costs of production, including labour, material, power and all else. By saving here, the price of goods and commodities can also be cheapened.

And those who produce, what do they produce in value ? The census of production affords a clue. The value of the net output for each person employed in factories, building, mines and quarries, public utilities and the government departments was £223 per annum. It is not a handsome or liberal result, and relates to only half the workers. Economists have endeavoured by piecing all sorts of statistics together to complete the story. It is estimated that everyone engaged in agriculture produces goods and commodities of a net value of £135 in the year, and that everyone engaged in industry produces likewise £200 in the year. The difference is due not to the agricultural labourer working less hard, for it is common knowledge that he works harder than many, but to the fact that his is personal labour only partly aided by machinery and only little by power-driven machinery. Yet he makes use of much

more capital per head than any other worker. Land and livestock and implements call for £1350 for each worker; and this maybe keeps him poor. Everyone in industry, it is thought, has behind him to aid him, in his work, £700 worth of plant, equipment, machinery and tools. It is this aid that enables him to raise the value of his output. He is assisted by capital, little as he may be prepared to admit it; and out of the £200 of net value that he produces in a year, this capital must be rewarded on a fair basis, or it will not be there—in the long run at any rate.

Prices go up and up between producer and consumer to cover transport, warehousing, trading, shopkeeping and all sorts of services, useful and necessary in very varying degrees, and so values may be added for services rendered by all other workers. In the end, when all occupied persons are brought to account and the final value of all goods and commodities as supplied to the consumers totalled and divided over them, the average money's worth of each worker's effort is assessed at £168 in the year. So long as this is the case, clearly we can only have £168 worth of livelihood and civilization. That is what we can afford.

Nowadays the family consists of slightly less

than 4 folk, and, on the average, of these 1½ work. The family share, therefore, of the national income from work is £252 per annum, less whatever must be paid to capital to induce its aid, which at 3 per cent would be £36, at 4 per cent £48, at 5 per cent £60. Let us conclude that there is £200 per annum left for each family; and it is insufficient to support the standard of living disclosed in the weekly budgets summarized by the Ministry of Labour, which, for an industrial or urban worker's family, call for £224 in the year. The agricultural budgets afford no real basis for building up a satisfactory social structure, for the agricultural worker is known to be underpaid and under-cared for. He asks only £150 in the year but requires more. Only because there are these underpaid classes are the budgets of the industrial workers possible. They live well on others living ill.

These figures cannot profess to be exact even for the immediately pre-war period, but they are sufficiently approximate to the truth to show the sort of economic foundation upon which so many speculative persons are thinking of building utopias to taste. They come with cold disillusionment. Can we be content with this £200 civilization,

should we be content, must we be content? These are the questions which rush across the mind. Unless more net value can be produced, no better livelihood, no better civilization can be maintained. It is useless to turn to the rich and to say that if they would give up their excess, all would be well. There are too few of them. It would be just as useless to say to the skilled worker that he should share equally with the unskilled worker, though this were a much more effective and fruitful measure of equalization. This is not to justify extravagant fortune consumed in idleness. This must go, if it has not already gone. It offers, however, no remedy, no solution of the problem of a more generous and liberal life for all. This is not even to justify the class distinctions within the ranks of labour, but merely to recognize that they will persist as inevitable social facts, human nature being what it is. In Soviet Russia, class distinctions within the accepted limits are even harder and sharper than elsewhere. No, the only remedy, the only solution springs from a gospel of work. In peace as in war, it is the same. To have it is first necessary to give. 'Thou, O God, does sell unto us all good things at the price of labour': so Leonardo da Vinci. 'Nothing for

nothing, and not much for a dollar': so an American realist.

The average income from all sources per head of the occupied population is about £240 per annum. Of this £20 comes from overseas and is jeopardized by war; and another £20 is already redistributed on an equalitarian basis by taxation. This money income is not a sure foundation for our civilization; the net value of our output is much more sound and secure. The limits of our resources should however be noted. If on the basis of output ours is a £200 civilization, on the same basis the new order of Germany is somewhere between a £120 and a £150 civilization. It is a mean and stingy affair. If we look for the highest standard among other countries, it would seem as though our aim should be a £300 civilization. The United States of America appear to realize something of this order, with New Zealand and Canada following up. These are all approximate figures and relate to the period just before the war. They may be violently disturbed by war finance, but they must serve our turn as indices. In the Dominions overseas they were already rising cheerfully. Finally, it should be remembered that all averages disguise the standard at

which we currently aim. They are weakened by those who fall below the standard, who should get fewer and fewer as the aim becomes clearer and more desired. The elimination of the unsatisfactory levels of livelihood and work is a quick and certain means of ensuring a standard. The harder labour of raising the standard follows.

There are those sanguine industrialists, who have suggested that all the work required can be accomplished in four hours a day. They were prodigiously impressed with the ingenuity, the power and the speed of machinery, and saw it as an instrument transforming the terms under which industry is carried on. They must, also, have kept in their mind a level of earnings and a standard of living, such as prevailed when they made their prediction. They were content with a less than £200 civilization. But the programme which we have set before ourselves, the design for good living, which we are to try to body forth in substance, is much more than a £200 civilization; and so, even with all the aid of capital as represented in plant, equipment, machinery and tools, a longer working day is still before us. Much as we may desire leisure, it would almost cease to have value if it were prolonged. It is the contrast with work

that makes its charm. Even holidays cease to be holidays after a while—and not so great a while. It is not hours of work that pall upon us, it is hours of leisure, so long as our work is effectively and decently ordered. Let us therefore nurse no illusions about idleness. After the war, there must not only be the work to carry on the day-to-day business of living in a complicated and congested civilization, but there must be more work to provide for the replacement and restoration, in a fitter, finer fashion, of all the capital—in houses, public buildings, public utilities and their contents—destroyed in the war. A full day's work and for a while, at least, even more will be necessary then as now.

And beyond this, if we are to achieve our hopes and forge the armour of light, everyone will have to work for the community in some way or another for nothing. What we seek can only be gained by voluntary work, which is work of love. Only such work will have the purpose, the keenness, the versatility, the adaptability, nay the strength, which can arrive at the desired end. The work will arise in such large volume that no longer must it be left to a few public-spirited individuals, who through local authority, or

organized charity or propagandist society, have so far served the turn. What excuse is there for relieving anyone of his share of the task of tidying up his street; protecting his park or public garden; caring for his neighbour in misfortune; making sure no one is forgotten; watching against abuse among those in authority, small even more than great; doing something to beautify and adorn his surroundings, which all may share; as well as serving on representative bodies charged with government in all its forms, political, social, religious, industrial, economic. This would make a genuine democrat of him.

Once a year, it would be a good plan to set aside a sort of feast-day on which all the people of a city, a town or a village went outside for a picnic and had a look at it. It is not easy to get into a frame of mind in which life and its setting are seen from the outside. Yet it were a salutary medicine, which, taken collectively on an appointed day, might have extraordinarily beneficial effects. Think of all the inhabitants pointing out to each other where their neighbourhood had gone wrong and arguing what they should do to set it right. Think of all the inhabitants with their hearts set on improvement, on the manner

by which their neighbourhood could be made more attractive and convenient, a better place to live in. What eyesores would want removing, what trees would want trimming and planting, what shame would fall upon the householder who, for some supposed whim or advertisement or dignity, made his house jar with those of his fellows, what a tidying up there would be. There could not fail to be discovered dozens of jobs which will only be done, if the inhabitants then and there agree to do them for themselves and share them out because they are in the common interest. First lend an eye, then lend a hand.

The village, which is the pride of the English country, particularly demands such attention. Who shall see that the village green is always respected, that litter is suppressed, that wild flowers are not ruthlessly despoiled, that motor-cars park only at the places appointed for them, that the village cross or signpost is clean and bright, that the village boundaries are marked by distinctive trees to assert its pride, that allotments are neat and toolsheds sightly, that the churchyard is a place of rest and gracious memory, that bad and discordant building does not creep in, that corrugated iron and other cheapnesses are restrained

from becoming an active menace, that hedges are layered and kept—these are all material tasks, and after come the human tasks. There should not be anyone who does not feel tied into society with many strands, who does not feel cared for, unless perhaps the rare misanthrope. What a work is that! No wages we can pay can get it done. Are there not plenty of jobs even in a village, which only the villagers themselves, concertedly and unobtrusively, can accomplish?

Beyond, therefore, the daily work for ourselves, the earning of our livelihood, there is some work to be allotted to everyone, maybe one hour a day on the average, whose only reward is its just fulfilment, before the civilization that we are seeking is attained; and if we have to work in person for that civilization we become more familiar and fond of it. We have the pleasure of creating it. 'And God renews his ancient rapture' in and through us.

And still there must be leisure. To all must come times of relaxation, of meditation, of reflection: times in which they may absorb, each in his own way, something fresh and stimulating—whether in gardening, craftsmanship, the practice of some art, the ordering and widening of thought—

for without the input there cannot be the output. There must be no drying up to a fruitless, seedless husk. Even sport and physical fitness, amusement and the tonic of laughter, travel and the comparison that wakens observation, all have their places. There are innumerable varieties of culture, if only the object is rightly pursued, and the means do not obscure the end. Leisure is the foundation of culture and culture means no more perhaps than that wild flowers become garden flowers, and we know that amazing contrast, or that wild animals become domestic animals, a necessary and useful transition to keep us from harm.

It is a tragic reflection that so far all the resplendent civilizations have been raised on a basis of slavery or serfdom. Greece and Rome had large slave populations. Mediæval France and Renaissance Italy were supported by serfs, tied to the soil as cultivators and enjoying mere subsistence. Later the English Eighteenth Century, which earns commendation for itself, had a background of poverty and hardship and squalor not to be faced. The Nineteenth Century, with all its flaunted progress, had its horrible record in factory and slum of which more than the traces remain

as a sorry reminder. Even to-day, the agricultural labourer and the lower paid workers in transport have scarcely made their escape to a standard of life which, thinkingly and knowingly, we could accept and approve.

Meanwhile the machine has multiplied and elaborated itself, so that the rough and arduous work has been enormously lightened, so that a great deal of work of fine quality and exact precision is performed by power-driven automatic tools. Man no longer works unaided. Is it possible that at last a civilization can be reared which will match in splendour the old, and which will not demand a sacrifice from the many for the benefit of the few? Is it possible that at last instead of the slave or the serf there is now a new servant, more capable and more patient, the power-driven machine? We must see to it that it is so. That is the root of democracy: without it democracy were a sham.

There are two pictures that may help towards a realization of the transfiguration that may be expected everywhere.

There is an ironworks in the Midlands where they make spun cast-iron pipes of all sizes. Imagine a large and lofty shed. Along a raised

platform at one end are vats of molten iron continually kept full from pots travelling on an overhead gantry coming from the furnace. Below and stretching across the floor are the cylinders in which the pipes are cast. These can be swiftly rotated. The vat is tilted up until the glowing iron runs down a narrow channel and spills into the rotating cylinder. The spinning motion makes the liquid iron fly out against the sides of the cylinder, and pouring goes on along the length of the cylinder until a layer of iron of the right thickness is reached throughout. Then the spinning continues a little longer until it cools enough to set, and in a few minutes the pipe comes down out of the cylinder on to a roller-way to go to the annealing furnace in which it is hardened and tested. Always there is a stream of pipes on the roller-ways from bright yellow, through orange, red, purple to dull bluish black as the iron cools. No one could seek a better illustration of how ingenuity and machinery have saved labour, of how physical science has been applied to industry, for in the vast and dim space lit by the glowing iron the fewness of the people about is the dominant impression that one carries away.

Or imagine a large assembly plant for, say, a

motor-car. Running transversely across the bright and clean shop are the serried close-packed lines of machines and tools and jigs, each making or finishing or fitting some part, which is carried on stage by stage by a conveyor to its appointed place in the assembly line. Running longitudinally down one side are these assembly lines, where all the parts are put together in their proper sequence as the platform moves slowly along, so that the whole process of construction can be seen at a glance by walking down the assembly line from start to finish. All the machines and tools and jigs, all the conveyors and belts—and there may be two thousand or more—seem to cease to exist as separate entities, and the whole shop reveals itself as one complex, co-ordinated machine with its human attendants humouring and watching it perform its labours.

These are the blessings of capital ! Those who indulge in propaganda about capital seem always to think of it in terms of money. Whereas the last thing capital wants to be is money, for as money it is dead. They might almost be said to regard the stock or share certificate as the capital itself, when it is no more than a receipt for it. Capital is the whole framework or structure within which

we live and work and seek a good life. There is only brute existence without capital. We should be glad that the capital invested and applied to building up our civilization has doubled in the last twenty-five years, though we may regret that it is not yet so great, proportionate to the respective populations, as that invested and applied in the United States of America. The more capital, the better chance of a higher civilization, if it is properly and publicly ordered, but alas, some is misused and misapplied. Our civilization may be likened to a coral reef which is built up by the secretions of millions and millions of tiny insects. The whole nutriment and activity of the colony depends upon the coral reef growing and renewing itself. Each insect has its place in the reef; each must contribute its share. The likeness may go farther, for the reef may rise above the sea and gather soil. The wind-borne seeds of trees and shrubs and flowers take root and grow and the birds and insects come, and it carries, like a crown, a world of which it knows little and which it never understands, like a heaven of the imagination to which it may aspire.

Yet capital and the return upon capital are to be distinguished. The system by which capital took

the balance of the product after meeting all claims seems now a failure; partly because the claims grow so large and vehement that capital may not get a due share and starve, and partly because capital should have a defined and limited share as befits the servant. It is excess or deficiency which once more marks the fault.

This is said to be a three per cent war. What is the price for peace? Out of the total national income it seems that 63 per cent goes as salaries and wages and 37 per cent as rents, interest and profits. There is room for some adjustment in this proportion without harm. A lower return on capital would increase the share of labour. It is, however, well to remember that the return on capital is the basis of all insurance, of all pension and superannuation funds, of all reserves whether of industrial undertakings or trade unions, of all arrangements for security of one sort or another, which depend upon the provision of growing sums of money at some future date. It has become the groundwork of the social structure which cannot be cut out without causing its collapse. What we have to ensure is that capital works, and works hard. The obligation falls as much across it as across labour.

So we come back to the doctrine of work. No longer can we tolerate those who are neglectful, slovenly, careless at their job. They are diminishing the value of their output. No longer can we tolerate those who are slack or perfunctory in the execution of their task. They are lowering the standard of livelihood for all. No longer can we tolerate those who take a day off for this or that pleasure, or for sheer laziness. They are spoiling the civilization that we seek. No longer can we tolerate the idler and the waster. They are withholding from all, part of a good life. Such are the enemies of the people. Society itself must by its manners and customs enforce a discipline which no one will lightly dare challenge. Rules and regulations are of small avail. Society must bring to bear honour and shame, which are social attributes ; praise and blame, which are social expressions. Above all, religion must enter in as the bonds of society constraining everyone eagerly to serve the desired end. Religion must find its realization not in a church apart but in a community united to reach heaven here and now, or at least such closest approach to it as the tribulations and trials of this world will permit. The war has taught and enforced this lesson. Unless there is

foresight in planning, thoroughness in preparation, perseverance and attention to detail in execution, quickness to seize an advantage, mishaps must continue to overtake our arms and victory will be grievously postponed. War should not be a matter of gallant improvisation and heroic sacrifice. The more heroism there is, the less war. War is an affair of grim and sober business. The Germans wage war with the tenacity, the fierceness, the inflexibility of termites, always with a single object at a time. Peace, on its part, is an affair of firm and steady work. The qualities demanded by war are no less demanded by peace. Just as war should not depend on heroism so peace should not depend on charity. Heroism and charity there will be, but they must be works of supererogation, not of necessity.

Work, then, there must be, and more work. It seems a severe doctrine. Let us dwell for a moment on its brighter aspect. William Morris preached this doctrine over fifty years ago, but he preached it as a revival of handicraft. He was appalled and frightened at the mischiefs that machinery in its first exuberance was doing. He could see no joy or pleasure in the work of the factory. He saw the vigour and feeling of the

craftsman disappearing into a 'hand'. He saw creative purpose perishing. Luckily we have learnt much since then. We know that there is skill to be employed, amenities to be conserved, utilities undreamt of to be created through the factory. What he taught is true, but true, by the shift of experience, of this mechanistic industrialized age in which we live, if we will make it so. The doctrine of work becomes a gospel of work, if we will add to it the quality and sentiment which make of the simplest things something beautiful as well as useful, fit for their purpose and fit also for civilized man. Was God 'afraid to make an ear of wheat beautiful lest it should not have been good to eat'? 'Art is not a mere adjunct of life, which free and happy men can do without, but the necessary expression and indispensable instrument of human happiness.'

Only by work and more work can we rise above our £200 civilization. We must produce more net value of output, for it is certain that no one can receive more than they give, when the inexorable balance is one day struck. The day of judgment is every day. What price are we prepared to put upon this civilization we are seeking? The test of our sincerity will be the

glad acceptance of this condition of success, work,—and it is assumed to be work with all our resources and intelligence applied to its furtherance. So shall the armour of light be forged, proof against adversity and foe; and man shall walk freely about the earth in happiness and security. Only by our own efforts—everyone's effort—can the goal be reached.

> Man is not changed by whitewashing or gilding his habitation; a people cannot be regenerated by teaching them the worship of enjoyment; they cannot be taught a spirit of sacrifice by speaking to them of material rewards. . . . The Utopian may see afar from a hill, the distant land, which will give society a virgin soil and a purer air; his duty is to point it out with a gesture and a word to his brothers; but he cannot take humanity in his arms and carry it there in a single bound; even if this were in his power, humanity would not therefor have progressed.

SUMMARY OF A PROGRAMME

1. To liberalize our notions of democracy by assimilating the fruitful experiments of ally and adversary; and by enlarging democracy to cover social, industrial, and economic fields, with appropriate institutions.

2. To explore ways and means by which the several nations of Europe may collaborate together economically, culturally and protectively to secure a larger integration than the national state.

3. To define the steps to be taken now to extend dominion status to all portions of the Empire, and in particular to prevent any exploitation of colonies and dependencies, to abolish privilege and preference, and to establish with proper safeguards the policy of the open door.

4. To build an economic foundation for free trade, or at least for much freer trade, among nations, and to determine the conditions under which it can operate.

5. To think out a consumer's economy, unwarped by preparations for war, and based on a high standard of living.

6. To devise the skeletal framework of a supranational state and to draft the guiding principles to govern its action in broad elastic terms.

7. To reaffirm what is meant by freedom, to reconsider its necessary limitations for the individual, the

group, the association and the state, to ensure unity amid diversity and variety with order.

8. To reconstruct the administration of the country so as to limit bureaucracy, and to find democratic organs for social, industrial, economic and other questions not political, duly subordinated to Parliament.

9. To determine the social measures necessary to ensure security for livelihood, home, family life in all the contingencies of daily living, so long as they are accidental and undeserved.

10. To set a standard of living, the highest that may be afforded, including in any event an optimum standard of nutrition, and to draw up a plan for its realization and advancement.

11. To find for modern society a form in and through which it can express itself in all its manifold activities, in harmony, in a new social pattern.

12. To discover the bonds by which modern society may be integrated and made to feel its solidarity and unity.

13. To treat the maintenance of health as a public utility under a state service, so that none can fall out of skilled and competent care and treatment.

14. To enforce a social contract which sets out the duties of the citizen as well as his rights, the rights of the state as well as its responsibilities.

15. To analyse the form and purpose of education and to relate it both to the labour of life and to the art or skill of living well.

16. To associate education with character and opportunity at all stages and to provide that, in every sphere of endeavour, advancement comes to the capable and diligent.

17. To design the institutional type of school, through which education may be available to all ages and all capacities, as a centre of ascending effort.

18. To reconsider what is meant by a church as the expression of the hopes and aims of society and to find for it full and useful institutional value in the community without respect to denomination or belief.

19. To revive a Christian hegemony in Europe and to refashion a commonly accepted code of manners and morals upon which reliance can be placed.

20. To set out the agricultural basis upon which the country is to live and to define and encourage the home and overseas shares.

21. To contrive a pooling of world resources on equable terms to avoid the strife of nations for economic advantage or territorial acquisition.

22. To plan on a regional basis the rebuilding of Britain as a piece of demi-paradise.

23. To convert a mercantile economy into a true political economy, and to discipline money so that it becomes a tool or servant.

24. To turn leisure into a means of culture as well as pleasure, and to direct its activities towards the welfare of the community.

25. To celebrate, in such form as will have emotional and aesthetic significance, the restoration of civilization ; to give to it its festivals and commemorations in which all may take part.

26. To complete the idea of a commonwealth of nations, so that all may understand and appreciate its obligations and privileges.

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