

inquiry. Let us first be clear what we desire to be, and then and not till then shall we begin to understand what we are called upon to do. What in plain words are the alternatives open to us? If we can once enumerate them you will see at a glance that a great and important step in this inquiry has been achieved. Now I believe it can be demonstrated that there are four possible alternatives and four only. I believe that everyone, or nearly everyone, can be brought to agree on that if they can succeed in agreeing on nothing else. If you will bear with me a little longer, I believe that I can convince you that there cannot possibly be more than four.

(1) In the first place it can be argued that the present position can always remain unchanged. It can be argued that the *status quo* (an ugly but convenient term) should be and also can be forever maintained. But to realize the meaning of this first alternative we must be quite clear as to what the *status quo* is, and that is a mere question of facts which can be tested, stated and placed beyond the region of dispute. As things are, the issues of peace or war, those which in the last instance decide what communities are to be recognized as international states, and therefore what citizenship in each of those states is to mean, the last and greatest of all political issues, are at present controlled by an Imperial government called to office by a majority of voters resident in the United Kingdom only. So far as the people in the Dominions are concerned, the management of the policy which determines whether they are at peace or war is in the hands of ministers called to office, maintained in office and liable to be dismissed from it without any kind of reference, direct or indirect, to themselves. That is, I think, a correct account of the *status quo*.