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## IRELAND AND A PEOPLE'S PEACE

メタデータ	言語: 出版者: 公開日: 2018-04-16 キーワード (Ja): 矢内原忠雄 キーワード (En): Yanaihara Tadao 作成者: - メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	<a href="http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12000/38417">http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12000/38417</a>

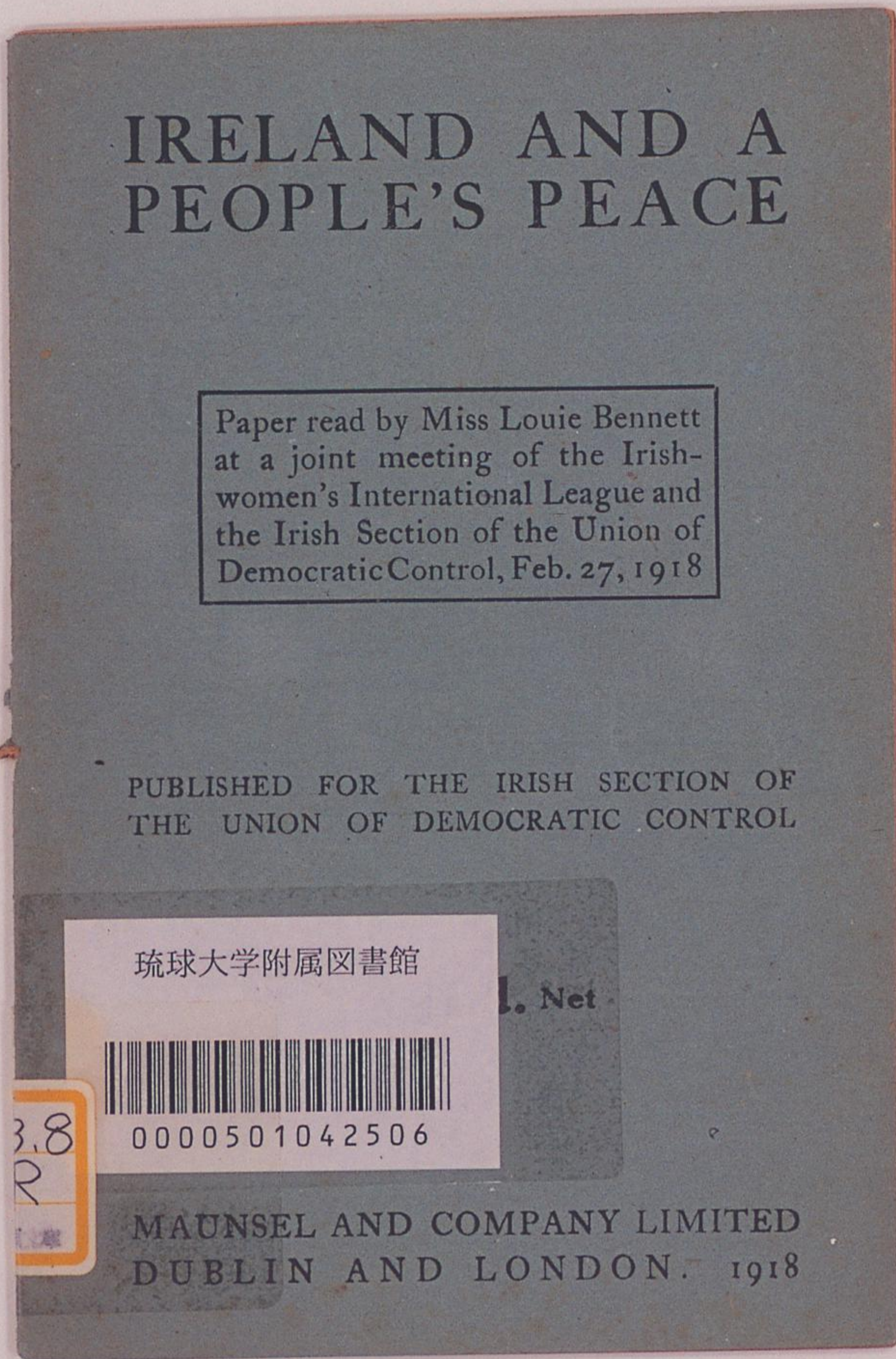
# 矢内原忠雄文庫

史料名	IRELAND AND A PEOPLE'S PEACE 1918
封筒番号	669
原文所蔵者	琉球大学附属図書館
撮影年月日	平成17年12月5日
撮影者	富士写真フイルム 株式会社
備考	

# 矢内原忠雄文庫

封筒番号：669

史料名	IRELAND AND A PEOPLES PEACE 1918
資料形態	新書版変形
枚数	10
页数	20
縦 (cm)	17.6
横 (cm)	11.6
厚さ (cm)	
書誌的事項	今泉分類記号：P



# IRELAND AND A PEOPLE'S PEACE

Paper read by Miss Louie Bennett  
at a joint meeting of the Irish-  
women's International League and  
the Irish Section of the Union of  
Democratic Control, Feb. 27, 1918

PUBLISHED FOR THE IRISH SECTION OF  
THE UNION OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL

琉球大学附属図書館

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0000501042506

MAUNSEL AND COMPANY LIMITED  
DUBLIN AND LONDON. 1918



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### NOTE

Already there are in Ireland many individuals and groups thinking along similar lines to the writer of this pamphlet, who might well sink old differences on other questions and unite to promote the common cause of Democracy. We claim that the Union of Democratic Control provides us with a platform broad enough for many different political creeds. It was founded in England shortly after the outbreak of war, and its Cardinal Points, which embody principles held by Internationalists in every country, were formulated with a view to influencing British opinion.

The Irish Section of the Union consists of Irish men and women who desire to express from an Irish point of view their conviction that these principles are essential to both National and International progress. If readers of this pamphlet, who find themselves in general agreement, will communicate with any of the undersigned it will be much appreciated.

LOUIE BENNETT }  
JAMES G. DOUGLAS } *Hon. Secs.*  
JOHN MACKIE, *Hon. Treasurer.*

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The Five Cardinal Points of the Union of Democratic Control will be found on page 3 of cover.

### IRELAND AND A PEOPLE'S PEACE

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We are all conscious of a stir of new life in Ireland in these past few years manifesting itself in various reformative and progressive tendencies, and in considerable mental activity and independent thinking. Much discussion has centred round this new spirit in our national life. And all of us, whatever be our political creed, are keenly anxious to direct it into channels which may lead to the harmonizing of the discordant elements in the National Being. But until we trace its origin and visualize its goal, we shall not find that common platform upon which Irishmen of different creeds and politics can meet in a common desire for the welfare of the Irish people. That common platform cannot be found in artificial compromises. It will only be found in some conception larger and more comprehensive than Irish Nationalism or Imperial loyalties; in some concrete expression of ideals and principles which are essential to the welfare of humanity as a whole. The thought and sympathies of modern man, pushing out towards ever larger conceptions of life, are gradually extending the purposes of Nationalism so as to bring it into harmony with the larger ideals of Internationalism. For a century and more, a new vision of civilization, new, though springing from old and deep sources, has been subtly penetrating the mind of man, subtly shaping the course of the eternal struggle of humanity towards higher levels of life. If the new spirit in Ireland be sound and permanent, we shall find its inspiration in that vision, and perceive its goal to be the common goal of humanity—a finer and nobler order of civilization.

To-day a revolutionary ferment is stirring in the bewildered minds of the European nations, kindling a blaze of idealism in the hearts of the peoples before which the vices of Imperialism must presently shrink abashed, and drawing from the welter of the war the conception of an association of nations co-operating for the good of all. In this revolutionary ferment we divine the birth of a new civilization. And however passionately self-centred Nationalist Ireland may seem to be, however remote from any conscious alliance with this ferment, it becomes increasingly obvious that her fate is inextricably linked with it, and that the freedom and happiness of her people hang upon the ultimate triumph of the principles it strives to make articulate. For the moment, democratic nationalism in Ireland gropes for an outlet, but it must eventually win its way to the light, and our ideal will rise from "Ireland a Nation" to "Ireland a Nation amongst Nations," Ireland a co-operative factor in that International League which is to realize the new and far-reaching conceptions of civilization now growing in men's minds. As James Connolly has been at pains to point out in his book, *Labour in Ireland*, Ireland has always reacted to the ferment of revolution in Europe. The present time is no exception. Now, as in the past, the spirit of Ireland shows itself instinctively, if unconsciously, international, responsive to the bugle call of freedom from whatever land it may come. We in Ireland, in common with other peoples, are confusedly aware to-day of the emergence of new perspectives, new ideals, new theories of life, and are turning to them with the desperate hope of horror-stricken souls. But it is not possible to point out the methods by which they may be attained either in our own land or elsewhere until we understand what are the forces which have led mankind to this new vision of the world's objectives.

I wish now to suggest a line of thought which may illumine Ireland's place in the revolutionary movement of to-day, and show how, through it, she may achieve

independence and full self-expression, and find a common national purpose in the promotion of the democratic ideals which have become the hope of an agonized world.

The passion for freedom, so powerful a factor in human life, is a symptom of growth, the inspiration of progress. The desire for freedom is far from being purposeless: it is intrinsically synonymous with the human instinct to find fuller development of powers and aptitudes. Its methods of expression may often be crude, violent, morally unjustifiable; but it nevertheless constitutes man's highest goal. In trying to trace, therefore, the growth of real civilization, we trace the progress of the ideal of freedom. But it is of primary importance to note that all progress towards freedom involves the subordination of lesser liberties as a means to the attainment of the higher. We mount to freedom on the ladder of law. The individual consents to the control and limitation of his personal freedom for sake of the greater freedom of the community: the community yields for the nation: the nation for humanity. *To-day the struggle for freedom centres round the problem of national or imperial concessions in the interests of humanity.*

Each age makes its struggle for freedom in its own way. In our modern age the struggle has found its inspiration in two great principles—Nationality and Democracy. These principles cannot be considered apart from each other. They are interdependent. One cannot exist without the other. Democratic institutions within a subject nation are inconceivable. And only from a democracy can we hope for the honest application of the principle of Nationality. Each has a similar aim—freedom for self-determination and self-development. But democracy has already found its watchwords—international solidarity, international co-operation—whereas Nationality is only to-day beginning to appreciate the vital significance of Interdependence, and to perceive that the freedom of nations can only be maintained under some form of International government animated by the spirit of co-operation.

Nationality and Democracy emerged as the most immediate objectives of human progress towards the close of the eighteenth century. Subject nations and subject classes began then to define their desires in terms definite enough to give pause to the forces of tyranny and aggression. And from that time the struggle for freedom has continued unceasingly, sometimes subtly and unperceived, sometimes in violent upheaval. Imperialism and Capitalism have marched together from one obvious triumph to another: but all the while the twin spirits of Nationality and Democracy have been subtly undermining their strongholds just as a stream running secretly through a bed of limestone fatally saps its foundations. The War of American Independence gave reality to the theory of the right of every people to determine their own destiny. The French Revolution threw out the great banner of "Liberty, Fraternity, Equality." The Revolution failed, but its ideal persisted and has been as yeast in the minds of men. The kings and diplomats who presided over the Congress of Vienna chose to ignore the claims of Nationality and Democracy; they parcelled out Europe as it best pleased them, regardless of national or human aspirations, and thus laid up a heritage of wars and revolts dear in cost to life and treasure. But the love of freedom drew new life from sacrifice. Those twin principles proved themselves unconquerable forces, and as the nineteenth century progressed they drew to their allegiance many different minds, many different movements, and found expression in various and unexpected forms. Even from the ranks of the reactionaries many groups and individuals, swayed by the thrilling appeal of socialism, of humanitarianism, or of nationalism, came half way to meet those who were struggling fiercely for their "rights." Thus at the beginning of the present century it was possible to conceive of a gradual and peaceful social revolution through the absorption of new ideals into the mind and conscience of the people and a consequent pressure upon dominant forces which should compel extensions of national and human liberty on all sides. Through trade

unionism, socialism, and the co-operative movement, the proletariats were winning their own emancipation, helped not a little by science, education, and the spread of humanitarian ideas. Imperial powers were beginning to show a half-hearted recognition of the rights of peoples to determine their own destiny—most notably perhaps in the British Empire, where the slow conversion of colonies into dominions, of empire into federation, was most advanced. And, at the outbreak of the war, the substitution of reason for force in international affairs (as shown, for instance, in the increasing practice of conferences, arbitration and arbitration treaties) had become sufficiently usual for liberal Statesmen to look forward to the gradual enthronement of public right as a governing factor in interstate relations.

Looking back over the past century, when men were rushed along the road of material progress too rapidly to allow of the adjustment of facts with ideas, of methods with purpose, it is strange to note how education and science, by creating innumerable methods of intercourse and bonds of common interest among the peoples, were making some sort of co-operative League of Nations an imperative necessity, from the moral, the intellectual, and the practical point of view. We might despair of a League of Nations were it merely a moral conception (for it is, in fact, an outcome of morality's long groping towards the elimination of force in human relationships); but, like so many human ideals that are primarily moral, this one, too, is more and more clearly seen to be based on practical necessity, created by the powers of destruction which science is placing in the hands of man. And we may, in fact, fairly claim it to be the ultimate object of the great struggle for freedom which has centred round the problems of Nationality and Democracy.

But whilst this gradual building up of the foundations of a new civilization proceeded, the forces of reaction were not idle. It was possible for them to draw immense reinforcements from all the educational, scientific, and industrial developments of the last century. Whilst the

ideals of co-operation and fraternity were creeping into life, competition, aggression and exploitation still dominated the world, and the votaries of power were too preoccupied with their mutual antagonisms to foresee that the new social forces might become their most dangerous foe. Their only fear was of each other; their main concern, to meet schemes of Imperialistic and commercial aggressions with counter-schemes; and meantime small nationalities would remain powerless against the mailed fist, and the under-dog of democracy could always be kept quiet with a bone.

It was inevitable that an International system devoid of morality, which acknowledged no fundamental principle of liberty or public right, and made of life a game of grab played by diplomacy or force, should end in some violent cataclysm such as the war of to-day. And so entangled are all the interests and activities of mankind that on the outbreak of war in 1914, democrats and the friends of liberty were all alike caught up in the vortex; and for a time it seemed as if all the new, growing ideals had been swept away. But a few faithful held fast, showing a quite remarkable insight as to the essential issues of the crisis. And, in the course of time, by a strange combination of circumstances, the principles of Nationality and Democracy have been swept up to the surface of a struggle which is fundamentally Imperialistic, and have become the battle-cries of the belligerents: reactionaries pay lip-service at their shrine, and herald them as dominant factors in a "reconstructed" world. It remains for the workers of the world to carry the process of compulsory conversion from profession to action.

These big words, Nationality and Democracy, now so lightly tossed about, raise tremendous issues. It must prove a formidable task to translate them into realities, to apply them in particular cases.

Our hope of ultimately achieving this lies in the fact that there exists in every country a section of the people who are agreed on certain fundamental points as essential to any

regeneration of our social system, and who are organized to make them the controlling factors of the Peace Settlement.

These points are:—

1. The right of all nations to determine their own destiny.
2. The right of the people in every nation to control (through Parliament) their government in foreign and home affairs, and to be kept informed of the treaties to which they are pledged. In a word, democratic control.
3. The application of the principle of International Co-operation in the form of a League of Free Nations, existing to promote the well-being of humanity as a whole, and to conduct International affairs by methods of negotiation, conciliation, and arbitration.
4. The substitution of reason for force as the basis of government, in fact as well as theory, by the gradual reduction and elimination of armaments.
5. The establishment of the practice of justice in the economic relations of peoples, so as to ensure the equal rights of all peoples to a share in the earth's treasures, and a system of mutual interchange of essential products.

Obviously, the world-programme outlined under these headings, rests upon the principles of Nationality and Democracy, and it is, in fact, a proclamation of a political and economic moral code which must be carried right through all human affairs before we can attain a pacific civilization.

Ireland has ever been in the current that makes for freedom. The Irish people have proved passionate lovers of liberty, neither to be bought nor terrified. Our country has been a centre of the long struggle of Nationality and Democracy; and, although the national issue has inevitably dominated the situation, almost all our great political leaders, from Wolfe Tone to Pearse and Connolly, have been



democrats, have coupled the freedom of the nation with the freedom of the men and women who constitute the nation. And it has been the peasants, the common people, who have always most selflessly, most loyally, and most persistently upheld the national cause. In fact, it may be said that the cause of Nationalism in Ireland has been the cause of the common people, for, throughout the nineteenth century, the Irish capitalist class was bound to England by a multitude of ties, and joined issue with England against the Nationalist element. In the period which can most aptly be compared with the present day, the period of the American War of Independence and the French Revolution, Wolfe Tone was promulgating Republican principles, and North and South, Protestant and Catholic, were fighting a common foe, the oppressive rule of a capitalistic foreign government. The great democratic upheaval which convulsed Europe at the end of the eighteenth century, had its reverberation in Ireland, and gave a common cause to the Irish people, whether in Ulster or Connaught. And so when men talk to-day of a new spirit in Ireland, they are surely in error to suppose it purely insular, the product of yesterday's Rising or of an intermixture of race. This new spirit is Ireland's expression of the universal, liberating movement which has been at work in the world for more than a century. And it is worth noting that, whilst in France, England, and Germany, this movement has manifested itself chiefly in industrial struggles and social reforms, in Ireland it bloomed out in an efflorescence of art, literature, and drama, in the development of a Celtic culture, and in the conscious building up of a National Being materially and intellectually strong. Ireland was unique amongst the nations at the beginning of the present century: whilst other peoples toiled towards emancipation along the dull road of reform, the soul of Ireland soared up into freedom on a flame of national genius.

It is futile now to discuss the folly or the wisdom, the crime or the heroism, of events in this country during the past few years. But it is immensely important to prove

that the Irish people, in their errors, follies, heroisms or virtues have been instinctively true to the principle of freedom in so far as they understand it. What they have done, they have done for the sake of freedom. And here it is that they may take their place beside all lovers of liberty, beside all those who have consistently upheld their vision of liberty against reactionary forces, whether in their own country or another. For they have not been guilty of standing aside from that fundamental struggle of ideas which cuts across the outward conflict of armies, goes on in spite of it, and bids fair now to control it. This is the one great struggle that really matters—this struggle of ideas. In the sense in which it is merely a conflict of Great Powers, the actual war matters not at all. It matters only in so far as it may be made to serve the purposes of freedom. And when the forces of destruction have spent themselves, when the influence of reason is once more felt, and men look out on their shattered world with vision sharpened by terrible experience, Ireland's part in the deeper struggle of justice and liberty against materialism will be more clearly perceived.

To-day issues face her demanding more purposeful thinking, more consciously international action. If she is to win real freedom, she must range herself with the forces of Internationalism and Democracy, and make their programme hers. "Without Internationalism in spirit and in practice," says Mr. Charles Trevelyan, "there is no future for democracy." And we would add: Without democracy in spirit and in practice there is no future for nationality. The Peace Conference will determine world conditions for the coming generation. *Therefore the character of that Conference is the first vital issue to be fought by lovers of liberty.* If the world is to be made safe for democracy and for the weaker nations, democracy's programme must control the Peace Conference.

The programme is before us. How far can it be Ireland's programme?

Even if the issues of civilization did not concern Ireland, and her whole interests were really centred on the attainment of independence, she must still for that one issue alone rely on the triumph of democracy at the Peace Conference. For the measure of independence granted her and the measure of her future security, will be proportionate to the influence of democracy's programme at that Conference. It is, therefore, more vitally essential for Nationalist Ireland to help in making the Conference truly democratic than to secure the representation of her own delegates. *The cause of Ireland must be incorporated with the cause of International Democracy.* It would be futile to send delegates from Ireland in the simple rôle of Nationalists; if they go there they must go as the advocates of the new International Code. Therefore Ireland should adopt as her own the five principles already cited, and organize a movement to promote them.

It was never more urgent than now that the progressive parties should be alert and watchful. The Imperialists may easily outwit a halting antagonist. They still hold the cards; they are growingly apprehensive of their new peril, and may negotiate peace terms whilst Democracy is still mobilizing its forces. It is just here that the danger of secret diplomacy becomes markedly apparent, and the wisdom of those who have consistently opposed it finds justification. For if the peace terms are hatched in secret, then the Imperialists will assuredly play into each others hands as they have done in the past, bargaining with nations and peoples and building walls round the interests and privileges of capitalists and financiers against which Democracy may batter in vain for another generation.

There has been a tendency in Ireland to disregard the principle of democratic control of foreign policy as being outside her present sphere of interest and influence. It is, however, a point of vital importance to her. The results of secret diplomacy might well, at such a crisis as the present, prove fatal to her freedom and happiness, for Ireland will surely be used as a pawn in the diplomatic game if the

settlement is controlled only by Government Ministers and Bureaucrats. The people of this country must be as firm in their stand for truth and candour as in their stand for the rights of nationalities. "*Diplomacy shall proceed frankly in the public view.*" "*Open covenants of peace openly arrived at.*" President Wilson has given us the phrases. But only the democracies will give us the realities.

This principle of democratic control is the keynote of our whole programme, and has a particularly important bearing upon the proposal for a League of Nations. For such a League could be no more successful than the Holy Alliance if it were free from the control of an informed and undeceived public opinion. *For Ireland the initiation of a League of Nations based on sound principles is not one whit less essential than the recognition of the rights of small nationalities. No small nation can maintain an independent existence in security until some International Council has been set up whose function it will be to ensure justice towards all peoples.* The Sinn Féin programme shows weakness in its failure to perceive that Ireland cannot stand alone in a world such as our modern world, whose component parts are drawn ever more closely together by innumerable ties, material and spiritual. Sinn Féin should have preached the gospel of Interdependence as persistently as that of Nationality, and coupled the claim for a League of Nations with the claim for national independence. This would have placed Ireland unmistakably in line with the democratic forces of the world, and secured for her their entire and unhesitating support. As it is, Sinn Féin sets Ireland as an isolated plaintiff at the bar of the nations instead of making her an active partner in the great democratic alliance which aims at the common uplift of all subject elements in human society to a higher level of freedom. Sinn Féin has suffered, as other political parties suffer, from the vice of compromise. They had not the vision nor the courage to throw expediency to the winds and stand firm upon bedrock principles. They overlooked the new factor of Internationalism just as they shrank from uncompromising

alliance with Democracy. James Connolly was the one leader who followed with sympathy and understanding the new orientation of world affairs, and might have brought Ireland more definitely and boldly into line with International Democracy. For he clearly saw how all the intricate developments and expansions of modern life were drawing the two factors of Nationalism and Internationalism into ever closer co-operation: saw, too, that the ideal implicit in their co-operation can only be translated into reality by the power of Democracy. The theories he flung out to an uncomprehending public must eventually dominate civilized Ireland.

*The primary aim of Democracy is economic justice.* It must also become the primary aim of Nationalists and Internationalists if nations are ever to live in security, or the world to be freed from exterminating wars and the crushing burden of militarism. Whilst the economic basis of society is unjust and non-moral, nations as well as individuals will be subject to exploitation and tyranny. Fundamentally, the source of national wrongs is economic: the source of war and militarism is also economic. But the system must be attacked at the roots. It will be impossible to establish a code of economic morality amongst nations until that code has been established amongst individuals. When economic justice prevails within communities, it will inevitably pervade international relationships. Imperialists, capitalists, financiers, cannot be expected to envisage such a code with open or unwarped minds. Only the democracies have in any sense won the vision of freedom which grants full opportunities of self-development to nation, class, and individual. Only the democracies have from harsh experience learned something of the true meaning and value of the principles of freedom of opportunity and co-operation, and recognize them as fundamental to communal morality. But obviously these are also the principles which must be the pillars of any stable society of nations. Therefore, the friends of Internationalism are looking to Democracy for the achievement of their ends.

It is interesting to note how the thinkers who first formulated this programme have gradually been driven back to fundamentals and forced to realize that the rights of nations will never be acknowledged by communities which refuse freedom of life and opportunity to individuals; and that until we have ousted commercial competition by a system of industrial co-operation, the exploitation of weaker peoples will continue, free trade will remain a mirage, and a pacific civilization impossible. The perception of this truth is drawing the thinkers into ever closer association with the workers, and the men of ideas are relying upon the men of tools to realize their ideas. This coalition of brain and manual workers is one of the most significant and fertile signs of the times. It gives substance to the conception of human society as a community of co-operative commonwealths united in the service of humanity under some form of international government. A conception which sounds Utopian. But in these days of rapid and extraordinary changes, what idea may be dismissed as merely Utopian? The pressure of material necessities created by the war, the instinct of self-preservation which modern war methods must surely arouse, and the new alliance of intellect and labour may carry us more rapidly than we now anticipate to the realization of many Utopian conceptions.

At first sight one might say that to substitute co-operation for competition in commercial and industrial life—to open up the world's markets for the equal benefit of all—to give to every nation the right of self-determination—to bring the nations together into conclave for the joint settlement of disputes and joint deliberation on international affairs—would eliminate causes for serious quarrel and leave the sword to rust in its scabbard. But this revolution in human thought and purpose cannot be attained without a prolonged struggle against old-established forces. We have to escape from a series of vicious circles. The system of armaments with its many ramifications—such as complex financial interests, the restless energy of scientists and

inventors, the subtle social influences of army and navy, the vast industrial army employed in the trade—would be used by the reactionaries to block all the reforms which threatened its existence.

Plainly therefore, *Ireland must adopt the full programme of Democracy.* It is on the tide of International Democracy that she will eventually be swept to freedom. As long ago as 1907, a writer in a weekly paper run by Kettle and Sheehy-Skeffington wrote:—"It is to Ireland's final gain to keep herself in touch with the democracies of Europe, to share their enthusiasms and hopes, to assimilate the spirit of a growing humanism which is uniting the peoples of the world, in spite of all the tawdry Imperialisms, and which promises more for human well-being in the end than all the Jingoism in their narrow hearts could ever dream of." That is still more true to-day than ten years ago. It is to Ireland's final individual gain to act in unity with these progressive forces, for in so doing she may attain unity within her own borders. Arguments and compromise will never achieve harmony. Our need is for a common purpose, large enough to draw to it men of various religious and political creeds. The great ideas now stirring men's minds cannot leave either Nationalist or Imperialist Ireland unchanged. The new vision emerging now upon the world's horizon does in fact suggest a solution for the "Ulster Problem." For this big conception of nations co-operating for the good of all, of an International Council existing to safeguard the rights of the weaker peoples and of minorities, must gradually lift the whole Irish question into a freer atmosphere in which old problems will be freshly illuminated. The outlook of the most bigoted elements of Ulster as of the most extreme Sinn Féiner must eventually, sensibly or insensibly, be modified by these ideas; and it is inconceivable that the mass of workers in Ulster will for long stand aside from the rising tide of freedom and remain the bondservants of Imperialism and Capitalism. To toiling proletariats the appeal of an economic revolution must prove irresistible. And as in the past, the people of

Ulster joined with the people of the other three Provinces to fight a common wrong, so now they may all stand together for the common cause of International Democracy.

*And that common cause itself needs the allegiance of Ireland.* We of this country can make a valuable contribution to its real success. The history and circumstances of the Irish people have deepened in them the characteristics of unworldliness, of idealism, of capacity for self-sacrifice; and these qualities, coupled with a strong religious sense, have given them something of the Russian people's aptitude for revolutionary thinking and revolutionary action. Again, the National struggle, by creating a bond of sympathy amongst men and women of all classes, has saved Irish workers from narrow and embittered concentration upon the class struggle; and they may therefore well serve the cause of Democracy by bringing to it a broader conception of its range. (For assuredly the proletariats cannot make the world safe for themselves or for any other class by limiting their interests to their own particular needs.) Further, our comparative freedom from the commercialism and industrialism which breeds materialism in England, and from the mechanical system of organization which fosters militarism in Germany, has left us a larger measure of idealism and hopefulness with which to approach the formidable task of reconstruction. In fine, the gift of Ireland to "the growing humanism which is uniting the peoples of the world" is "a sprig of poetry." The cause of Democracy is the cause of life. And life without poetry is joyless and meaningless.

We who preach these doctrines will be reproached as visionaries. But it is time we ceased to fear idealism. For see what a world has been created by our subservience to expediency and compromise! And in these last few terrible years so many scoffed at ideals have been accepted as "practical" that we have grounds for reasserting our faith in such theories as the freedom of nations, economic justice, co-operation, fraternity. It is our task to-day to uphold ideas against materialism. The power of ideas is

immeasurable. Men and movements and revolutions rise and fall, but the ideas which inspired them, in so far as they are pure, are imperishable. The Russian Revolution may fail; the Bolsheviks may be overwhelmed: but the ideas for which they have stood will persist and come to fulfilment, if not in this generation, then in the next. President Wilson may be proved a reactionary, faithless to democracy and liberalism: but the ideas he has made articulate in arresting phrases will not be degraded nor permanently denied. From Russia and America the basic principles of the new civilization have been proclaimed. All that materialism can do by force or intrigue to destroy them will assuredly be done. But we, to whom they have come home with conviction are bound to do battle for them unflinchingly, and to take our part, however small, in making them the dominant factors of the world's life. Each of us has some power to mould and direct public opinion; and it is public opinion which will give the impetus to the translation of our principles into concrete expression.

We who call ourselves Democrats are aiming at a social revolution. But we must first effect a revolution in thought. No revolution is permanently achieved by violence: such violence, even in the name of freedom, is tyranny. We do not aspire to the freedom which disclaims law, but to the freedom which has assimilated and transcended law. Therefore our immediate task is to spread far and wide in Ireland the principles of International Democracy.

## THE UNION OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL

*The Five Cardinal Points in the policy of the Union of Democratic Control are as follows:—*

To formulate and organize support for such a policy as shall lead to the establishment and maintenance of an enduring peace. For this purpose, to advocate the following points, and to take any other action which the Council of the Union of Democratic Control may, from time to time, declare to be in furtherance of such policy.

1. No Province shall be transferred from one Government to another without the consent, by plebiscite or otherwise, of the population of such province.
2. No Treaty, Arrangement, or Undertaking shall be entered upon in the name of Great Britain without the sanction of Parliament. Adequate machinery for ensuring democratic control of foreign policy shall be created.
3. The Foreign Policy of Great Britain shall not be aimed at creating Alliances for the purpose of maintaining the Balance of Power, but shall be directed to concerted action between the Powers, and the setting up of an International Council, whose deliberations and decisions shall be public, with such machinery for securing international agreement as shall be the guarantee of an abiding peace.
4. Great Britain shall propose as part of the Peace settlement a plan for the drastic reduction, by consent, of the armaments of all the belligerent Powers, and to facilitate that policy shall attempt to secure the general nationalization of the manufacture of armaments, and the control of the export of armaments by one country to another.
5. The European conflict shall not be continued by economic war after the military operations have ceased. British policy shall be directed towards promoting free commercial intercourse between all nations and the preservation and extension of the principle of the open door.

This pamphlet is published for the Irish Section of the Union of Democratic Control, because it is a valuable contribution to the discussion of the causes of war and means of its avoidance in future. The object of the Union in its pamphlets is to place at the disposal of the public ideas and information which may create a healthy and informed opinion. *But it does not necessarily adopt as its own every statement or opinion therein contained.* The Five Cardinal Points are the only principles to which the members of the Union are collectively pledged.

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