THE GERMAN EMPEROR AND THE PEACE OF THE WORLD

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The German Emperor and the Peace of the World by Alfred H. Fried

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By
ALFRED H. FRIED
(NOBEL PEACE PRIZE)

With a Preface by NORMAN ANGELL Author of 'The Great Illusion'

> -Univ. of California

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HODDER AND STOUGHTON NEW YORK AND LONDON

PREFACE

BY NORMAN ANGELL, AUTHOR OF 'THE GREAT ILLUMION'

THE Anglo-Saxon world, especially the English section of it, owes an act of justice to the Kaiser William. For nearly a generation he has been represented as something very nearly approaching an irresponsible energumen; the premier English satirical paper has urged him to 'try and be a little gentleman'; he has been lampooned and ridiculed, in season and out of season, with reason and without reason.

But how has the Emperor taken his revenge for this? We now know that throughout he has consistently stood as the friend of England and of the Anglo-Saxon world; 1

has incurred not once but many times the hostility of many sections of his own people because of this friendship, and has added to the already great difficulties of his position by his fidelity to it.

Is it not time, therefore, that the Englishspeaking world tried to judge of this ruler in the light of facts instead of prejudice and prepossession?

For this, among other reasons, I am particularly glad to see this book of my friend, Alfred Fried, in an English dress. Fried, who is a lifelong Pacifist, having for years worked in the face of contumely and misrepresentation, has certainly no prejudice in favour of the Emperor William, and the system and philosophy he represents. Fried's testimony is therefore all the more valuable for its impartiality. But, indeed, his testimony speaks for itself, and it should, once for all, destroy the legend that the ruler of the

nation which, almost alone of all great nations of the world, has consistently maintained the peace for forty years, is that disturbing element in the world peace which ignorance has so long represented him to be.

That the Emperor may have misread and misinterpreted the motives and intentions of other powers, and, it may be, England among the number, is merely to say that he is like every statesman whose mind is dominated by the current political conceptions of Europe. Modern European politics might be described as the science of misunderstanding: every statesman disclaims emphatically, and probably quite sincerely, any intention whatsoever of aggressive action upon his neighbours -and every statesman in Europe has for twenty years been feverishly preparing to resist the attacks of neighbours, who, as loudly and as emphatically as himself, have disclaimed any intention of ever making any

such attack! This welter of misinterpretation is due to the absence of anything resembling a science of international polity based upon the facts of the modern'world, of any real understanding of those facts. The way to clear up a misunderstanding is to understand it. And there is no general comprehension in Europe of the character of the relations which unite nations, of the real factors underlying their necessary co-operation. As I have said elsewhere, the whole case of the relation of military power to social and economic advantage, the extent to which the general well-being of one can be advanced by military domination over another, or to which the interlacing of interests checks the effective imposition of such domination, is at present simply unknown to the minds now most active in European politics; which is proven by the fact that existing political and economic literature still employs the

terminology of international conditions which have in fact disappeared.

That is why the intrinsic importance of the evidence revealed in these pages does not reside in the particular view which the Kaiser may have taken of various schemes of world or European Federation, but does reside in the spirit and motive which has prompted his interest in those schemes. The fact that he had manifested such an interest demonstrates that his position has convinced him of the grotesque absurdity of the existing condition of things. It is unlikely that any such short cut as a mechanical contrivance. any federation scheme, will solve this difficulty-it seems decreed that mankind shall make no real advance, except that which it has earned by the sweat of hard thinking, of better understanding-and some of the proposals mentioned here as having received the Emperor's attention are certainly, as the author of this book probably agrees, fantastic and foolish enough. But it is both suggestive and encouraging that the Kaiser, of all men, should have realized the urgency of tackling this problem.

And a word as to the author of this book. The fact of Alfred Fried's life and work is a curious commentary on those who would urge that German-speaking Europe is necessarily impervious to pacifist endeavour. Fried has, among other things, created what is undoubtedly the most efficient periodical of the Pacifist movement in the world: and that periodical appears in the German tongue. That there are immensely powerful strongholds of reactionary thought in Germany no one would deny, but to represent Germany as an intellectual entity distinct from and shut off by a Chinese wall from the general European movement of opinion, is disproved by the facts contained in this book and by