

# What They Are Saying About Peace And War

Premier Lloyd George has restated the terms upon which the British Nation is willing to conclude an honorable and lasting peace. For the first time since August, 1914, the British Premier speaks out on behalf of the nation. Socialists congratulate him on accepting their peace proposal and believe that it is the first step towards a genuine democratic peace. Below you will find his speech compared with President Wilson's, and Lord Lansdowne's letter:

## Not War of Aggression.

"We are not fighting a war of aggression against the German people," declared the premier. "The destruction or disruption of Germany or the German people has never been a war aim with us since the first day of the war to now. The British people never aimed at breaking up the German peoples or the disintegration of their estate. Our wish is not to destroy Germany's great position in the world, but to turn her aside from schemes of military domination to devote her strength to beneficent tasks."

The Premier declared Great Britain was not fighting to take Constantinople from Turkey nor destroy Austria-Hungary. "We are not fighting," he said, "to destroy Austria-Hungary or to deprive Turkey of its capital or the rich lands in Asia Minor and Thrace, which are predominantly Turkish."—Lloyd George.

"We do not desire the annihilation of Germany as a great Power."—Lord Lansdowne.

"The people of Germany are being told by the men whom they now permit to deceive them and to act as their masters that they are fighting for the very life and existence of their Empire a war of desperate self-defence against deliberate aggression. Nothing could be more grossly or wantonly false and we must seek by the utmost openness and candor as to our real aims to convince them of its fairness."—President Wilson.

## Democratic Govt. Needed.

"Our viewpoint," the Premier declared, "is that the adoption of a democratic constitution by Germany would be the most convincing evidence the old spirit of military domination was dead, but that is a question for the German people to decide."

The basis of any territorial settlement must be government with the consent of the governed, the Premier asserted.

As regarded the German constitution, the Premier said Great Britain was not fighting to destroy it, although it was considered a military, autocratic constitution—a dangerous anachronism.—Lloyd George.

"We do not seek to impose upon her people any form of government other than that of their own choice."—Lord Lansdowne.

"The speech of Lloyd George was far more reasonable and calm, it was a speech of a man who felt his tremendous responsibility and who saw clearly, above and behind the battlefield, all the problems which would have to be settled afterward. How much better it would have been if no other than that kind of speech had been delivered since August, 1914."—Jas. Ramsey McDonald.

## Justice for Belgium.

The Premier said the first requirements always made by the British and their allies had been complete restoration of the political, territorial and economic independence of Belgium, and such reparation as could be made for the devastation of its towns. This was no time for indemnity, but he insisted on the fact that before there

could be hope of stable peace the great breach of public law in Europe must be repudiated and so far as possible repaired.

Although we agree with President Wilson that the breaking up of Austria-Hungary is no part of our war aims, he continued, we feel that genuine self-government on true democratic peace should be granted those Austro-Hungarian nationalities who have long desired a fair measure of freedom. If these conditions were fulfilled, Austria-Hungary would become a power whose strength would conduce to the permanent peace and freedom of Europe instead of being an instrument of the pernicious Prussian military autocracy.—Lloyd George.

## When War Will be Won.

"We shall regard the war only as won when the German people say to us, through properly accredited representatives, that they are ready to agree to a settlement based upon justice and the reparation of the wrongs their rulers have done. They have done a wrong to Belgium which must be repaired. They have established a power over other lands and peoples than their own—over the great empire of Austria-Hungary, over hitherto free Balkan states, over Turkey, and within Asia—which must be relinquished."—President Wilson.

"No one pretends that it would be right or opportune for either side to formulate an ultimatum, detailed, exhaustive, precise, with clauses, which to be excepted verbatim et literatim chapter and verse as the indispensable preliminary and condition of peace."—ex-Premier Asquith.

"Reparation means recognition. Unless international right is recognized by insistence or payment for injury done in defiance of its canons, it can never be a reality. Next comes the restoration of Serbia, Montenegro and the occupied parts of France, Italy and Rumania."—Lloyd George.

"What are we fighting for? We are waging war in order to obtain reparation and security."—Lord Lansdowne.

## Justice for Small Nations.

"The complete withdrawal of alien armies and reparation for injustice done is the fundamental condition of a permanent peace. We regard as vital the legitimate claims of the Italians for union with those of their own race and tongue. We also mean to press that justice be done to the men of Rumanian blood and speech."

It is otherwise impossible to remove those causes of unrest in that part of Europe which so long have threatened its genuine peace. Outside of Europe, Mr. Lloyd George went on, he believed the same peace should be applied. He added, while we do not challenge maintenance of the Turkish empire in the home lands of the Turkish race, with its capital, Constantinople; the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, being internationalized and neutralized—Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine are, in our judgment, entitled to recognition of their separate national conditions.—Lloyd George.

## Must Remedy Wrong.

"The peace we make must remedy that wrong. It must deliver the once fair lands and happy peoples of Belgium and northern France from the Prussian conquest, and the Prussian menace, but it must also deliver the peoples of Austria-Hungary, the peoples of the Balkans and the peoples of Turkey, alike in Europe and in Asia, from the impudent and alien domination of the Prussian military and commercial autocracy.

## No Dictation to Austria.

"We owe it, however, to ourselves to say that we do not wish in any way to impair or to re-arrange the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It is no affair of ours what they do with their own life, either industrially or politically. We do not purpose or desire to dictate to them in any way. We only desire to see that their affairs are left in their own hands in all matters, great or small."—President Wilson.

## SUGGESTS LANSDOWNE, HENDERSON AND MACDONALD FOR CABINET.

Addressing the Union of Democratic Control recently at Leicester, England, Mr. Charles Roden Buxton, according to the Pioneer, Dec. 21, 1917, declared that the acceptance of the Russian appeal to throw overboard all "plans of conquest," including that of trade boycott, argued that though this was the first step, it was not enough. They must go further and initiate negotiations. Negotiations did not mean peace at any price; it might be that the negotiations would break down, but the only way to prove whether they would succeed or not was by trying. He thought there was every reason to expect that the negotiations would prove successful, provided we were prepared to make peace on a moderate basis.

The overnment had already allowed more than one opportunity for negotiation to pass, notably when the German offer to restore and compensate Belgium and give up Alsace-Lorraine was made last September to M. Briand. There was now a new opportunity, by taking part in the negotiations initiated by the Russian Government. Recognition of the de facto Russian Government was already being advocated in several quarters in this country. M. Trotsky was obviously endeavoring to prepare the way, not for a separate, but a general peace. He had said, "Our armistice is only the basis for a general armistice." That armistice was to last till January 14, and thereafter until concluded by seven days' notice on either side.

He had stipulated, in the interest of the Allies, that German troops should not be transported to the Western Front. If M. Trotsky was a gambler, the stake he was playing for was the peace of the world. Mr. Buxton said that if the present Government did not take any of the preliminary steps necessary to make a reasonable peace possible, they should be turned out and make way for those who would. Mr. Lloyd George was not the only man capable of saving the country. He suggested a Coalition Cabinet of Lord Lansdowne, Lord Buckmaster, Mr. Arthur Henderson, and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. (Applause.) Mr. Lloyd George had said there was no half-way house between victory and defeat. He (Mr. Buxton) said there was no half-way house between the "knock-out Government and a people's peace."

## FOURTEEN CONCRETE PEACE PROPOSALS.

Washington, Jan. 8.—Fourteen concrete peace proposals, laid down by President Wilson, in his address to Congress to-day on war aims, began with the declaration that the days of private international understandings

are gone, and that covenants of peace must be reached in the open. Briefly summarized, the other points were:

Absolute freedom of the seas in peace or war, except as they may be closed by international action.

Removal of economic barriers among nations associating themselves to maintain peace.

Guarantees of the reduction of armaments to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

Impartial adjustment of colonial claims, based on the principle that the peoples concerned have equal rights with the Governments.

Evacuation of all Russian territory and opportunity for Russia's political development.

Evacuation of Belgium.

Evacuation of French territory and righting the Alsace-Lorraine wrong.

Readjustment of Italy's frontiers along recognizable lines of nationality. Free opportunity for autonomous development of the peoples of Austria-Hungary.

Evacuation of Roumania, Serbia and Montenegro, and guarantees for all the Balkan States.

Sovereignty for Turkey's portion of the Ottoman Empire, and autonomy for other nationalities.

An independent Poland, with access to the sea.

General association of nations for mutual guarantees of independence and territorial integrity to large and small States alike.

## WHAT WAYFARER SAYS IN "NATION."

Much of the most important sign of the times is the revulsion of feeling and opinion of which the Lansdowne letter was the conspicuous sign. The letter has done great good, and has made a far deeper mark on men's minds than the public acknowledgment of its effect would suggest. But it is essentially a symptom. It heralds the advance of a moderate party which will go on till it displaces the violent men and the rash counsels now in the ascendant. A great body of thoughtful people of all conditions and tastes—Tories, Liberals, Labor men—see that the ship's course is wrong and must be altered. Coarse and empty speeches like Sir Edward Carson's, with its rough defiance of American opinion, merely emphasize this movement; and Mr. Churchill's rhetoric shows how pertinent a task it is to put a little thinking into our incorrigibly light-minded statesmanship. The reaction began with the Northcliffe letter to Mr. George. Its arrogance and indiscretion were equally alarming, for they brought home to many minds the disquieting thought that power lay where it had no right to lie. What redeeming force of intellect or character could be alleged to cover the writer's sweeping depreciation of his country and her effort? None. The letter was as empty as it was ominous.—"A Wayfarer" in "The Nation."

Then there is the Canadian election the results of which will be greeted with regret by every farseeing person. A racial dividing line is once more created in Canada, and the biggest, the wisest, and the least corrupt of Canadian statesmen—Sir Wilfrid Laurier—has been defeated. The great Empire builders are being rejected for the cheap jacks of the market place, and everybody is so absorbed in shouting and in emotional transports that they do not see what is happening.—J. Ramsay MacDonald in Leicester Pioneer.

In the capitalist's lexicon conservation means the conservation of private profits and private privileges.

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