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THIS DEMOCRACY

BY

JOSEPH YAHUDA, LL.B.

OF KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON, AND OF THE INNER TEMPLE,
BARRISTER-AT-LAW

WITH A FOREWORD BY

THE RT. HON.

VISCOUNT CECIL OF CHELWOOD

P.C., K.C., ETC.

“All is race ; there's no other truth.”

—DISRAELI



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TO
THE MEMORY OF
MRS. FLORA SASSOON

FOREWORD

THIS little book is worthy of being read for two reasons. In the first place, it is a careful and, in parts, an illuminating study of the grave questions with which it deals. Some of its contentions will certainly not be acceptable to all readers. But everyone should be stimulated by its argument to consider for himself where the truth lies; and that is perhaps the most useful function which a book like this can perform.

The other reason why the book may be recommended for perusal is that it deals with a subject of very urgent and actual importance. During the nineteenth century the case for democracy progressed step by step until, by the end of it, advocates of other systems of government had become a negligible minority. Then came the war with its horrors and the economic and cultural confusion which resulted from it. All the accepted maxims of statecraft were, in consequence, the subject of doubt and challenge. If, said the average man, the progress towards democracy has resulted in this colossal disaster, may it not be that our old political ideals and aspirations are mistaken? In some countries like Russia, Germany, Italy, where the war had been most deeply felt, there followed a period of disorder from which sprang the usual longing for

a strong government. Authority became more desirable than liberty. Hence all the new totalitarian theories which are, indeed, not new but the commonplaces of every tyranny that has ever existed. We are told that the nationals of the countries where these theories are in force are satisfied. They have got order and efficient administration. Indeed, most people would agree that autocracies have certain advantages in the vigour and rapidity of their decisions. But for this the price paid is heavy. In a free country every citizen is encouraged to develop to the utmost his faculties, so that he may serve the state to the utmost of his ability. In an absolutist state the citizens are warned off all political activity and all intellectual curiosity which the ruler thinks may lead to "dangerous thoughts." In the end that system must discourage progress of all kinds and must maim the citizens in precisely those qualities which are highest and most valuable in man.

The author of this book accepts, provisionally, many of the evolutionary conceptions which have been for some years popular in political speculation. Certainly they deserve careful and respectful consideration, though, unless controlled by common sense, they may lead, as he shows, to fantastic results. It may be that the older ideas, accepted by the overwhelming majority of human beings, have more to be said for them than is sometimes admitted. To me at any rate the view that all

we are here for is to perpetuate the existence of our nation or even of mankind, is bleak and unsatisfying. May it not be that there is a divine purpose underlying the whole universe, dim, perhaps, to us at present, to which the deepest chords of our nature respond, and which furnishes a sound motive for the effort and self-sacrifice which our fellow-men throughout history have constantly felt to be urged upon them?

CECIL

PREFACE

WE are living in an age of transition: numerous institutions and traditions have been cast into the melting pot; great changes take place before our eyes and more are still to come; doubts are entertained where confidence reigned unchallenged. In our zeal to solve the various questions which crop up and demand a satisfactory answer, however, we are apt to discount threatening dangers and to belittle the benefits we already possess, so that our eagerness to reach the goal of our ideals might well land us into unsuspected pitfalls. It is therefore right that we should soberly take stock of our heritage, with a view to safeguarding that part of it which deserves preservation and is capable of development.

But what is the standard by which we should be guided in our investigation?

It may be postulated with confidence that Justice—including mercy—is not only the highest ideal which man has conceived, but that it also is a necessity which every individual seeks to enjoy. Some try to obtain it in one way, others in another, according to rules of conduct (or indeed by the breach thereof, e.g. theft and adultery) which vary with the locality and period. The question poses itself: Is there not a permanent and universal test of justice by which statesmen

may be guided in framing laws and laying down the policy of the law? Now, as law is not independent of life, its purpose and policy must not be inconsistent with life's fundamental purpose, if such exists. Therefore, we are impelled to inquire: Whither mankind?

Thinkers and observers have given different answers to this all-important question, which has engaged the mind of man from time immemorial and has engendered a good deal of discussion and speculation, sometimes fruitless, often worse than futile. However, the fact that the survival of mankind is the indispensable condition to the fulfilment of its destiny, no matter what this may be, makes the control and rationalization of man's evolution the immediate object of statesmen. Similarly, the fact that the preservation of mankind is a preliminary condition to the biological progress of the species, assuming this to be possible, obviates the difficulty of defining the character of racial improvement—the future development of the race depending on its survival. To be or not to be, that is the standing issue before man.

Obviously, the study of Survival is confined to the earthly agencies which influence the race; it does not seek to explain whence life came and whither it is going—the original source and ultimate purpose of life forming the twin subjects of Religion. Yet Religion cannot be indifferent to Race-survival, since the better realization of

the destiny of life and the deeper understanding of its origin depend on the preservation and biological progress of the race. Indeed, the study of survival leads to the double discovery: the ultimate test of terrestrial Justice, and the means of attaining the ideal of Religion, namely, Life Perfect and Eternal.¹

Yet the individual's proximate preoccupation is not the preservation and perfection of the race. When animals mate and persons eat, their manifest goal is self-satisfaction and self-preservation. Nevertheless, the needs and desires of the average individual must be, as a whole, compatible with life's object of surviving. For if it were otherwise, the race would have perished shortly after its appearance: either the needs and desires of the individual would be satisfied and the race consequently perish, or they would go unsatisfied and the individual would perish. Hence the necessity to ascertain the requisites of race-survival and to demonstrate that they are identical with the means of attaining the individual's security and happiness.

This book, small in compass and simple in style, has for its object to confirm men and women in their love of liberty and of peace, and to clear up the confusion which exists in many

¹“ said Sidonia ‘ All is race; there's no other truth.’

‘ Because it includes all others? ’ said Lord Henry.

‘ You have said it. ’ ”

minds regarding the real nature of citizenship, war, nationalism and imperialism. Documentation has been studiously eschewed, as this is not a textbook for the exclusive use of experts; rather is it a plain exposition of the working of political and social principles, addressed to the reading public at home and overseas. I confidently hope that the originality of its conception will not detract from the value of its content.

J. Y.

TEMPLE, 1937

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THIS DEMOCRACY

CHAPTER I

CITIZENSHIP

THE STATE AND ITS ORIGIN

THE State is a more or less independent association of persons and groups of persons organized within definite geographical limits with a view to collective preservation and general happiness.

In order to discover the broad principles on which the modern State is founded, and to conceive a plan for its future development, it is first necessary to trace its evolution from its humble beginnings. It would be superfluous, however, even if it were possible, to explore the vicissitudes of every law or institution to its very inception. Suffice it to outline the march of the universal code of social ethics, so far as it exists, disregarding the variety of its forms and concentrating on the underlying common basis.

The modern State is not a simple, spontaneous phenomenon, but a complex product of generations of social growth. Primitive man was not a far-seeing statesman, any more than he was an accomplished sculptor. He must have learned the craft of association by slow, rude stages, as he did the art of hunting. He would not lay down

philosophic rules of conduct upon which to model his actions, any more than he would formulate the laws of mechanics before he knew how to use the sling or the bow. The ever-changing requirements of expediency guided his progress, and defined his relations to his fellow human beings, through a long, laborious, and costly process of trial and error, action and reaction.

The survival of man is largely due to the lessons taught him by hard-won experience. On the other hand, those groups which did not learn in time the necessary lesson perished. Thus early societies were characterized at certain junctures by disturbance and disorder, but the remnants of communal wreckage, tired of strife, sooner here and later there, resolved to live again in peace. The stages from anarchy to negative compromise, and from the latter to positive co-operation, though widely overlapping, are extremely protracted.

CONDITIONS OF ASSOCIATION

No society, however small, can come into being or continue to exist except upon the understanding that no member of it shall harm another. This is a *sine qua non* rule of social conduct.¹ The nature

¹ Whether certain persons, such as women, children or slaves, are considered fully qualified members of society or deemed to be mere quasi-chattels belonging to such members, is another story irrelevant to the matter in hand; though we may remark in passing that on the whole it is being gradually, if somewhat vaguely, recognized that justice demands that one standard of equality should prevail throughout mankind—male and female, alien and native-born, black, white and yellow.

of the rule is negative, prescribing as it does the mere abstention on the part of one member from committing any act deemed detrimental to another member, though conventional or legal injury and actual harm do not always coincide. Most of the modern laws of tort and crime derive their ethical force from this cardinal social conception.

However, it is long before a distinction is drawn between wilfulness and negligence, personal and vicarious liability or damage, direct and indirect harm. Moreover, in the course of the human quest for justice through the maze of changing conditions, disputes constantly arise as to the character and extent of wrong, and the manner of their definition undergoes innumerable modifications. Thus nowadays we make a clear distinction between murder and manslaughter, whereas intention is still immaterial in trespass and some cases of libel. Trial by battle has definitely been abolished, but the ancient wergild has been resuscitated under a new name by the Fatal Accidents Acts. New circumstances give rise to new causes of action, while out-of-date actions are abolished or gradually die out.

Almost simultaneously with the above negative rule was conceived the positive counterpart thereof, namely, that under certain circumstances one member should lend assistance to another in need of it. It is a positive rule of social conduct requiring something to be done by some member

or members on behalf of another or others. Here, again, the definition of need, the capacity of rendering service, the minimum contribution, required in the first place by morals and then imposed by law or custom, are arrived at by a long process, sometimes peaceful, at other times turbulent, of continuous adjustment and re-adjustment. The laws governing taxation, old age pensions and unemployment benefit draw their moral sanction from this source.

Now while the first rule is a condition precedent to the very existence of society, the second rule makes for its solidarity. They are complementary and inseparable rules of conduct on the firm and whole-hearted upholding of which justice depends. From these two rules there bud and blossom two corollaries, namely, not to obstruct others in their escape from harm and not to prevent them from obtaining the assistance they want. The Offences against the Person Act, 1861, Sec. 17, offers an apposite example of the working of this principle :

Whosoever shall unlawfully and maliciously prevent or impede any person, being on board of or having quitted any ship or vessel which shall be in distress or wrecked, stranded, or cast on shore, in his endeavour to save his life, or shall unlawfully and maliciously prevent or impede any person in his endeavour to save the life of any such person as in this section first aforesaid, shall be guilty of felony.

Furthermore, civil conspiracy and the inducement of a breach of contract are, with justifiable exceptions, actionable wrongs.

The above rules and their respective corollaries form the four corner-stones in the foundation of modern society.¹

IDEAL RULE OF CONDUCT

In the circumstances, what is the ideal rule of conduct for the conscientious citizen to adopt? This question is growing in importance and decreasing in simplicity as life becomes more and more complicated with the advance of science, the consequent development of human power and its popular distribution.

One generally regulates one's conduct in accordance with the aim or aims, mediate or immediate, one has in view; choosing a certain course, assuming one has a choice, because one thinks it suits one's purpose. When the "middle course" is advocated, the existence is implied of two equidistant extreme courses; yet in point of fact, a course of conduct is not determined in relation to another course of conduct. Moreover, there are usually only two courses open to one on any specific occasion, namely, to act or to abstain from acting; while there may be more than three ways of following either course.

For instance, while walking along the bank of a river a lad sees a little girl on the point of being

¹ It would be interesting to discover how far they prevail among the other social animals. Like them, we have been groping for the ultimate test of justice; but unlike them, we have attempted variety and change. We have been less satisfied with make-shifts and local remedies, and our reason has proved superior to their instinct.

drowned. His choice lies between trying to save her and proceeding with his walk—leaving her to perish in the water. If he decides on the first course, he may straightway plunge into the river, or call for adequate assistance from a short distance, or throw an available life-belt to the unfortunate girl, or give her some advice as to how to save herself, and so on and so forth. None of these means is the middle course. They may, however, be practicable ways of achieving the lad's purpose—saving the girl—with the minimum of risk, and they are certainly related to that purpose, which in fact determines them.

Now, socially speaking, the paramount purpose in life being the preservation of the species, it is clear that human conduct must be regulated in relation to the factors which make for such preservation. But the race consists of oneself plus the rest of mankind (or that part thereof which forms the State); therefore, one's conduct must be regulated in such a way as to result in one's own preservation and that of one's fellows (or fellow-citizens). We may then define the ideal line of conduct as being the resultant of the duties one owes to oneself and to one's fellow human beings (or fellow-citizens) in terms of preservation.

THE PRESERVATION OF THE RACE

But what are the cardinal attributes in man which make for the preservation of his kind?

Naturally, the first of such human qualities is

intelligence, without which present latent dangers cannot be detected and neutralized, and future perils cannot be foreseen and averted.

The second of such qualities is clearly health, for without it the behests of intelligence cannot properly be carried out and intelligence itself cannot endure.

In fact, these two attributes are interdependent and inextricably interwoven, forming what is commonly described as "fitness." Yet is such "fitness" by itself sufficient security against extinction? The answer is that bodily and mental fitness is a force of no absolute advantage to the race, since, so far from helping it to survive, it is capable of leading mankind to a speedy destruction. That is why, while its maintenance and promotion in the individual is a matter especially within the purview of medical and psychological experts, considered as a social factor, physical fitness comes within the sphere of the statesman.

What then is the supplementary attribute in man essential to the preservation of the human race?

One is irresistibly led to the conclusion that it is the will and desire (evolving into a disposition) to use his intelligence and health in the way of their own development, both in himself and in others. We may conveniently call this attribute "virtue." Unless that will and desire manifest themselves in a positive manner, intelligence and health would unsuspectedly or deliberately be used for their own annihilation. For example, the

manufacture and use of arms, or the smuggling and illegal distribution of drugs, involve the exercise of intelligence and health. Yet war and drugs are responsible for the destruction of innumerable healthy and intelligent human beings.

Therefore, we may formulate the following conclusion: No person is fit from the point of view of the preservation of the race unless he possess these three attributes, and especially the moral one. Intelligence and health enable a man to control Nature in some respects and to compromise with her in others. In the case of control he deprives Nature of her power of selection, while in that of compromise he only modifies it, co-operating with her in both. On the other hand, virtue suspends or abates man's own power of self-selection, even to the point of endangering the very existence of the individual. This last contingency is of comparatively rare occurrence, or else the race could not survive. Indeed the ordinary and regular practice of virtue depends largely on the absence of two adverse factors, namely, circumstances in which one's own interests or desires are, or appear to be in conflict with those of others, and the conception of desires the satisfaction of which would be detrimental to oneself.

It is obvious, however, that the three survival attributes are mutually helpful. Intelligence leads to the discovery both of the value of virtue and of the way to health. Conversely, health favours the development of intelligence and virtue. Finally,

intelligence and health co-operate in the creation and maintenance of moral fitness, just as it fosters them. Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that these three attributes would at best only tend to increase the chances of survival. For the certainty of survival, however, their cultivation must in fact result in the acquisition of accurate knowledge, the development of adequate physical fitness, and the possession of skill to apply that knowledge and that fitness in the way of virtue, at critical junctures as on ordinary occasions. Naturally, the accuracy of knowledge and the adequacy of fitness must be judged in relation to specific occasions.

Accordingly, in order to promote intelligence and health and thereby secure the preservation of the race, it is not enough to refrain from injuring oneself or from harming one's neighbour; one ought also positively to nurse one's own bodily and mental equipment and to afford assistance to others in the same direction. The fulfilment of these duties ensures that every individual is maintained fit to the limits of his capacity, and that when he is too weak for self-help—either because he is intrinsically incapable, or because a certain situation is too difficult for any single individual to cope with it alone—another or others who happen to be better equipped, or whose additional or complementary aid is needed, come to his rescue.

This is the principle of unlimited mutuality or

stewardship on which are based various definite duties, the performance of which indirectly benefits all in every instance, while directly benefiting some at one time and others at another. Such conduct breeds security, and the wider the circle of association within which it operates the greater the chances of preservation.

On the other hand, suppose A, B, C, X, and Y to be five individuals or groups (e.g. classes, sections, nations) of various degrees of fitness. Suppose, further, A to be stronger and more intelligent than either B or C, but weaker and less resourceful than B and C combined. If A maintains himself fit and merely abstains from harming B or C, neglecting to render them assistance with a view to their improvement, he may well provoke in them a feeling of fear and jealousy, in consequence of which they will sooner or later conspire to achieve his undoing. In similar circumstances, B would then fall a victim to the intrigues of C and X, and C in his turn might be worsted by X and Y—that is, if the obvious moral were not drawn from previous experience and acted upon—and so on, until the whole race is debilitated and destroyed. Again, there are occasions on which one might fail where two or more would succeed. If in such cases A will not help X in the latter's hour of need, neither is it likely that X would be otherwise than indifferent to A's own distress. That is how envy and revenge are fed and fostered and cruelty is cultivated,

while individuals and groups wither and perish and the race slides to extinction.

It is the citizens' will to survive and to enjoy life as a body which is the supreme factor and provides the motive power in the State organization, and it finds its fulfilment in the faithful and wise application of the principle of stewardship.

HAPPINESS

But are the attributes of survival identical with the factors conducing to happiness, which is the other *raison d'être* of the State?

An evanescent happiness may be attained by the individual who satisfies one of his desires at the risk of mortgaging his future happiness or of depriving another individual of present and/or future happiness. For while he satisfies one of his desires, he is likely to preclude himself from subsequently satisfying another of his desires or to rob another individual of an opportunity to satisfy *his* desire. No better example can be adduced in support of this contention than the inordinate craving for speed which tempts motorists to drive carelessly to the danger of the public. While satisfying this desire they may seriously injure themselves and at the same time prejudice the safety of others, causing unhappiness in the present and forfeiting or frustrating future happiness.

Therefore, happiness all round can only be attained by the constant re-adjustment of circumstances in accordance with our various and varying

wishes. Thus the problem of creating and spreading happiness resolves itself into moralizing and co-ordinating the different and ever-changing desires of individuals and groups, and making circumstances accord with these desires.

First, as to the moralization of wishes :

Sometimes men's thoughts and feelings are apt to become so perverted as to make them desire objects and actions—or non-action—the possession of, or indulgence in which accrues not to their advantage or to the preservation of the race. In the circumstances, it is the duty of the community not only to ban such possession, action or inaction, but also to remove the causes of perversion. Hence, the numerous traffic regulations and the laws against the possession of drugs and firearms without lawful excuse or authority.

But it must always be remembered that desires are not extinguished or fostered, except by surrounding conditions and early and constant training. The use of undue force or pressure, directly or indirectly, is bound to provoke delaying resistance or neutralizing opposition. Moralists try by precept and example to influence the desires of their fellows ; statesmen ought to enable them to accomplish their purpose through the modification of laws framed and administered according to just principles. The process of modification and adaptation, however, requires patience and perseverance ; fanaticism and statesmanship are mutually exclusive.

The variety and mutability of desires are not an impediment in the way of general and enduring happiness, but a convenience, when virtue is practised generally. But pure individualism—the antithesis of virtue—begets conflicting desires which clash; some being entirely disappointed, others only partly fulfilled. A few indeed, and these by no means necessarily the most worthy, are from time to time fully satisfied. Amidst the hubbub and bustle of bitter strife—in the presence of all sorts of temptations and provocations, insecurity and suspicion; while mind and body are preoccupied in devising immediate measures of offence and defence, not only against the elements but also against other persons within and beyond the frontiers—it is impossible to succeed in commending foresight or teaching forbearance to all concerned. The worst of it is that when, after a good deal of labour and trouble, a small number of persons have been made to learn foresight and/or forbearance, most of them find these attributes unprofitable. Cunning and opportunism prove to be of immediate need and utility, and in due course are resorted to or reverted to.

Secondly, as to the co-ordination of desires :

Obviously the skilful application of the principle of stewardship would be of great value as a stabilizing factor in the direction of co-ordinating our desires. On the one hand, many causes of conflict would completely disappear, and the efforts thus saved from waste would be pooled to quench

the fire of many a legitimate desire. Moreover, in the absence of artificial causes of ill-health and hostility, it would be easy to educate the people in desires consistent with justice and in harmony with the rights and duties of good citizenship. Yet another point : the inevitable frustration of certain desires of some members of the community—for no human organization or organism can be perfect—should not produce ill-feeling. The energy thus cooped up and held in check must not be diverted into fraudulent, aggressive or destructive channels. On the contrary, it ought to come out in the open in search of new fields of useful action.

Man is not, as it is sometimes suggested, indolent by nature ; he is essentially a dynamic, creative organism whose desires are always ahead of his performance. His divine curiosity will urge and achieve in the future at least as much as dour necessity has done in the past. Here we have one of the wholesome springs of future hope and virile adventure, for this discontent or desire should naturally lead to further inventions, explorations and discoveries.

Finally, the accordance of circumstances with our wishes :

We have already travelled far in the realm of science ; yet this distance is infinitesimal in comparison with what the human species is capable of achieving even as at present constituted. What it will be possible for our kind to do, if and when it

improves biologically, surpasses the imagination. Already statesmen have to apply their minds, not so much to the best mode of equitably distributing the little which lies at the disposal of their respective communities among their several members, as to the problem of restraining mankind from abusing the plenty which has fallen to its share. Soon the forces of humanity, freed from the bondage of need and debility and directed into channels of survival, will raise man to what would seem to us dizzy heights. The very budding of a desire will spontaneously conjure up its satisfaction or the means of obtaining it without delay. Life will expand beyond all conceivable limits and will be inseparable from happiness.

The promotion of the three survival characteristics of the species, namely, intelligence, health and virtue, would tend both to ethicize our wishes and to render their fulfilment possible. One often hears it said that happiness is not inconsistent with ill-health, that it may be positively forfeited through the possession of intelligence, that it is unattainable in probity. These are propositions fraught with fallacies.

Indeed, in so far as one lacks intelligence one may desire objects impossible of attainment, or may attempt to attain practicable objects by means which bring one into avoidable and balking conflict with one's fellows, or one may fail to deal skilfully with the elements and so be frustrated by them. In each case unhappiness is one's lot.

Again, in so far as one is deficient in health, one may desire exactly what renders one's condition worse, e.g. inebriates and drug addicts; or one may be incapable of fulfilling a legitimate desire, e.g., the deaf and dumb. But deficiency in health and intelligence not only creates anti-survival desires or prevents their fulfilment, thereby causing unhappiness to oneself and/or to others; worse still, it diminishes the number of desires the fulfilment of which is required for survival, e.g. impotence and insanity. It creates in one a false sense of happiness, and shuts off from one numerous avenues full of possibilities for wider knowledge and greater enjoyment.

Lastly, the practice of virtue is a direct source of happiness to those who possess it, and since virtue promotes intelligence and health, it also indirectly perfects happiness. Moreover, in its absence one is likely to come sooner or later into conflict with one's fellows and to suffer defeat at their hands. Indeed, the very knowledge of the likelihood of such conflict necessarily impairs one's happiness. The immediate interest of the individual or group is not far removed from the ultimate interest of the community. Accordingly, his desires may be attuned to those of his fellows, and the satisfaction of his desires will be in harmony with the satisfaction of their desires—to the genuine benefit of all concerned. The resultant happiness will be progressive, leading from happiness to happiness without end.

CHAPTER II

STEWARDSHIP

RESPONSIBILITY

STEWARDSHIP is a principle whereby whoever is fortunate in the possession of exceptional powers must use them primarily on behalf of his fellows,¹ and its two mainstays are Responsibility and Equality.

With regard to Responsibility, we may say that a person's conduct is controlled by either or both of two checks, an internal and an external check.

The internal check may be either constitutional or occasioned by the conscience. In other words, there is behaviour in which the individual indulges naturally, while certain behaviour may be indulged in by him in obedience to the dictates of his personal sense of right and wrong. Thus, no person who knew the nature of the liquid would deliberately dip his finger in corrosive acid, except for some (to him) good cause. Nor would he, in ordinary circumstances, abstain from taking available food if he felt hungry. On the other hand, no

¹ "As every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God." I Peter, iv, 10. See *Law and Life* (Oxford University Press) by Joseph Yahuda, pp. 62-3 and 197-203.

person of strong and healthy conscience is likely to inflict torture or commit fraud, except under great provocation; while such a person will, as a rule, use his best endeavours to help a child or an animal out of danger.

As to the external control on human conduct, it may be either artificial or inherent in the circumstances of such conduct. There are certain natural conditions the character of which is compelling. For instance, it would not be necessary at this stage of scientific progress to prohibit any person from trespassing on the moon, supposing there was good ground for such prohibition; for the simple reason that the difficulties involved in an attempt to reach our satellite are at present in themselves absolutely insuperable. Nor need a person thrown out of an aeroplane be told to drop, as he cannot help falling. The other kind of external check, however, is purely artificial, e.g. occasioned by human agency. Elaborately barbed or electrically charged wire, fixed at the top of a high prison wall, generally influences the conduct of the inmates so that they do not attempt to escape by climbing over. Again, responsibility before the law or public opinion may be very effective indeed in constraining persons to act in a certain way or to abstain from acting in another.

Here, however, we are interested only in the individual's conscience and in public law and opinion. These internal (or individual) and external (or communal) checks are inter-related and

mutually dependent. The individual's conscience is influenced by public law and opinion, and these are often only the reflection of the kind of conscience possessed or intended to be possessed by the average member of the society in which they prevail. Sometimes an individual of exceptionally strong and healthy conscience may awaken public opinion and influence public law in some respects, while law and public opinion may correct or strengthen the failing or erring conscience of the individual.

Accordingly, the strength of law and public opinion is in direct proportion to the strength and health of the consciences of the individual members of society. Conversely, the health and strength of the conscience of each individual member of society is in direct proportion to the health and strength of law and public opinion, and to their effective hold over the individual members of society. If and when the one is weak, the other of necessity weakens also.

It stands to reason, therefore, that whenever power of any kind is concentrated in the hands of individuals who, in the exercise of that power, are not effectively controlled by and accountable to the community at large, locally or nationally, directly or indirectly, then sooner or later, to a greater or less degree, that power is abused. Both as individuals and as a class, arbitrary custodians of power are constantly and more or less irresistibly tempted to exercise it on their own

behalf and at the expense of others. From the conflict between personal desire and public welfare some of these irresponsible trustees may emerge with credit; but others, whether their co-trustees or successors, will not come out unstained. Of course, fickle moods and different temperaments must be allowed for and have to be reckoned with in any event, yet even the strongest character is sometimes vulnerable to the insidious infection which accompanies irresponsibility. Irresponsibility always stimulates purely selfish desire and militates against public interest, lying in wait for a favourable opportunity of special incompetence or temporary weakness on the part of the individual or the community, finally destroying integrity and the courage of owning one's mistakes or failings and of exposing those of others.

For instance, if absolute military power be delegated to or assumed by individuals, it is very likely that at one time or another (during an internal crisis or a danger of invasion) they would appropriate to themselves a comparatively larger proportion of the community's distributable comfort, in its various forms, than they would allocate to the rest of its members, while avoiding certain burdens. Such a measure might at first be justified by circumstances. But if it should outlast these circumstances, as it well might, the custodians would have placed themselves in an unwarrantably privileged position with regard to the

rest of the community, and a fraud would have been committed on the power. Henceforth, faults would not readily be acknowledged, nor would honest criticism be welcome or even tolerated; while servility and sycophancy would become rampant. In the end the pernicious principle—unquestionable authority from the leaders, unqualified obedience from the ruled—would receive moral and religious, as well as legal sanction.

EQUALITY

As to the principle of Equality, if rigidly applied, it works inequitably and is bound to produce the same results as irresponsibility. It would seriously harm every member of society in turn and, undermining the sense of responsibility in the custodians of power and the capacity for control in the other members, would occasion iniquity of the gravest character. If, for instance, it were applied independently of partial, temporary or permanent disability, such as that resulting from accident, disease, age or sex, it would irresistibly lead to injustice. There are certain times when human beings, far from being able to make the slightest material contribution to the communal welfare, are totally incapable and demand the closest attention and the greatest assistance from their fellows. For who can be absolutely guaranteed against the adverse effects of accidents or the attacks of disease? One might go to

the length of imagining perfectly healthy and intelligent persons not being liable to debility and reaching the grave fully possessed of all their pristine faculties and vigour; but none can escape the helplessness of infancy, and only a comparatively few women avoid the burden of pregnancy.

Therefore, the principle of Equality should be applied rationally, that is to say, equality of opportunity should be coupled with equivalent protection—what is known in sport as a handicap. Circumstances should be taken into account in which, for the sake of avoiding or ending injustice, members ought to benefit differently from, and to contribute differently towards, the common effort. Accordingly, what should be the guiding principle in such discrimination? On the one hand, the gifted should use their resources in favour of the non-gifted, with a view to helping them to become as well equipped as themselves. On the other hand, the less capable should be required to contribute proportionately less to the pool of common endeavour, so as to give them an opportunity of rising to the higher standard of capacity.

In short, each for all and all for each: men should use their skill equally on behalf of themselves and of their fellows, and the greater their skill the stricter the stewardship of their service. There never has been natural equality, and probably never will be, except in theory. But it

can be brought about artificially through the balancing and stabilizing agency of the trust principle. In other words, as powers are unequally distributed, they ought to be considered as being in the nature of responsible trusts.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF TRUSTS

It is to the eternal glory of the Church in this country that its high dignitaries, presiding in the Court of Chancery, evolved the trust concept. They laid its firm foundations soundly on the basis of conscience, erecting thereon the structure of "confidence" against the attacks of "fraud."

Gradually this concept has extended its domain, and its influence has pervaded various inter-human relations, both private and public. Indeed, it is the link which binds more or less strongly the trustee to the beneficiary, the director to his company, the agent to his principal, the public officer to the community, the Imperial Government to the Colonies, and the Mandatory Power to the mandated people.

We have seen that external control is the only possible guarantee against abuse of trust, but the faithful execution of a trust rests largely on the conscience of the trustee. If the soundness of his conscience is not commensurate with the power he wields and the temptations he meets, abuse is certain to occur except it be checked through responsibility. The initiative ever rests with the

individual. This fact endows the individual with a tremendous importance, especially since his artificial powers have grown, and continue to grow indefinitely, out of all proportion to his natural forces and beyond effective and timely external control.

Now a virtuous conscience can flourish under certain conditions which it is the task of statesmen to create. It is their bounden duty so to organize society as to bring about these favourable conditions. This can be done by two concurrent processes. One, by eliminating, as far as possible, such circumstances as tend to weaken or pervert the individual's conscience and to deflect his action from the course of race-survival. The other, by encouraging the maintenance, strength and spread of circumstances operating in the opposite direction.

The instrument best suited for this purpose is precisely the institution of the trust. It should be wielded by capable individuals of virtuous conscience, acting in unison under the corrective control and fair and free criticism of the beneficiaries of the trust, for the main incident of a trust is the rendering of account by the trustee to the beneficiary. Under these circumstances trust breeds and maintains trustworthiness and ability reaps a fruitful reward.

It may happen, however, that the beneficiaries are too young or too numerous, or otherwise incapable of effectively exercising direct control over their trustees. In such circumstances, these

are responsible to some appointed or elected body invested with authority to control and direct, e.g. the Courts, the House of Commons, the Imperial Parliament and the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

BIOLOGICAL RECORD

Certain circumstances favour one species, others another, while a third species, finding no shelter, becomes extinct. Further, some conditions may favour one set of individuals belonging to a certain species, others another set of the same species, while the remainder of the race die of exposure. In such a precarious situation all the neighbourhood is perpetually on the alert, and at a time of crisis every one has to fend for himself. Nevertheless, the rivalry is never absolutely relentless, nor is self-regard—the primary source of abuse of power—always the sole or supreme motive. The keenness of the contest is in fact mitigated by the following factors :

Sex is the strongest agent in the way of association, mutual care and co-operation. Through it virtue enters the arena of life and remains there.

Another instinct which works in the same direction is the parental feeling, through which the individual's virtue develops into communal stewardship and functions farther afield.

Thirdly, the fear of a common danger brings together individuals who, in its absence, might

not unite. In view of the fact that too many dangers are eternally lurking about, this is a potent factor against anarchic individualism. Through it the instinct of self-preservation evolves into the herd or social instinct, and the principle of stewardship obtains beyond domestic bounds. Yet no sooner is freedom from danger regained, either because the danger has itself actually or apparently vanished, or because of the acquisition of an effective power or faculty wherewith to counteract it, than the dormant individualistic tendencies awaken, reassert themselves, and stimulate independent action for better or for worse.

Fourthly, out of such association, especially if the original danger lasts or is succeeded by other common dangers, there may spring among the allied members a sympathy independent of the binding danger and capable of outliving it. This internal development is the origin of true and enduring sociability and the beginning of the functioning, albeit in their most crude and rudimentary stage, of the two mainstays of communal stewardship, namely, equality and responsibility. Henceforth, evolution has a real chance of working in the direction of biological progress.

It is clear, therefore, that stewardship is the natural antidote to individualistic self-selection, both individual and communal, and that, as such, it is at once the foundation of the race's past and the pillar of its future.

CHAPTER III

MODERN SOCIETY

PROGRESS AND CIVILIZATION

MAN is part of Nature and must therefore conform to her laws; but she has endowed him with powers of self-help which have enabled him to rise from the status of Nature's slave to that of Nature's partner. The process began when man or his ancestor first used a fruit as a missile and the trunk of a tree as a raft; it has continued with the invention of the spear and the plough and the discovery of fire, steam-power and electricity. Now the discovery, preservation and transmission of physical and psychological powers, the development of our knowledge of converting potential into actual power and *vice versa*, and of transforming either kind of power, may conveniently be termed progress. But as man has progressed and his powers have multiplied and grown, his tendency to prefer or "select" himself has become more and more dangerous. His acquired powers, if used by a person capriciously, or by several persons in a conflicting manner, result in chaos and destruction. For his own sake, therefore, the scope of individualistic self-selection—that is, the exercise of power on one's own behalf,

regardless of the consequences to others—has had to be restricted in various directions.

Accordingly, human societies throughout the world and at all periods of the history of mankind have formed customs and framed laws, with a view to establishing order and fostering harmony. In so far as they have succeeded in doing this, they have become civilized, irrespective of the degree of progress attained by them, be they tribes, village communities or modern nations. The process is a continuous one, and may be described as the orientation of progress in the direction of race-preservation or justice, through the control of the tendency of self-selection.

It follows, therefore, that in a civilized society unjust (i.e. anti-survival) powers are withheld from the community as a whole and from its members individually, e.g. torture; and just powers are transformed into trusts. Some of these trust-powers are left or retained in the hands of individuals who are accountable for their exercise thereof to the community as stewards of a trust, e.g. the chastisement of children. The rest of these fiduciary powers are transferred from private discretion to public control, and are administered exclusively by the community through its public institutions and official servants specifically appointed in that behalf, e.g. imprisonment. Indeed, the trend of civilization is from private discretionary powers to publicly controlled trusts, and its requisites are: A certain amount of forbearance

and foresight in the average individual, ability to control in the body politic, and the devising of adequate machinery for control. England's political experience yields two excellent examples, namely, the history of the *Habeas Corpus* Acts and the evolution of Parliamentary control over finance.

Such an organization of society based on stewardship does not curtail the will-power or initiative of the individual, but merely diverts it from destructive tendencies and concentrates it on preservation and progress. Once in this direction, it is absolutely free, its scope has no bounds, its intensity increases, and life becomes larger and fuller. That part of human energy which would otherwise be engaged in unjust (i.e. anti-survival) activities is released and made available for just (i.e. survival) pursuits exclusively.

This intrinsic merit of civilization is patent wherever its domain spreads. A few examples will suffice to show to what an extent it has permeated modern society, and the numerous blessings it has brought in its train. The introduction of civilization was piecemeal, tentative and slow, and its sponsors were guided partly by foresight and partly by a spontaneous humanitarian feeling, which experience and research have shown to be in fact a sound instinct of racial preservation.

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

There was a time when parents had absolute power over their children. They could sell them

out as slaves, punish them to death, or actually sacrifice them. Gradually, the conscience of mankind awoke to the fact that the parent's power over the child was of a fiduciary character, and therefore modern civilized communities require parents and guardians to account for the carrying out of that trust. The power of parents over their offspring is greatly restricted in England, and its exercise is closely supervised. Thus incest is a grave crime; severe or excessive corporal castigation of children is forbidden; parents cannot derive direct material advantage from any property which accrues to the child through contract, inheritance, or damages recovered on behalf of the child; finally, there are laws regulating school attendance and child-labour.

Let us by way of elucidation examine these reforms in the light of our definition of a civilized society.

First, the powers of selling children and of putting them to death, whether by way of punishment or as expiatory offerings, have been entirely abolished, together with the power of castration and that of inflicting on them any form of cruelty for whatever reason. No public official or private individual may exercise any such powers.

Then the power of correction left in the hands of parents, schoolmasters and other guardians, is limited in point of extent and its exercise by them is controlled by the community. If any of them exceeds his authority he is liable to be prosecuted

or sued. Moreover, the residue of the power of correcting within reasonable bounds is vested in public tribunals, with regard to children as well as in the case of adults, and they administer punishment with due discrimination. Similarly, the Court may allow a minor to marry against the will of his or her parent ; though child-marriage is absolutely prohibited.

Thirdly, parents are required to send their children to school up to a certain age.

Fourthly, the community regards the child as capable of owning property of which the parents or guardians are mere trustees, as distinguished from absolute owners.

It is not difficult to imagine the arguments advanced against every one of the steps which have led to the present state of affairs. The die-hard reactionaries of the barbaric age, who felt strongly on this matter, must have contended that, as the parents brought their offspring into the world, they were entitled to do with them what they well pleased.

Later on they climbed down from that precarious height and argued heroically that parents were wise and knew what their charges needed ; that they were kind to them and unselfish, supplying them with what was good for them ; that the interests of parents did not conflict with those of their respective children ; and that therefore they might safely be trusted to do all that was necessary without guidance or interference from outside.

Lastly, they were compelled to abandon that defence also, and had recourse to the boggy of fear. They warned their opponents, saying in effect: "If you meddle with the parents' rights, or rather duties, children will not love their parents; they will disobey their parents and ultimately come to harm!" And so on and so forth.

But it was not a one-sided lesson: the community has learned to control the parents, as these have been trained to relinquish their despotic rule. Until the community learns how to control, its incompetent intervention aggravates, rather than remedies, the evil.

CREDITOR AND DEBTOR

At one time, in certain parts of the world, a creditor had the right to dispose of his debtor's person as if it were a mere chattel or beast of burden. He could sell him or keep him as a debt-slave. In England he could take him into his own custody as a kind of hostage, until the debt was paid. Later on this power of imprisonment was retained exclusively by the Courts, and now that also has been abolished. Excluding certain cases, such as when the Crown is the creditor or the debtor is a defaulting trustee, honest debt no longer entails imprisonment, except it be coupled with "contempt." Under no circumstances, however, are debt-prisoners made to render any service from which the State derives pecuniary advantage.

It is also significant that not even all the goods and possessions of the debtor may be realized to satisfy his debts. The law allows him to retain what at this stage of social development it deems to be the irreducible minimum of immediate necessities.

The evolution of this law of debt is sometimes erroneously adduced as an illustration of the doubtful doctrine that the higher the standard of civilization in a given community, the greater the value of persons in relation to property. Property, however, is eternally sacred because it is the investment of human life. For instance, supposing it takes a hundred men—miners, woodcutters, manufacturers and various skilled artisans—an average working year to design and build a ship. If it is computed that the average person is expected to live forty years, that he does not begin work till the age of fifteen, and that his conception and upbringing cost a fraction of other persons' lives, obviously that ship would be equivalent to about five valuable lives, and its deliberate destruction would amount to a multiple murder.

As a matter of fact, what the history of the law of debt illustrates is the abolition of the power of enslaving, and the transfer of the power of compelling the payment of debts from private discretion to public trust. Two other powers have practically been done away with—the power of inflicting punishment by imprisonment for an incapacity to perform a duty, which cannot immediately be cured and could not be practically

avoided, and the power to render one person absolutely destitute in order to satisfy the claim of another person.

Now, but for the law of bankruptcy this leniency would have placed the community at the mercy of reckless or incompetent borrowers, who would have had every temptation to abuse the indispensable instrument of credit with impunity, by endlessly incurring liabilities at the expense of uninformed creditors. However, that law makes it an offence for an undischarged bankrupt to obtain credit of £10 and upwards without first disclosing his financial status, and thereby putting would-be creditors on their guard against the likelihood of further defaults.

Generally speaking, therefore, everybody within the jurisdiction of English Law is entitled honestly to incur debts and as honestly to fail to meet them. But if the Court finds any one unworthy of credit, then he is precluded from persuading his fellow human-beings to place their confidence in him, unless in the first place he informs them of the Court's finding (in other words, of the community's adverse verdict as expressed through and by a public agency set up for the purpose), or until the Court absolves him of responsibility.

PROPERTY

Strictly speaking, private property, that is to say, the investing of an individual with the power

of absolute ownership, does not exist in a civilized community. True, a member of such a community may have a right to destroy property which is lawfully his own; but the very exercise of that right, where physically possible, puts an end to the property and to every right and power over it. Yet in order to maintain the property under his control and for his own benefit, or to preserve or improve it, he must needs resort to the experience and actual assistance of other members of the community. Should the community withdraw its protection, he would be left alone to defend his property or his power thereover single-handed, not only against the interference of his fellow-men, but also against that of the elements and living creatures of all kinds. In either case there would result for him an intolerable situation.

What would an ordinary citizen do, in the event of a burglary taking place in his house, if no police force existed? And what could a warehouseman alone avail against a fire raging on his premises, if there was no fire-brigade at his service? It is the community, through its many appropriate agencies, which comes to the help of the individual in ordinary circumstances, such as the collection and disposal of refuse, as well as in emergencies, such as the outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease. And in return for such benefits the citizen surrenders part of his right of ownership and submits to supervision, interference, taxation, rating, customs dues, death duties and sundry contributions.

Accordingly, the Law of England contains provisions restrictive of the title to and user of property, and others regulating the usufruct thereof, with a view to reconciling the private interest of the individual in property kept under his control and for his benefit with the welfare of the public at large. No one can do what he likes with his own. In England property is owned by private individuals under a limited and subordinate title. Thus it is not lawful for them to be in possession of a dog or a firearm without a licence, and land is held by them subject to various conditions, while indecent books and gambling machines are liable to confiscation and destruction. On the other hand, private income above a certain figure is graduated and taxed by the Central Government.

In this connexion it is convenient to divide the law under two heads, namely, nuisance and taxation. The laws of nuisance (including the numerous "police laws") are founded on the social principle that all the members of the community have a moral claim to enjoy their rights over their own possessions in a similar manner and consistently with one another's general rights. As to the laws cutting down a citizen's rights to the fruits of his or her labour or property, they are rooted in the equitable principle that those who possess less than the acknowledged minimum required to satisfy their needs have a moral claim on the estimated surplus in the possession of others.

Besides, a regular contribution has to be made to the expenditure incurred for administrative purposes, including the safety of the realm.

TRIBUNALS

Once upon a time there were no public wrongs, and all private wrongs used to be redressed by independent action taken by the offender and the victim involved, or by their respective relatives on their behalf. Gradually there developed many crimes, i.e. public wrongs, while the power to adjudicate on numerous private or civil quarrels was taken from the parties thereto and vested in completely independent judges, removable only on the address of both Houses of Parliament, and answerable to no one for their utterances from the Bench¹.

Thus the power of hearing and determining certain disputes between non-freeholders of a village community in the Middle Ages was exercised

¹ The institution of the jury, which forms an integral part of the British legal system, is an additional safeguard to the independence of the Judicature. Both in civil and in criminal cases the presence of the jury enables the trial judge to discharge his duties faithfully, regardless of the consequences, since the responsibility for the verdict rests with the jury. Moreover, the mere existence of the right of trial by jury, even though it be not always exercised, strengthens public confidence in the judges and promotes their freedom. Thus in many circumstances the accused is entitled to elect whether to be tried summarily or by jury. The choice of venue either relieves the magistrates from dealing with a distrustful defendant or places them in the privileged position of freely selected arbitrators. The same is true of those civil contests where the parties agree to have the case tried by a judge alone.

by the steward on behalf of the Lord of the Manor, the former being accountable for the administration of it to the latter alone. The Lord, however, was responsible to no one so long as he kept within his jurisdiction. On the other hand, in certain cases the verdict of battle used to decide inconsistent titles to land between freeholders. Less remotely, the King, supreme landowner, presumed to interfere with the rights of the subject—theoretically, his tenant. Besides, judges used to receive fees from litigants who came before them in quest of justice.

However, *nous avons changé tout ça*. After centuries of conflict between baronial and royal claims on the one hand, and between the king's prerogative and the rights of the subject on the other, we enjoy to-day an excellent system of public Courts, entirely divorced from property, which deserves our respect. Here and there a judge may render himself liable to criticism, but on the whole the perfection of the constitution of the Judicature makes up for the rare infirmities of the human factor on the Bench. Indeed, one may safely single out the English machinery of justice as a perfect illustration of what a congenial system as such may contribute to the welfare of society.

This is civilization, for the abuse of the power of settling differences between persons is highly detrimental to the community. Such abuse shakes confidence and security, which are the badges of civilized society, and so this power has been taken

away from irresponsible individuals and put in public commission throughout the land. Even private arbitrations are supervised by His Majesty's Judges, and thus come within public control.

The evolution of International Law and the setting up of the International Court at the Hague are further tokens of civilization.

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

The King of England has often, and for a considerable period in post-conquest history, ruled without formally consulting his subjects. Sometimes, especially early after the Conquest, he held more or less informal consultations of a private or public nature with an indefinite number of selected men. Later formal councils, partly representative, were convened at irregular intervals at the wish of the King, but he was not bound to abide by their opinion. The nation was not thoroughly articulate, and its government was carried on by tacit consent and coercion alternately. Hence the riots and rebellions (both in Britain and Ireland) which preceded and followed the English Revolution, itself the expression of public discontent at the point of despair. As time went on, however, these councils became definite, regular and largely popular, and developed into the modern Parliament which is invested with plenary powers and is in all matters supreme.

Incidental to the wielding of sovereign powers

which cover the whole range of government, Parliament performs another vital function, viz., it rears its own leaders. The representative character of the House of Commons, its absolute freedom, and its self-imposed discipline, render it the nursery *par excellence* of statesmen and administrators. This is the ultimate test of the viability of Parliament as an institution: far from containing the seed of its own destruction, it engenders the vitality needed for its continued development.

Thus the power usurped and exercised absolutely by William of Normandy has become a trust vested in his successors as Constitutional Monarchs. A Constitutional Monarch may be defined as a ruler who acts whole-heartedly on the advice of his democratically responsible Ministers whenever it is officially tendered; and, when such advice is not available, chooses a lawful course of conduct which, in his considered opinion and according to his free conscience, is best for his subjects, judged from their own point of view.

CHAPTER IV

DEMOCRACY

THE CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY

SINCE the War grave doubts have been entertained throughout the world as to the value and wisdom of democratic institutions. They have been repudiated by some nations and are actually at a discount even among many citizens of this country. The democratic system of government has often been made the scapegoat in respect of our failures. Yet Democracy means government or administrative control by public opinion or consent, and therefore is the political embodiment of the principles of trust, responsibility and equality. Now we have seen that these cardinal principles are fundamentally sound, so that the skilful application thereof must needs be crowned with success. It follows, therefore, that our failures, such as they are, cannot emanate from any perversity in these principles, but from the manner in which they are translated into practice. Let us, then, analyse the implications of Democracy with a view to establishing its political virtue and demonstrating the relation which exists between the law of the Constitution and the rest of the law of the land.

THE LEGAL CONCEPTION OF CONSENT

Whenever consent is relevant, English Jurisprudence, both in Civil and Criminal Law, whether in Procedure or Substantive Law, requires it to be given clearly, freely and with complete knowledge of material facts, that is to say, of all facts which, in the circumstances, might affect one's judgment in coming to a decision. Fraud or intimidation vitiates consent and renders it inoperative.

Thus in the Law of Tort it is an actionable wrong to cause damage to a person by knowingly or recklessly :

- a. Misrepresenting to him or her material facts, or
- b. Representing as existing material facts which do not in reality exist, or
- c. Concealing from him or her facts which one is in duty bound to disclose to that person.

Again, a contract into which a person is induced to enter by any of these three kinds of fraud is voidable at the instance of the victim of the deceit. Fraud may even vitiate a marriage, which is a special form of contract. The Law of Contract, moreover, lays down that if the acts and/or terms relied upon as conveying consent are ambiguous, or consent is obtained by duress, the contract is absolutely void.

Finally, it has been definitely decided that the consent of a woman to sexual intercourse, if procured by deception or threat of violence, is

nugatory, and the act amounts to rape exactly as if force was actually used to obtain connexion.¹

Akin to consent in substantive law is confession in adjective law. Here, too, intimidation is one of the invalidating factors. For in Criminal Procedure confessions are admissible in evidence only if they are voluntary. When made under the shadow of intimidation they are involuntary and, therefore, inadmissible. There is a further characteristic with regard to the admissibility of confessions, which is peculiar to the conception of consent in Criminal Law. It is that they must not be extorted under hope of reward. The accused must not be induced to admit his guilt because of any favour promised him in relation to the proceedings, any more than on account of some threatened punishment.

How do these legal requisites of clearness as regards consent, freedom from deceit or intimidation, and knowledge of material facts, compare with the procedure of government?

First as to the factor of clearness.

CLEARNESS

When the issues between two or three individuals are few and simple, consent may be inferred

¹ There are, however, two exceptions to this rule, on account of complicating factors, namely, when the woman yields on the strength of the man's false promise to marry her, or after she has been fraudulently induced to go through a ceremony of marriage which renders the man guilty of bigamy. But in one case he is liable to be sued for breach of promise, and in the other he is liable to be prosecuted.

from conduct with sufficient clearness. The commonest example is the sale and purchase of evening newspapers in the streets. A newsboy displays the name of his paper; a passer-by advances towards him penny in hand. Thereupon the vendor produces a copy from a bunch under his arm, hands it to the customer and takes the coin from him. The contract is completed without a word being exchanged between the parties to it as to price, offer or acceptance.

But government is a most complicated business, involving an endless series of transactions of infinite variety, which in one way or another affect the lives of a considerable number of people. In the circumstances, tacit consent is not practical to achieve genuine governance of the people by the people. Indeed, government carried on by tacit consent is hardly distinguishable from government carried on independently of the opinion of the people, and sooner or later blossoms into government by coercion. Therefore, in the interests of clearness, Democracy requires the popular consent to be expressed through suffrage.

In order further to secure clearness, sound Democracy requires that the consent of the people be sought regularly. For circumstances change continually, and the wishes of the people may change accordingly, and Democracy demands that they should be assiduously studied and sedulously satisfied. Therefore, the people's power of attorney must be granted to its representatives for a

more or less fixed and comparatively short period, important issues of the hour must from time to time be debated by them, and they ought to be given daily opportunities to cross-examine the members of the National Executive on matters of administration and points or principles of policy.

Moreover, it is obvious, if its consent is to be given not by direct vote, as in a plebiscite, but through representation, that the adult population should be divided into electoral units of more or less equal size. Representation is deficient to the extent to which constituencies are appreciably unequal.

But who should possess the franchise? The answer is, all members of the community who have attained the age of discretion, say 21 years, and are presumed to be capable of forming an opinion on matters of public interest. For, in proportion as such members are denied the franchise, whether on the ground of creed, sex, lack of property or otherwise, to that extent the government of the nation is non-representative and democratically deficient.

The enfranchisement of women in Britain was the culminating stage of their emancipation, that is to say, their acquisition of rights previously enjoyed exclusively by men. In the past, severe disqualifications barred the members of the female sex from admission to posts and offices which were considered the exclusive preserve of the male, just as in a caste system those who belong to the

inferior caste are not eligible to certain positions allotted to the privileged. Now, however, women are free to engage in almost every possible activity on a more or less equal footing with the members of the male sex.

This freedom of opportunity has had a favourable effect: women have already made a substantial contribution to society in the office, the shop, the factory, the school and the hospital—to mention but a few directions. Her experience in the home and on the labour market endows the woman with first-hand knowledge of social problems and world affairs, and entitles her to form and voice a weighty opinion thereon. With the right of suffrage in her possession she may yet play a decisive role in bettering the lot of mankind. In short, it is very likely that woman will use her political power as she has always used her biological power, namely, in favour of race-preservation.

Having discussed the factor of clearness, let us now turn our attention to the elements of freedom and knowledge implied in the legal conception of consent.

DELIBERATENESS

True, the House of Commons is more or less regularly elected by universal adult suffrage to form part of the Sovereign Parliament, which is to all practical intents and purposes a standing institution. True, it is in the Parliamentary

general and by-elections that the people expresses its consent to one line of policy or another, to the appointment of one Premier or set of Ministers, or to their continuance in office, in preference to another Premier or set of Ministers. But how is this consent sought or obtained? Are the circumstances of the expression of consent in conformity with the two other requisites of valid consent in English Law? How do these compare with the constitutional manner in which electioneering is conducted in this country? If this or that circumstance amounts to deceit or intimidation, or to both deceit and intimidation, then a constitutional wrong is undoubtedly committed on the electorate, its consent to the accession of the respective governments concerned or to any of them is a farce, the elections are sham elections, and democracy is reduced to a mockery.

Not only is there no use in voting or having a vote unless one knows what one is voting about and one votes deliberately, but, on the contrary, in circumstances of ignorance or undue pressure there is a positive danger in the possession or exercise of such a right. Where government is carried on by the tacit consent of the people—the unfranchised sections and the unfranchised sex being constitutionally inarticulate—if the unfranchised population feel aggrieved, the subjects may legitimately rebel and even revolt. The people is ethically entitled to resort to violence, since it has no organic means of voicing its

grievances. Here, however, we are ethically as well as legally precluded from appealing to violence in order to redress our social grievances, as we are from resorting to it in ordinary private transactions. To do so would be sheer anarchy.¹ Further, it would be the height of folly to speculate on the motive which led the vast electorate, on a given occasion, to choose a certain Administration, proceed to the conclusion that it elected its Government under a misapprehension, and act accordingly. The Constitution affords an opportunity for change at regular and comparatively frequent intervals, and Democracy demands that the Government and laws should be obeyed, even by those who disapprove of them, until the prescribed opportunity for lawful and orderly change of the obnoxious Administration and laws offers itself and the change actually takes place.² In this respect by-elections are sometimes of great national importance, as they indicate the reaction of the people to the results of the general election or to the pursuance of a certain policy.

¹ With the inauguration of the new Constitution, the era of violence and non-co-operation ought to come to an end in India.

² Here we may note the legislative function of the jury. In the same way that the judges, as "interpreters" of existing law, make new law, the juries, as "interpreters" of fact, abrogate unpopular laws and cause new laws to be enacted by Parliament, e.g. the Treason-Felony Acts of last century. Indeed, even under our very eyes juries have procured the substitution of one motoring offence by another and are now in the process of revolutionizing the law of insurance against accident.

One word about corrupt practices. Legislation exists which prohibits the offer of bribes to individual electors, but candidates may make with impunity all sorts of false and fantastic promises to the electorate collectively or to any section thereof. Yet the motive of greed works as much against the preservation of the race as unnecessary fear, and judgment swayed by either consideration seldom coincides with reason. Beware of slogans which are no less mischievous in their consequences than the catch-word so popular in decadent Rome: "Bread and Circuses!" Alas! Against this kind of evil legal sanctions are impotent and impossible of application, because it is very difficult to fix the miscreants with their guilt. The only salvation lies in civic education. Hence the importance of training in citizenship. For no code or constituted authority can avail in such a state of corruption and disintegration. Behold, tyranny stands ominous at the door!

ABSOLUTISM

Assume the constitution of Parliament to be—as a system—best calculated to ensure the genuine interpretation and even accurate reflection of public opinion, to promote legislative co-operation between its component parts, to safeguard the interests of the people, and to guard the liberties of the citizen. This would not by itself guarantee good and democratic government. For however

perfect the electoral machinery may be, it is apt to work mischief in the hands of corrupt or incompetent leaders; and however perfect a democratic legislative plant may be, it has to be periodically pulled to pieces and then remounted by the people. Therefore, the smooth functioning of representative institutions ultimately depends on the sound judgment of the people, which in its turn depends on public education. It follows from the aforesaid that there are circumstances in which an attempt at complete Democracy would be impracticable and even dangerous. They are: ignorance, corruption, and apathy.

We have seen that only such members of the community as are capable of forming an independent opinion on matters of public interest are entitled to possess the suffrage, for they alone can express genuine consent and exercise effective control. Now, if the average level of education among a certain people is so low that only a few citizens who have reached the age of discretion are thus qualified to vote, it is, to say the least of it, useless to appeal to the judgment of all. Accordingly such an electorate should, in the interests of honest and good administration, be established within circumscribed limits,¹ even to

¹ It is significant that common and special jurors, who form the democratic element in the administration of justice, are recruited from a restricted class of voters. The fact, however, that membership of this class depends on a property qualification is an anomaly: broad minded and educated lodgers are passed over in favour of benighted small householders and bigoted petty shopkeepers.

the point of non-existence, and the government of such people must be carried on through semi-democratic or non-democratic institutions by capable and conscientious men and women upon trust for the people. That is why the franchise is limited in India and completely absent in Nigeria. Why, even in this country universal suffrage dates from 1927!

The very *raison d'être* of such a system of government, however, would be the pursuit of a policy of self-denial, since it must aim at educating the people with a view to establishing completely democratic institutions, and thus gradually bring about its own extinction. Indeed, it is by the steady spreading of democratic influence in India, with Dominion status as the ideal goal, that British raj vindicates itself. But once the people has succeeded in transferring the supreme power of the State from the realm of absolutism to that of responsibility, it should vigilantly guard against the grave and recurrent peril of losing this precious prize.

As to corruption, it manifests itself simultaneously in the electorate and in the politicians. The former becomes amenable to bribes of one kind or another, and automatically returns perverse verdicts according to the misdirection of the latter. But the corruption must be such as to affect a determining proportion of the people. In these circumstances popular consent is illusory and democratic control is reduced to a farce. Such a

state of affairs causes and justifies the establishment of absolute government, until the old corruption has been eliminated root and branch and the old anarchic forces have been completely annihilated. Hence the recent suspension of the Newfoundland Constitution. The fact that in this case democratic responsibility has not been abolished, but merely transferred, has obviated a grave danger. For in the process of an attempt at doing away with the old corruption and the old vested interests by the assumption of absolute power, new vested interests and new abuses are apt to grow in their stead.

Lastly, if the people is so indifferent to the decision of its political issues one way or the other that a vast proportion of electors abstains from exercising the right which they already possess of recording their vote, the consent of the people will not be clearly expressed. In order to avoid tyranny efforts should be made and redoubled to inform the people in open-air and indoor meetings, through the ether and the Press, that political problems affect every one of its members at some time or other, in this way or that, so as to awaken their slumbering minds and excite their waning interest. When this message reaches the masses and they respond to it, the consent of the electorate is given clearly and its control becomes effective. Thus the remarkable zeal evinced by the Indian voters at the recent elections augurs well for the new Constitution.

REACTION AND REFORM

There has hardly ever existed an out and out reactionary or an all-round reformer. All of us, to whatever party or class we may belong, are this or that in parts, as anybody who has read biographies or observed contemporary politicians or next-door neighbours knows only too well. Reactionaries in this or that are continually climbing down under the atmospheric pressure of public opinion. They are always retreating before the irresistible arguments of reformers in that or this. Both reactionaries and reformers will always be with us. Like the legendary hydra, Reaction grows new heads as soon as the old ones are cut off by Reform—and as often.

Nevertheless, society has to be thankful to the reactionaries for their obstruction; for they make the reformers think all the harder in finding out the right changes and the right method of bringing them about. This is by no means a bad thing, considering that reactionaries in this are reformers in that, and that some of the reformers of to-day will probably be reactionaries to-morrow. This one-sided and sectional obstinacy keeps the whole of society improving all the time, provided a certain condition is fulfilled.

Let us assume that citizens X & Co. are Progressive (whatever that may be) with regard to economic questions, and Reactionary (whatever that may mean) with regard to matrimonial laws;

and that citizens Y & Co., the rest of society, are Reactionary with regard to the former subject and Progressive with regard to the latter. Suppose also that, as a result of a struggle for power between these two groups, Y & Co. win and there-upon introduce their matrimonial reforms. Now if these are given a fair trial and prove successful, they would remain unassailed when X & Co., or their successors in thought, come to power. But when this happens economic reforms will be introduced, and if these also prove sound they, too, would continue undisturbed when Y & Co., or their successors in thought, return to power. By this time, however, other problems will have arisen, and the community will have again divided into two main camps with regard to their respective solutions. Thus so-called Reform and so-called Reaction alternate more or less regularly and the struggle between them goes on for ever.

But this struggle is not conducive to progress unless the right of every individual member of society to form his or her opinions and to express them freely is firmly established; provided always that violence and fraud are not advocated, since the one negatives or disregards reason and the other renders it nugatory. That right is founded on the principle of race-preservation, because we are all fallible and depend on one another for aid, if we are to avoid or overcome various dangers.

This aid is either of a corrective or a constructive nature. On its corrective side, the expression

of critical opinion is based on the idea that it would be as immoral to tolerate with complete indifference the commission by one's neighbour of what one deems to be a wrong, as to inflict it oneself. On the other hand, the expression of constructive opinion is based on the complementary conception that not to avail oneself of an opportunity for doing what one thinks to be right is equivalent to the actual commission of what one thinks is wrong. Besides, if a man be actually wrong in his thought, he is entitled to be corrected by his fellows and they are in duty bound to correct him, so that he may not come himself or bring others to harm. Yet how could they correct his opinions if he is forbidden to express them and his fellows have no opportunity of knowing what they are?

In the political life of a community the opportunity for criticism is not in the nature of a luxury to be enjoyed by a selected few, but one of the indispensable and inalienable necessities of every member. At one time or another, in respect of some matter or other, every citizen cherishes a discontent and feels the need of voicing it. For government cannot be carried on with unanimous and unqualified approval for any length of time. It is no more possible completely to eradicate and permanently to banish political ailments than it is pathological ones. They are perennial and recurrent phenomena inherent in our own imperfection. Even under an

ideal form of government, while the best possible Administration is in power, there are, in various proportions, almost as many majorities in favour of it and minorities in opposition to it, as there are laws on the Statute Book and things done or neglected by the Administration.

For instance, assuming that 75 per cent of the population are in favour of the Road Traffic Laws and Regulations, not all of them approve, any more than all the remaining 25 per cent resent, every law and regulation. Again, 80 per cent of the people may be in favour of the Licensing Laws as a whole, but they will not include all the 75 per cent who are in favour of the Road Traffic Laws as a whole. The same may be said of Foreign Policy and of the Government's decision to take or not to take action in a particular case. Thus the members of society are divided into comparatively contented and comparatively discontented mutable groups.

It is the virtue of free speech, therefore, that it enables statesmen to secure the maximum of approbation and to occasion the minimum of dissent in two ways: through freedom of speech complaints are aired and remedies are suggested for them. Just as Democracy is not conceivable without freedom of speech, Absolutism will not tolerate it. For it deliberately ignores a substantial body of public opinion and would, in the last resort, silence that opinion by force. As if the mere terrorizing of patients into muteness

could ever amount to curing them of their maladies!

Then the undue interference with freedom of opinion implies, not only monopoly of reason in the coercers, but also monopoly of force. History however, shows how sooner or later this presumption is challenged, and a violent conflict takes place between coercers and coerced. The unfortunate part of such an event is that if the latter get the upper hand, they are more likely than not to muzzle their opponents and to force them to follow a prescribed course of conduct as rigid as, if different from, that which had been imposed on the victors. Yet two wrongs, at any rate these two wrongs, do not make one right. They merely tend to perpetuate a state of affairs inimical to the preservation of the race.

CHAPTER V

THIS LAND OF THE FREE

THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT

PARLIAMENT is not a completely democratic institution, because, for one thing, the House of Lords may delay the presentation for the royal assent of Bills passed by the House of Commons; for another, there survive three absolute royal prerogatives of vital importance, namely, that of dissolving Parliament, that of summoning Parliament and that of vetoing legislation passed by both Houses. Nevertheless it works. In fact, there is no other country, be it a monarchy or a republic, which is more democratic than Britain.

The King's veto exists in law, though it has not been wielded since 1707. Without unnecessarily speculating over the likelihood or otherwise of its being exercised in the future, it is clear that its function in the British Constitution detracts little, if at all, from the popularity of Parliament. Even democratically elected Presidents have the power to veto legislation passed by democratic assemblies, and there is no reason to suppose that the King of England would use that power less conscientiously than any elected President. Again, assuming this prerogative is exercised in the teeth of opposition from the Cabinet¹ and

¹ The King may dismiss a recalcitrant Cabinet and appoint in its place subservient Ministers.

both Houses—a large assumption—it would only have the effect of delaying the passing into law of the vetoed measure till passed again by a new Parliament and presented to the King for the second time for his assent. For though a king might be justified in disagreeing with the people's representatives, no monarch in his senses would dare defy the expressed mandate of his subjects on a definite measure previously rejected by him. And what no such monarch would do, one may confidently assert our King will not do.

Incidentally, the interval between the royal veto of a Bill and the subsequent assent to it may last only a few weeks, whereas the delay caused by the rejection of the Bill by the House of Lords is a statutory minimum of two years.

The power of delaying legislation is less likely to be abused by a hereditary sovereign than by a hereditary chamber for two reasons. First, the King is brought up and trained to be a constitutional ruler, while few peers, if any, receive such education or undergo such training. Second, one individual may be fixed with responsibility, but not so easily a large body of non-representative persons; especially when they are more or less equally divided on a specific issue, or when not all of them express an opinion thereon.

As to the prerogative of summoning Parliament, it is not, in practice, more dangerous to Democracy than the King's veto, since annual sessions are secured by the need of Supply and that of

Appropriation of Supply. With a few exceptions, no taxes may lawfully be collected by the Government, nor may money already collected lawfully be spent, except in accordance with votes periodically approved by the House of Commons.

Therefore, even if it were more in consonance with democratic theory that Parliamentary elections and the coming into force of legislation should be automatic, it would by no means be safer in practice. For the matter of that, there is nothing in the British Constitution to prevent any Parliament from perpetuating itself, or even from abdicating in favour of Dictatorship. Indeed, in 1539 Parliament passed the Statute of Proclamations, which was "a virtual resignation of the essential character of Parliament as a legislative body"; and a Parliament of George I prolonged its own life from three to seven years. During the War Parliament again exercised both these extraordinary powers, and circumstances may again arise which would demand the assumption of almost dictatorial powers, viz., a menacing situation requiring secrecy of information and prompt decisions. The fact is, there is no safeguard sufficiently sacred, no organic ink-and-paper security sufficiently strong, against such inroads. It is left to the honesty and sagacity of political leaders not to ask for arbitrary powers from Parliament except when and in so far as it is strictly necessary. For in the last resort peoples

are not governed by laws, but by their own men and women, and Democracy, wherever and whenever practicable, is the only congenial system where civic virtue can flourish.

The third prerogative, however, stands in a peculiar position. It may be used to further democratic control in either of two extraordinary events, namely :

1. When Parliament has for some reason or other lost the confidence of the people.

2. When certain urgent circumstances demand an immediate appeal to the electorate.

On the other hand, the power of dissolution was sometimes abused before the English Revolution in order to murder a viable House of Commons, so that the will of the people was frustrated.

BICAMERAL LEGISLATURES

Before discussing the character of the House of Lords, and indeed, in order to appreciate its true value, one has to be satisfied as to the necessity for a Second Chamber in a Democratic State. Obviously, if the election of one set of national representatives can perfectly fulfil all the desiderata of good democratic government which may be secured by suffrage, another set would at its best only register the same popular wishes and carry out the identical popular behests.

Now if an additional body of representatives is brought into existence merely to reinforce the first, there is no need to waste time and energy

over the election of two separate assemblies, each being the duplicate of the other. An increased number of Counsellors and Delegates, if desirable, may be easily obtained by reducing the electoral unit. Incidentally, smaller constituencies would make for clearer expression of opinion. Should the objection be put forward that a large Assembly is more wasteful and less wieldy than a comparatively small one, the difficulty might be overcome by dividing the elected body of national representatives into two, not necessarily equal, though proportionate, parts, regard being had to the numerical strength of the various Parties returned.

On the other hand, it may be cogently argued that certain material facts might be deliberately suppressed at the general election of members of the First Chamber, or that they might come to light shortly after such election. It is also conceivable that the electorate might arrive at a wrong conclusion and express a mandate which it would desire to rescind or vary at an early opportunity. Therefore, it might be suggested that a Second Chamber, elected somewhere between two general elections of the members of the First Chamber, would meet these untoward contingencies. Yet if that were the only advantage to be derived from a Second Chamber, it might be spared the travail of birth and the ordeal of existence by shortening the life of a single Chamber.

Summing up, in the first case the electorate would be put to superfluous trouble, while in

the second, two Chambers would co-exist to do the work of one frequently renewed. Clearly, a distinct Second Chamber has no *raison d'être* in either of these circumstances. However, there is a vital reason which calls for two differently constituted Representative Assemblies, namely, the further elucidation of public opinion, the adequate expression of which is a strong safeguard to the interests of the nation.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE SECOND CHAMBER

When all the adult population, divided into more or less equal constituencies, has taken part in the election of a new House of Commons, there remains a residue of public opinion that does not find independent and clear expression in that august body. For apart from general issues common to the people at large, upon which a responsible Administration is chosen, there are particular issues peculiar to the various groups into which a modern community is invariably subdivided. Besides being a member of the community, a citizen is also a member of one or more of these groups. Thus he may be engaged in one of the many industries or professions and may hold a certain religious belief or no religious belief. The interests of these different groups are not always the same and tend to become inconsistent. Unless they are specifically voiced in the Councils of the State, public opinion is to that extent tacit and

Democracy is proportionately the poorer thereby.

The mode of representation is a serious problem in democratic governance. For instance, the political parties in the House of Commons are not, as a rule, numerically representative of the number of votes respectively cast for them. Clearly, to the extent to which party representation in the House is out of proportion to the votes cast in the country, to that extent the consent of the people is travestied, and to the same extent ought the opposing parties to consider and meet one another's wishes—quite apart from the ordinary compromise that must be reached by different bodies adequately representing various sections of public opinion. In such circumstances the balance might be redressed by a Second Chamber elected on another basis, namely, the vocational franchise as distinguished from the geographical.¹

Now the representation of individual groups in Parliament has always existed. Thus the Universities, as academic institutions, are represented in the House of Commons. Again, generally speaking, many adult members of the community who follow a trade or profession have already two votes, one in respect of their residence and the other in respect of their vocation premises. But these votes are mixed up and submerged locally

¹ In Unitary countries, such as ours and France, the Upper House, and in Federal countries, like Australia and the United States, the Lower House, would be returned by vocational franchise. In these Assemblies, however, absolute majority would not be sufficient to determine every issue.

and nationally in the suffrage of the whole population. Finally, the Church and the Law are specifically represented in the Second Chamber.

True, there are doctors, soldiers, sailors, teachers, captains of industry, in the House of Commons; but they are not there as such. Whereas the new Peers are created by the Crown on account of their proficiency and prominence in one activity or another of the national life, members of the House of Commons are elected on general issues, and often independently of the candidates' standing in their respective callings. Therefore, whatever reform might be suggested with regard to the House of Lords, its characteristic of voicing the residue of consent not expressed in the House of Commons ought to remain inviolable, for the following cogent reasons:

First, it renders Parliament specifically representative of every aspect and shade of national life.

Second, the Legislature is composed of two distinct, yet complementary, Chambers, the members of the one being skilful politicians possessing a more or less adequate general knowledge, while those of the other are mostly qualified experts with a working knowledge of politics.

Third, the country's forces are co-ordinated and combined towards the preservation and progress of the nation.

Fourth, the legitimate rights of minorities are safeguarded against the tyranny of the majority.

Such an assortment is an efficient means of

reconciling the needs of minorities with the demands of majorities. This is of the utmost importance, for, unsuspected as the case may be, there are innumerable minorities and innumerable majorities in every and the same community. An absolute majority and, consequently, an absolute minority can only exist in laboratories of inorganic chemistry, where one molecule of an element or compound is identical with another molecule of the same substance in every respect. But no two human beings are alike, though all persons have innumerable characteristics in common; so that in any society majorities and minorities must be estimated in respect of single aspects of life only. Thus a member of society who finds himself in a minority with regard to some aspect of life, or some human characteristic, is sure to form part of the majority in the self-same society on account of another aspect of life or human characteristic. That being so, good government requires perfect equality of rights among all the members of the community, while it is the concern of statesmen to devise means of promoting favourable characteristics and eradicating those which are not favourable, without interfering with the principle of equality of rights; indeed, on the contrary, by calling it in their aid.

BRITISH FREEDOM

How do we secure clearness of consent and avoid public deception with regard to governmental

policy at home and abroad, while obviating corruption and disorder? The answer is threefold: through freedom of speech, freedom of association, and the right to live.

Both in the House of Lords and in the House of Commons speech is absolutely privileged. This means that, within the bounds of Parliamentary procedure, every member of Parliament is entitled on the floor of his House to inquire into any incident or transaction, to criticize whomsoever and whatsoever he pleases, and to make any accusation or statement, without laying himself open to civil or criminal proceedings of any sort. Moreover, the law extends its protection to the publication of reports of Parliamentary speeches, questions and answers, while every inhabitant of this island, be he or she a native or a foreigner, is entitled to publish in writing or by word of mouth fair comments on any matter of public interest—from the conduct of the umpire at a cricket match to the actions and pronouncements of the Premier. This combined freedom and complementary publicity facilitate the exposure of wrongs and permit of their redress, maintaining the while decency and dignity in the affairs of State.

Again, we are allowed in this country to associate with one another in rival groups, provided the purpose of such bellicose co-operation is not in furtherance of fraud, violence or the injury of any section of His Majesty's subjects. That is how different political Parties flourish freely side

by side, and His Majesty's Government is confronted always and everywhere by His Majesty's Opposition. This has a threefold significance.

First, that the King, as a constitutional head of the State, is above and beyond Party strife.

Second, that the country has an alternative Government, a Shadow Cabinet, ready to take over the helm of State from the Government of the day.

Third, that no Government is permitted to carry out a policy to its logical conclusion in complete disregard of the views and interests voiced by the Opposition. The battles between them are not merely verbal, though they may be sometimes verbose. From the clash and hammering of arguments in the Parliamentary forge *coram populo* scintillate truth and wisdom, and by the free exchange of views and information policies are fashioned for the good of hundreds of millions in these sceptred isles and in various territories beyond the seas. We may quote as examples our Colonial Administration, our Factory and Education Acts, our Labour laws and our Social Services.

These services are rendered either by the State, e.g. old age pensions, health insurance and unemployment benefit, or by public institutions privately managed, such as voluntary hospitals, hostels and other charitable foundations. But they all have one characteristic in common: they are administered and dispensed in conformity with the principle of stewardship. It can be claimed for them that they have enabled us to eliminate

brutality from our scheme of government, to abate suffering and to redeem the health of the people: we do not in any way intimidate those who need food and shelter into starving in silence or dying of helpless exposure: widows and orphans are cared for, and workers are not compelled to slave mercilessly for a living in their old age—those who have been lucky enough to attain it being assured of a pension: we do not allow the needy to ail and die without a genuine effort being made to relieve their pain or to save them from premature destruction. These provisions may or may not be adequate to meet the situation generally or particular cases of exceptional hardship; nevertheless, the right to security is acknowledged in principle, and security is one of the tests of civilization.

This democracy has proved its capacity to guide other nations and to manage every aspect of human life—work, education, housing, transport, etc.—so as to bring up a healthy, intelligent and conscientious generation. When the forces of the nation are thus freely co-ordinated there is no conceivable reason why it will not be possible, not only to cure the evils of the past, but also to prevent many evils from arising in the future and further to increase the happiness of the individual and to consolidate and improve the national stock.

Having investigated the internal organization of the State, let us now discuss international relations. And first as to inter-state rivalry.

CHAPTER VI

WAR

TWO OPINIONS

INDIVIDUALISM, that is, the exercise of power primarily on one's own behalf and only incidentally, if at all, for the benefit of others, finds its most acute national expression in war. It assumes then its ugliest aspect and most uncompromising character, running naked and unashamed. For war is the use of force by two self-regarding rival groups (e.g. nations) or sets of rival groups (e.g. allied powers), with the object of settling in favour of the victorious side a conflict between their respective desires, without reference to the merits or demerits of those desires from the point of view of race-preservation. War's avowed object is the complete destruction or the unconditional surrender of the opponent; it is to the community what the duel is to the individual, and strikes at the very root of virtue and stewardship. Said Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson, on 6th January, 1933—

I have spent nearly half a century on matters connected with war, and I have come to the conclusion that it is a futile thing, for it neither ensures peace nor composes differences.

Armed conflicts openly and violently tax the

resources of the fit and increase the number of the unfit by mowing down and mutilating the flower of manhood and by corrupting the survivors with ruthless cruelty, greed, disease, and dishonesty. The Industrial Revolution in its various phases has augmented and intensified the destructive effects of war. Millions of one-time healthy and intelligent youths lie past rotting in the battlefields of history. Yet the voice of their blood still cries from the ground, giving the lie to those who assert that they rightly sacrificed their lives in the sacred name of self-preservation. Millions of the halt and maim, men with deranged minds and damaged bodies, together with a great number of vicious creatures, have outlived the wars to prove how internecine competition does not contribute materially to the survival of the fittest! Indeed, vanity has never reached a greater height than when a man, standing in shameless conceit on the corpses of his comrades, arrogantly proclaims that he has survived them because he is the worthiest of them all.

Nevertheless, there is another view on this subject.

We can afford to ignore Von Papen's fatal dictum, which he laid down on the 13th May, 1933, namely—

What the battlefield is to the man motherhood is to the woman. . . . Mothers should wear themselves out to give life to children. Fathers should fight on the battlefield to secure the future for their sons. . . . The martial

tradition of the War has survived its unhappy issue and lives on as a guarantee for the national future.

Nor is Mussolini's version, expressed on the 26th May, 1934, more deserving of attention. He said something strikingly similar—

War is for man what maternity is for woman. I do not believe in perpetual peace. I consider perpetual peace deprives and negatives all the fundamental virtues of man. Only in bloody effort can man live in the sun.

These pseudo-statesmen had motives of their own for respectively making the aforesaid pronouncements. But when an independent expert of no less a calibre than Sir Arthur Keith, in the role of racial physician and in the name of science, puts all the weight of his authority against the belief in the desirability and possibility of permanent peace, we ought to give his utterances our most careful consideration. Indeed, Von Papen and Signor Mussolini openly praised the virtues of war, the one three and the other two years after Sir Arthur had delivered his Rectorial Address at Aberdeen on the 6th June, 1931.¹ Then it was he first announced the "harsh and repugnant" verdict that war is a necessary adjunct of biological improvement.

PSEUDO-BIO-POLITICS

In his endeavour to throw light on the reasons of the unrest which prevails in the world, Sir

¹ *The Place of Prejudice in Modern Civilization* (Williams & Norgate, Ltd.) by Sir Arthur Keith.

Arthur Keith has expounded a theory on the evolution of man, fraught with propositions and conclusions worthy of the closest scrutiny. The theory is in substance as follows—

The study of ancient Greek and Roman history cannot help us to solve our modern problems. Statesmen must go back to the prehistoric world in order to “understand the heart of tribal man,” which is the same as that of modern man in its idealism and spiritual aspirations, as well as in its prejudices.

Man's mental manifestations emanate either from the head or cortical centres, or from the heart or basal centres. These two parts of the brain act together and overlap, but it is rather the heart which guided unconscious man up the evolutionary ladder.

Small isolated groups or tribes are Nature's evolutionary cradles, devised for the production of higher and better races of mankind, “each new form in the course of time being replaced by others—more adapted for the world in which they were born than those which had gone before.” Besides the fixed geographical frontiers, Nature evolved personal and portable barriers. A modern breeder “called on to evolve a new human breed . . . would do just what Nature has done, separate Mankind into herds and tribes and keep them isolated and pure for an endless period.”

To keep the tribe permanently isolated Nature endowed every tribesman with a dual personality.

He was a Jekyll-Hyde, virtuous towards his fellow-tribesmen and vicious towards strangers. If the tribal heart had been capable only of love, the human inhabitants of the world would have fraternized and tribes could not have been isolated. On the other hand, if it had been capable only of hatred, it would have been impossible for people to live together and form tribes. This dual organization of the tribal heart is race prejudice.

Besides the love for one's tribe, there was the love for one's native land, which also helped to keep the tribe intact, as without it the tribe would have scattered. Again, without love of independence a prehistoric tribe would have surrendered to another without fight, and would consequently have dropped out of competition into "the limbo of the unfit."

Prejudice, therefore, takes various forms—personal, racial, local, and tribal (or national). It is typical of prejudice that it turns favoured opinions into facts and that when provoked it gives rise to an instant line of action.

There was another portable agent, apart from prejudice, which worked for tribal segregation, namely, colour. Nature formed her League of Humanity with racial competing divisions and clothed them with white, yellow, brown and black jerseys. The organizers of football have imitated Nature, with this important difference, however, that she admitted of no transfers.

In the prehistoric world man depended on

hunting, but ten thousand years ago he discovered how to domesticate animals and till the soil. This momentous revolution marks the end of the prehistoric world. Since then man has been trying to shake off Nature's yoke and to subjugate her. Consequently, a vital change has taken place. Whereas the prehistoric world was organized for the production of new and better breeds of men, the historic world is organized for the increase of wealth, knowledge, life, and comfort. Civilization has wrecked Nature's evolutionary plan, and its progress has gone hand in hand with the control of the heart by the head. Neither patriotism nor independence serves any useful or economic purpose to-day : tribal frontiers have been broken.

On the tribal ruins which resulted from this upheaval economic necessity built heterogeneous nationalities and empires doomed to disintegration, because within the united populations of to-day beats the prehistoric tribal heart which seeks to reassert itself. It was an affair of the head rather than the heart. Among other nations, Scotland came into being and, after a protracted and costly struggle, she united with England ; neither nation, however, losing its tribal (now converted into national) spirit.

The question naturally arises : If a successful union has been possible between these two countries, why should it not be possible between all the nations of Europe ? Indeed, since all human

beings sprang from the same stock and Nature divided them into races, "why not undo Nature's handiwork" and weld the whole of mankind into one harmonious tribe? It is in order to unite the diverse peoples of the earth into a single tribe, that the League of Nations was brought into being. But the disappearance of tribal enemies would mean the dominance of the good altruistic side of our tribal nature and the elimination of the bad and hating side, which is impossible. It would also mean the pooling of the different bloods as well as the various interests, which is unbearable in view of our tribal prejudices implanted in us by Nature "for her own ends—the improvement of mankind through racial differentiation."

What is the alternative?—"A continuation of Nature's old scheme of inter-tribal rivalries and eternal competition . . . race-prejudice and, what is the same thing, national antagonism, have to be purchased, not with gold, but with life. . . . Nature keeps her human orchard healthy by pruning; war is her pruning hook. We cannot dispense with her services. . . . Sooner or later she brings the false prophet to book."

In fact, as a reaction to the Leaguist movement, there spreads abroad the idea of self-determination which encourages both hate and love. Its motive is not economic, but evolutionary; it resurrects the old tribesman's love for things native and his passion for independence, though no nation can be independent in this modern world. If carried

too far, however, this opposite movement would convert Europe into a continent full of small warring states.

Conclusion: Both Leaguism and Determinism "are more difficult to tolerate than the disorders they are called in to cure." We should nurse and preserve our prejudices, but we must do our best to keep them under the control of reason. "The national heart must never master the national head."

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

At the outset let us observe two grave omissions: First, personal prejudice is mentioned, but has been otherwise totally ignored; further, it is said that the tribal heart harboured prejudices and spiritual aspirations side by side, but only prejudices have been dealt with and we are not even told what is meant by "spiritual aspirations." Yet if personal prejudice and spiritual aspirations are part of Nature's cardiac evolutionary arsenal, they must have had their respective functions in the fashioning of better and higher breeds. What were these functions?

Supposing, as it is suggested, that local prejudice and race-prejudice did affect profoundly the organization of mankind, personal prejudice must have exercised a material influence on the internal organization and "team work" of the tribe. If the organization of humanity into tribal units made such a difference to the course of evolution, it would seem impossible that the kind of internal

organization of tribes did not play an important role in relation to that course; especially as tribal mentality, which acted "automatically as a breeder," was "reacted on by the society in which it lived." Other circumstances and conditions (such as climate, diet and degree of knowledge) being equal, which factor had the greater influence on the racial progress of a group, the character of the relations existing between its members, or the absence of contact between itself and other groups?

The omissions are serious from yet another point of view: Personal prejudice has to be controlled and directed if any society is to exist at all. Which agent, then, checked it and brought it into conformity with tribal prejudice? Did the head or the spiritual aspirations of the heart perform any service in that behalf, and thus share in the direction of the evolutionary course? Again, did the spiritual aspirations invariably collaborate in agreement with the prejudices? If they did, what distinguished prejudices from spiritual aspirations? And if they did not, did the spiritual aspirations act as a counterbalance to the prejudices, tending to foster co-operation and friendship between members of the same tribe, and even between various tribes?

There is yet a third important omission: We were ushered into "the prehistoric world with the object of discovering the origin of the prejudices which still cling to us so closely." But we have not been favoured with the discovery of

their beginnings. Instead, we have a series of statements purporting to be descriptions of prejudices said to have prevailed in the prehistoric world. Is not prehistory as factual as history?

Apart from these three omissions, there seems to be a fundamental fallacy which underlies the whole theory. It is this, that the mere fact that something existed in the past, e.g. tribal organization, or is taking place now, e.g. self-determination, is almost superstitiously taken as evidence of its inevitability and as conclusive proof of its beneficial character. But that is not all :

Though we are not told what "civilization" is, we are told what it does—it increases wealth, knowledge, comfort, and life. Now if this "material progress" positively frustrates Nature's evolutionary plan, why try to maintain and to strengthen civilization? And how would it be possible to reconcile "our tribal heritage of prejudice . . . with the needs of our modern civilization," if they pull in diametrically opposite directions? Again, we are told that civilization began with the historic world and broke down communal barriers. One wonders why, if it was conducive to race-improvement for prehistoric Europe to be inhabited by warring clans, Sir Arthur Keith *seems* to doubt whether it is so for our civilized Europe. Is it because modern wars, conducted as they are on a national or continental scale, are too efficient pruning hooks?

Finally, Sir Arthur misconceives the objects of

the League of Nations. The League is not an international matrimonial agency. As to the prescription he offers the world, it is extremely vague and quite inconsistent with his premises, and we are not advised through what institution or by what procedure "the national heart" is to be prevented from mastering "the national head."

ISOLATION AND COMPETITION

The following propositions are confidently put forward by Sir Arthur Keith: "Without isolation Nature could have done nothing"; "tribes constituted her competing teams"; "the price of progress is competition"—but no serious attempt has been made to demonstrate their soundness. Let us then discuss their respective merits *seriatim*, bearing in mind, however, that the fact that the new races are "more adapted for the world in which they were born than those which had gone before," does not imply that a new race is necessarily an improvement on its forerunner, for environment is not always propitious to race-improvement.

Isolation is said to be a condition precedent to racial ascent, and a device resorted to by breeders. Now a breeder who intended to evolve a new human race would deal with mankind according to the specific characteristics he would wish to produce and to foster. If he wanted men to be white or black, he would sort mankind from the point of view of colour. He might, on the other

hand, aim at a tall or a stunted race, and in that case he would classify human beings according to height. But a new race, whether tall or white, fat or cunning, brachycephalic or dolichocephalic, and so on, does not of necessity mean a better and higher race. Therefore, if a breeder wanted an improved breed of humanity, he would have first to discover the characteristics which make up an all-round improvement,¹ and then to devise and establish the communal and inter-communal organizations favourable to the growth of such characteristics. Moreover, he would have to find and provide the required conditions, such as diet and climate, that would promote the development of those characteristics. In the circumstances, would he choose permanent isolation?

But Nature has been likened not only to a breeder, but also to a gardener: "She plants and she also prunes." Yet the art of grafting is not unknown to gardeners, any more than that of cross-breeding is ignored by breeders. Nature herself practises both arts, and through them accomplishes her "transfers," after the fashion of football organizers. Mulattoes, quadroons and all sorts of hybrids wear "jerseys" different from those their ancestors wore.

¹ The fact that the preservation of mankind is the indispensable condition to the progress of the species, assuming this to be possible, obviates the difficulty of defining the character of racial improvement, the future development of the race depending on its survival. Let us but find and bring about the conditions of race preservation, and we shall have cleared the way for race-progress, whatever that may be.

If colour had been devised by Nature to mark off the contending parties, because "she did not trust her players or their managers farther than she could see them," then rivalries ought to have raged mostly or exclusively between tribes of different colours, and the difference of colour ought to have been accentuated on the frontiers in order to safeguard the isolation of the races. Yet, owing to the fact that the different colours of mankind conglomerated in vast continental areas, separated from one another by more or less effective geographical barriers, the contacts and conflicts between them must have been rare, short and of comparatively little consequence—except, perhaps, in so far as they caused the growing of border hybrid tribes, thus facilitating intercourse between the different races of mankind!

It is highly probable, therefore, that the overwhelming majority of the prehistoric wars broke out between tribes of the same natural "livery," and that very little competition (in the shape of war) indeed took place between "teams" of different "jerseys." In the circumstances, is it safe, not to say scientific, to dogmatize that such a system of differentiation produced better and higher races, without some evidence—convincing evidence—of the existence and operation of an irrefragable guarantee that from those struggles within the same race the better and higher tribes emerged victorious and continued to scale the

evolutionary ladder? Is it not as likely as not that two or more tribes of a certain biological standard would, severally or in combination, attack and overwhelm a tribe of a comparatively better, however slightly better, evolutionary equipment and higher promise? Clearly, it is a wild fancy to assume that as a result of prehistoric bloody strife the tribes which indiscriminately went under represented evolutionary experiments of utterly worthless variety. Is it conceivable that their wholesale and forcible exit from the evolutionary arena did not constitute a Pyrrhic victory, resulting in excessive waste and much hindrance in the process of man's ascent?

Another point to note in investigating the aspect of isolation is this: There is no evidence that Nature ever separated tribes "for an endless period," the simple reason being that segregation necessitates in-breeding and that in-breeding is not an agent of virility, let alone racial progress. A tribe isolated for an unduly long period either decayed and became extinct, or weakened and was subjugated or wiped out. Incidentally, indefinitely and completely isolated tribes could not "compete" with one another! There is another reason, namely, that isolation does not encourage knowledge necessary for survival. The following example is by no means fantastic:

A member of a prehistoric tribe invented a weapon or discovered a method of hunting a certain dangerous or desirable animal, and thereby

saved his tribe from starvation or destruction, enabling it to survive and thrive. At a detached distance there lived a tribe which perished just because it was not in possession of the secret invention or discovery. Later, a forest fire, which would not have affected the defunct neighbour, broke out, and engulfed the other tribe. Had the tribes been in touch with one another, however, the invention would very likely have been communicated from the one to the other, and one of the tribes would have survived and continued the progress of the race.

Indeed, if racial purity was Nature's ideal and she desired the strict separation of groups from one another, she could, in her foresight and wisdom, have rendered sexual intercourse between members of different groups barren at the earliest stage of differentiation, instead of waiting till the present evolutionary process of establishing a species is completed. At any rate, isolation, to whatever extent it was found in Nature, could not have been due merely to difference in colour, since many tribes of the same colour led independent lives thousands of miles apart. Apparently, therefore, Dame Nature does not care to forbid the black, brown, yellow and white to "give and take in marriage and distribute in a common progeny the inheritance which each has come by in their uphill struggle." She does not seem to mind the consequences, one way or the other, of such action on the evolution of the human race.

As to the tribal organization of mankind, it was not part of Nature's scheme for bringing forth isolated or "opposing teams." A tribe was a unit of society which, having regard to its acquired progress at a certain time and to the particular region in which it lived, was sufficient for self-preservation and not unwieldy for administrative purposes. If its size was too small for self-preservation, the tribe disappeared through absorption or extinction; whereas if the size became unwieldy or too large in relation to the economic yield of the region, it split up and scattered into smaller independent groups, or its numbers were reduced by internal dissension. Geographical barriers and distances, economic needs, rival species and unmanageable numbers, determined the size of tribes and kept them apart. As means of communication, powers of organization and ways of exploiting Nature improved, tribes grew larger, combined and coalesced. The number which was adequate for self-defence at a time a certain weapon of aggression or some strategic method was in use, became too small when these were improved. Again, an area which was just sufficient to keep a few hunters required and became capable of supporting a large peasant community. Thus at two different periods in the same district, and in two different districts at the same period, self-preservation, as expressed through economic necessity and self-defence against rival human groups or dangerous species, had two diametrically

opposite effects owing to the change of circumstances brought about by man. Which leads us to an explanation of the immemorial ideal of the union of mankind, the existence of which is acknowledged by Sir Arthur Keith.

When for one reason or another a prehistoric community split up to form two or more independent units, the separation very rarely, if ever, resulted in immediate, complete and permanent satisfaction to all concerned. Even if the separation was the outcome of free deliberation and wise choice, and the balance of advantage weighed in favour of it as regards each of the new units (a practically impossible assumption), there must have remained certain advantages which one of the units or all of them, or some members thereof, had to forgo as a consequence of such separation. So that every now and again one or more of the forgone advantages would be missed, often in a somewhat exaggerated form, conjuring up pleasant memories of the old life in the mother-community. This association of ideas created a nostalgia, a longing for re-union, which lingered in the heart of primitive man and, reinforced by colourful legend, was transmitted from generation to generation. Hence probably the origin of the dream of the brotherhood of mankind, which Sir Arthur dismisses as being both impracticable and noxious to the race.

Turning our attention to his proposition regarding competition, what evidence do we find in

support of it? Supposing such evidence existed in abundance, it would still remain to define and explain the character of the competition and that of the competitors. Does the ordinary breeder have recourse to bloody competition? The detection of existing dangers, patent and latent, the discovery of the means wherewith to meet them, and the capacity to foresee future perils and to avert the same, are some of the universal and eternal conditions of race-survival and, consequently, of race-improvement. Therefore, even if inter-group competition¹, rather than co-operation, were found to be necessary for the creation and preservation of these conditions, competition must in no way lead to wholesale and indiscriminate destruction of life or be identified with such destruction.

The surrender of one tribe to another without a fight, or its absorption by the other after a fight, would no more exclude the subjected tribe from the evolutionary arena than it would the victor. Both would continue to play the evolutionary game, *inter alia*, through intermarriage and service, though perhaps unequally: sometimes the strain of the victor, at others that of the vanquished, would predominate. Chroniclers might record the "aggrandisement" of the conqueror, and the name of the vanquished might be

¹ Sir Arthur says nothing about competition between individuals and sections of the same group; it would have logically impelled him to advocate duels and civil wars.

expunged from the map, yet hardly a cell is formed or broken up but is accounted for by biology.

In the football game competition our managers train excellent players. Similarly, Nature, in encouraging warlike competition between the pre-historic tribes, must have reared skilful fighters and crafty strategists. But it still remains to be proved that warriors are an improved race or are likely to produce one. For instance, are the Legionary ants superior to the Termites? At any rate, there is this difference between ant and man, namely, that he has reached a much more complicated and larger structure than the ant, so that at this stage of evolution he would sooner die out than specialize into a fighting race or class and a working race or class, as distinct from one another as the two castes of Legionaries or as the Legionaries are from the Termites.

Is it not just possible that Sir Arthur has confused competition with emulation? Is not the rivalry which flourishes among co-operators, each of whom vies with the rest to do his own part best, sufficient for the purposes of evolutionary progress? Surely, there is no conflict either in the unconscious evolutionary rivalry which goes on between communities which live far apart and may not even be aware of the existence one of the other, or in the ambition that stimulates students of the same Faculty or University.

HEAD AND HEART

In considering the ingenious tricks devised by Nature to fulfil her evolutionary purpose, two series of questions arise: First—Was Nature constrained at any given juncture to adopt a certain course of conduct, or had she a choice of courses? What proof is there that the devices resorted to by Nature were the only ones open to her, and that if they were not the only ones, they were the best? The second series is as follows: In shaping man's evolution, has Nature followed a set of rules different from the one she adopted with regard to the evolution of other animals? In so far as segregation and competition are concerned, was prehistoric humanity organized differently from any other species?

For instance, has Nature endowed the ant with a colonial heart similar to the supposed tribal heart of our prehistoric ancestors? If she has, why is the ant's development arrested for ever, despite that valuable evolutionary gift? Can it be because ants domesticate other insects and practise the rudiments of agriculture? What reason is there for concluding that she has not, seeing that the ant behaves very much like tribal man is said to have behaved? Ants live in segregated colonies, they are divided into castes or classes, they are attached to their fellow-members of the colony whom they succour, they guard their nest against strangers and kill them even though they belong to the same species, they

fight for their independence and raid other nests for the "aggrandisement" of their own colony.

If prehistoric man was driven onward by his heart and not by his head, and if "in all ordinary occasions" the heart "saved time and trouble by setting the executive—the will—in action without any appeal to the . . . head," how is it that he developed a powerful head? Indeed, so powerful as to subjugate the heart and to carry out the revolution which ushered in the historic world? For by all accounts, including Sir Arthur's, man's "head" is not more developed to-day than it was on the threshold of the ten thousand years old revolution. Again, if the heart was pre-eminently responsible for man's progress on his evolutionary pilgrimage, the development of the head to the point of subjugating the heart would be an obvious sign of racial decline. How could that decline have occurred before the collapse of the prehistoric world, if the latter was so ingeniously organized for the production of better races? Finally, assuming that the head intervened only on extraordinary occasions, was not the advent of agriculture an extraordinary occasion where the heart may have appealed to the head? What proof is there that in its intervention on that occasion the head was not Nature's proper agent for the production of better races, or that the change was not rightly guided by the head? After all, was not the head as well as the heart part of the tribal mentality which Sir Arthur says acted as a breeder? If, as

Sir Arthur contends, by ignoring or neglecting the behests of his heart and espousing the cause advocated by his head, man has been playing his own game and not Nature's, would not the placing of prejudice under the control of reason, the course advised by Sir Arthur, be playing man's game and not Nature's? Besides, man being himself part of Nature and admittedly the least imperfect child of her creation, what ground is there for suggesting that his game is not her game, too?

Is it possible to develop such duality of extreme passion as that ascribed by Sir Arthur Keith to the tribal heart, and yet be able to control its function? Can one circumscribe the influence of "faith, hope and charity. . . within the narrow limits of the tribal frontier," or indefinitely reserve one's cruelty and treachery exclusively for strangers? Assuming that Sir Arthur's is an accurate description of the tribal heart, what proof is there that this peculiar constitution was favourable to the improvement of the race, except the contention that it was a means of achieving isolation? Now even if isolation did make for race-improvement, it could be purchased too dearly. The fact, if it was one, that such an organization of the heart favoured tribal isolation, might have been an advantage; but the crucial question remains: Would such an advantage not be outweighed by many disadvantages inimical to race-improvement? Can it be that this "diabolical" device

belongs to Nature's failing experiments? For Nature must be debited with many failures: At least some of the extinct species must have been evolutionary failures, and among the existing species man stands alone far and above his fellow-creatures the ancestors of which started the race up the evolutionary hill together with his. After all, it may be that the existence in "paradise" of such an inhuman engine as Sir Arthur describes led many a tribe to perdition through internal as well as inter-tribal strife. Perhaps we are here just because our tribal ancestors abated their passions of the heart under the moderating influence of counsel from the head. In that case there must have been *some* peaceful tribes and good tempered tribesmen in Sir Arthur's "Garden of Eden." In other words, virtue and stewardship—as defined above¹—must have somehow or other been practised in the prehistoric age, agriculture or no agriculture!

The individual, to whatever species he may belong, reacts differently to the various circumstances of his surroundings, according to whether they are apparently or actually hostile, friendly, or neither the one nor the other. No single circumstance is invariably this, that or the other, though most may be classified as generally belonging to one or other of these three categories. Further, indifferent circumstances leave the individual unmoved, while the other two kinds

¹ See pp. 7 and 17.

respectively conjure up in him likes and dislikes. Hence the dual organization of the "heart."¹ In the course of events occurring in the life of the individual or in the history of the race, one aspect or the other—or both—may become exaggerated and/or intensified, all according to the nature of the environment. Thus in the long run likes may grow into passion and dislikes into hatred. Let us remark in passing that since hatred can only develop and mature after a long period of repeated contact with a hostile element, a prehistoric tribesman could not conceive hatred for strangers if his tribe had been effectively isolated from other tribes.

Hatred and passion lead to abuse of power² in two different ways, according to whether the objects of either are individuals of the same species or other beings and inanimate things. In the former case those in whom hate preponderates are not capable of associating in adequate numbers or of co-operating sufficiently closely to satisfy the needs of communal self-preservation at a given stage of evolution and progress. On the other hand, those who are unduly disposed towards affection render themselves liable to undue

¹ The cultivation of the attitude of equanimity or detachment facilitates realism, objectivity, impartiality, and has far-reaching biological possibilities.

² Power is liable to abuse when it is wielded in respect of objects solely or mainly by reason of their being favoured or disapproved of by the custodian of the power. On the other hand, the proper use of power is the exercise thereof in a way which tends to equity, or the survival of the race.

exploitation and to unfitness resulting therefrom. Both these kinds are ultimately eliminated or perish. When, however, the objects of love or hatred are individuals of another species or mere things, the uncontrollable sympathy or antipathy is likely in the long run to impair one's health, intelligence or virtue, to the ultimate detriment of the race as a whole, e.g. addiction to wine and cruelty to animals.

However, the surroundings, natural and social, constantly tend to correct such lopsided manifestations and to abate their intensity, so that those who submit to the treatment succeed in establishing a more or less balanced "heart," which enables them to form and to maintain practically harmonious and tolerably equitable relations with one another, and survive. On the other hand, those who refuse to adjust themselves to their surroundings vanish from under the sun. The balance in the "heart" is reached, not when the intensity or quality of love equals that of hatred, nor when the quantitative measure of the objects of love equals that of the objects of hatred, but rather when the individual or the race is brought into workable harmony with the surroundings as a whole. Now if these are naturally or through man's own agency favourable to race-survival—favourable, that is, to the development of health, intelligence and virtue, e.g. a mild climate, the existence of commodities of the right kind and in adequate quantities, a suitable form of

government, moral habits, and so forth—then the race is preserved and improves. But if the surroundings are unfavourable—

Our purer essence then will overcome
Their noxious vapour ; or, inured, not feel ;
Or, changed at length, and to the place conformed
In temper and in nature, will receive
Familiar the fierce heat, and void of pain :
This horror will grow mild, this darkness light.

—*Paradise Lost*.

But in the process of such acclimatization the race degenerates, dwindles and disappears.

It is said that since it is impossible “to wipe out the bad and hating side of our tribal heart and leave only its good and loving attributes,” it is not possible to unite mankind in peace, for there would be “no tribal enemy left to hate” and consequently “the bad side of the human heart must perish from inanition.” True, the dual function of our heart cannot be altered, simply because some elements in our environment are hospitable and others hostile ; yet it is not necessary that the object of our hatred should be a human being or even an animate thing ; nor is it indispensable for the dual functioning of the heart that our hate and love should be as extreme as those Sir Arthur says prehistoric tribal man cherished. Our hatred of persons is by no means different in character from our hatred of reptiles and vermin ; in fact, we call our hated fellow-humans “poisonous snakes” and “dirty rats” ! Moreover, animals

are killed and tortured every day by men and women out of sheer hatred. Similarly, things may be heartily hated: dogs have been observed to bite their leads into bits in a rage of hatred; why, even concrete examples of abstract things, such as waste, cruelty and kindness, evoke in some of us all the symptoms of sympathetic and adverse passion. Our likes have never been confined to human objects, and many of them have been transferred to inanimate things, such as cars and furniture; why should some of our dislikes not be equally capable of transference? The process already begun may, nay will, take long, very long to perfect; but that is in the very nature of biological processes. It is one thing to say of a change that it is difficult, very difficult, and that it will take a long time to come about: a totally different thing is to affirm that it is impossible.

But assuming that this is impossible, need there be a corporate hatred between communities? Surely, there existed people in ancient mountain or island settlements who never came into contact with an enemy whom they could hate as a body. They must have simply liked one another for certain attributes which they estimated to be qualities, and at the same time disliked one another for other attributes which they thought were undesirable. When they first came within sight of strangers they must have experienced mixed feelings of curiosity and fear, attractions and repulsion. Scope for such bipolar emotions is

eternal and does not need the subsidizing of armed rivalries for its continuance; nor need such feelings run so high as to provoke bloody conflicts.

PREJUDICES

If the true nature of prejudice be that it turns favoured opinion into fact, and if biological evolution be a logical process, prejudice cannot in the long run help the improvement of the race when fact and favoured opinion do not coincide. For sooner or later those who rely on falsehoods, however romanticized, must needs come to grief. Moreover, if we are consistently partial "for what is our own," our preferences will blind us to any legitimate criticism of them or to the superiority of other people's qualities. Thus we would at one and the same time be deprived of the deterrent effect of censure and of the stimulating influence of example. The belief, however passionately held, "that the home into which we were born is the best of all possible homes, and that by some happy chance we were given the best of all possible parents," would not turn hovels unfit for human habitation into decent homes, or a wicked father into a kind one. Epidemics are no respecters of prejudices, nor would the exploitation of children by their own parents have a less evil effect on their constitution or on the development of the race than would their exploitation

by strangers. Incidentally, aggressors generally covet other people's homes and lands.

The more genuinely and steadfastly a prejudice is held, the more dangerous the consequences are likely to be. In other words, the dictates of the "heart," from which prejudices emanate, must conform to reason, the custodian of which is the "head," if the heart is to function at all in the work of race-building. Naturally, human reason is feeble and extremely fallible; all the more cause then why more energies should be devoted to the development of the head and to the improvement of knowledge, and less encouragement should be given to prejudice. Why should costly prejudices, "which have to be purchased, not with gold but with life," be nursed and preserved in order that they may be tamed and subjected by a starved reason at further expense of energy? The teaching of matters which are said to be of no practical merit in after-school life is sometimes advocated for its training value; but no pedagogue has yet advanced the proposition that scholars ought to lay down their lives in learning something which in due course—and in the event of their surviving the ordeal—they would have to unlearn! Does one deliberately sow and grow tares, so that he may have to weed them out? Therefore, reason, reason productive of accurate knowledge and free from fallacies, is our only guide and should be our only aim in the art and science of racebuilding.

However, an analysis of prejudice will enable us to appreciate its real role in life.

In the beginning, long before rudimentary intelligence emerged and attempted to choose and to advise, primary instincts were formed at the dictates of environment. At this stage blind forces carried early species forward along the evolutionary course; many species succumbed, a few succeeded. When at last intelligence evolved, there grew with it, through the persistence of certain features in the environment, particular tendencies or inborn prejudices. Under the combined influence of these three factors—instinct, prejudice, and intelligence—man developed sympathies and antipathies which have not always been favourable to the survival and improvement of the race.

Now when the same likes and dislikes are maintained for a considerable period they become prejudices—inborn prejudices—and remain rooted in the heart at least as long as the factors which originally planted them continue to feed them. Indeed, the forces of habit and inertia inevitably give them a longer lease of life and they acquire an independent existence, influencing the trend of events out of all relation to the current requirements of the race—unless imperious necessity supervenes and compels an abrupt change, or until intelligence induces its introduction.

There is another kind of prejudice, namely, traditional prejudice. It is transmitted by example

and precept, and arises in one of two ways: it often happens that we think we have discovered a scientific law or datum, and that our inborn prejudices yield to our false or incomplete understanding. If the error is not exposed in time, a dangerous prejudice grows in favour of its prevalence, so that it becomes a *damnosa hereditas*. Again, a certain belief, which was at one time founded on sound reasons, grows into a traditional prejudice if it continues to be held, though the reasons have been forgotten or the circumstances which originally justified it have imperceptibly altered. In the case where the belief persists despite the change of circumstances, traditional prejudice is as positively dangerous and obstructive as where it is the outcome of inaccurate knowledge; while in the case where the reasons for the belief have been forgotten, traditional prejudice performs the same function as inborn prejudice, viz. it acts as a brake on intelligence both when the latter's guidance is right and when it is wrong from the race-survival standpoint. Traditional prejudices may be either long-lived or short-lived, but they will always be with us. As one batch of them disappears another grows in its stead; and in so far as we are not constantly ridding ourselves of them, new as well as old, they are a standing menace to the survival of the race and a stumbling block in the way of regeneration.

Prejudice and reason have always fought with one another: sometimes the advice tendered by

intelligence was sound and the obstacle placed in its way by prejudice was small, so that intelligence overcame prejudice to the advantage of the race; at others the choice made by inadequate intelligence was bad while the check of prejudice was stubborn and effective, so that the race benefited because prejudice had its own way. When, however, the guidance suggested by intelligence was right and the resistance put up by prejudice was too strong, or the guidance of intelligence was wrong and the reaction of prejudice to it too weak, the race erred on to the road of degeneration and extinction. Finally, on certain occasions necessity—that tyrant which not only stimulates intelligence, but also crushes prejudice—supervened for better or for worse. In these circumstances of accident and coincidence the race progressed.

The attitude we ought to adopt towards prejudice is, therefore, clear: traditional prejudices should be discarded without compunction, though we must be careful not to replace one traditional prejudice by another. For instance, the traditional belief in man's spontaneous creation has largely given way to the science of evolution; yet this young sapling has already sprouted at least one traditional prejudice, namely, that Natural Selection infallibly improves species. Another example is to be found in the art of healing. Quack remedies yielded before the attack of modern medicine, but the latter has given birth to

a traditional prejudice in favour of chemicals and surgery which psycho-analysis and various natural healing arts have found very hard to combat.¹ Lastly, forms of government and religious doctrines are prolific of traditional prejudices of both kinds.

We ought to eliminate or modify inborn prejudices according to survival principles and the latest scientific data; but we must proceed with caution, lest traditional prejudices overtake us. To respect them because they represent a fund of race-experience, accumulated over a considerable period of time, is unwarrantable. Such an attitude towards inborn prejudices could only be maintained on one of two unreasonable assumptions: either that environment has at all times and in all places been favourable to race-survival, and that in the past all human communities accurately interpreted its demands and complied with them scrupulously; or that whenever the environment was unfavourable to race-survival the communities concerned invariably and infallibly succeeded in moulding it in conformity with race-survival principles and accurate scientific knowledge. Neither can we dismiss inborn prejudices as being useless relics of age-old superstitions, as this would imply that in the past natural factors have always worked against race-survival, and that the intervention of reason has never

¹ If the medical profession were exposed to half the criticism that is levelled at politicians, we should possess fewer hospitals and enjoy better health.

chanced in favour of race-survival. Had this been the case, our biological ancestors could not have evolved into our species—the acme of creation; or mankind, having set foot on this planet by a miracle, would by now have degenerated and been completely wiped out.

In the light of our investigation, which of the prejudices mentioned by Sir Arthur Keith are inborn and which are traditional?

We are bound to answer that the predilection for a certain country (or district) and the preference for a certain nation (or tribe), are purely traditional prejudices. They are created and fostered artificially by example and precept from childhood upwards, are superficially lodged and cannot be transmitted by heredity. Thus an average German born and brought up in France, exclusively with and among French people, will grow to love the French country and nation as dearly as any person of pure Gallic descent. Conversely, a Frenchman born and brought up in Germany, exclusively under Teutonic influence, will vie in his affection for the Fatherland with any ardent German. However, love for one country, as distinct from climate, does not necessarily engender hatred towards another.

Not so the prejudices of race and colour; they are inborn and their affinities are much stronger than custom or culture. For instance, the sympathies of an average Chinaman or Negro remain Chinese or Negroid, whatever the country of his

adoption may be. His education might accommodate him to alien circles, but neither his "heart" nor his "head" would be at home or feel at ease there. Such inborn prejudices are capable of modification or neutralization but temporarily, since they are evidenced by unmistakable physical signs and psychological differences indelible in the same individual and the same generation. The only guarantee against their revival or reassertion is the destruction of the distinguishing colours and features by systematic intermarriage, intermigration and alteration of diet over a long period. Which raises three crucial questions—

1. Is intermarriage between the races desirable from the point of view of race-survival?

2. Are the prejudices of race and colour a real obstacle to the prevalence of permanent peace and harmony among mankind?

3. If the answer to the first question be in the negative and the answer to the second be in the affirmative, which is the lesser evil: intermarriage or war?

With regard to the first question, it must be conceded that in the present state of knowledge it is not possible confidently to advocate intermarriage between all the different races. Before embarking on a systematic policy of "deracialization," we must first discover the real differences which have developed in the various races as a result of independent existence and varied experience, and

the right medico-biological processes of adjusting these differences. Meanwhile, since our reasoning faculty leaves us at present in the dark regarding this problem, we ought to allow both prejudice and idealism some measure of restricted sway. Accordingly, sometimes racial dislikes will get the upper hand and intermarriage will be discouraged ; at other times the ideal of brotherhood will prevail and intermarriage will take place. But even the pursuance of such a course of conduct does not justify the assertion that "a race or nation which seeks guidance in pure reason can never survive." For after all, it is *reasonable* not to commit oneself definitely either way so long as one is not sure of the consequences, but to experiment tentatively on a comparatively small scale, in the hope of gaining knowledge by experience. At any rate, assimilation could only check the evolutionary advance of the human race temporarily, if at all, and for this reason: Supposing that when the standardization of humanity is under way or even completed, it should be found that isolation of human groups and armed competition between them are really indispensable to the improvement of the race ; it would be then possible to isolate communities within definite areas, which would in due course cause differentiation and antagonism to revive and operate after the pattern of the gruesome game played in Sir Arthur Keith's "Garden of Eden."

As to the second question, we are attempting

to prove that the disturbing factors in the world are individualism—as opposed to personal virtue—and imperialism, as opposed to national stewardship. Neither individualism nor imperialism is influenced by considerations of race or colour: Individualism prevails in White Germany as well as in Yellow Japan, while Britain's relation to India is more in accordance with the principle of stewardship than the bond which exists between Japan and Korea.¹ Moreover, during the last war Africans, Americans and Asiatics, of all colours and races, joined the English and the French against the Germans. All of which goes to show that whereas the abolition or modification of individualism and imperialism does not depend on identity of race and colour, differences of race and colour by no means militate against the establishment of virtue and stewardship, the rational application of which would ensure permanent and perfect peace. World peace is threatened, to-day at any rate, not by race and colour prejudices, but by the avoidable rivalries which rage between the European nations. The assimilation of races, if at all desirable or possible, is a long way off; but peace does not depend on it. Nor would peace last if individualism and imperialism were allowed to survive, though “deracialization” became an accomplished fact.

Yet assuming, for the sake of argument, that intermarriage between the different races and

¹ See pp. 130–1

colours would form an obstacle to race-improvement, and that prejudices of race and colour are bound to cause war; which of the two are we to choose: prejudices, war and racial progress, or assimilation, peace and arrested development? Having regard to the annihilating forces which are let loose in modern warfare, humanity will be in danger of extinction if wars are not averted and finally renounced. On the other hand, peace, even at the price of a set-back in racial progress, would give man tranquillity and time to exercise his intelligence and expand his idealism in an effort to solve the political, economic and biological problems which beset him. When Sir Arthur Keith tells us that the virtue of the Great War was that it brought English people together and Germans together, we are entitled to retort that the game, if indeed it was not positively and diabolically harmful, was not worth the candle! Remembering that the last war is by no means the last word in destructive methods, we are bound to ask: Is there no difference between friendly fraternization and criminal conspiracy? Is a suicide-pact the same as a marriage contract? Is the bringing of people together an absolute blessing, irrespective of the object of their co-operation? Surely, the time when immediate self-preservation required rough and ready conclusions and prompt action, at the dictate of instinct and independently of considerations of reason, law and justice is eons ago. Our capacity

for destruction has waxed so efficient, that to use it would be suicidal. On the other hand, our ability to alter our environment is already such that we could deliberately shape our evolution. The preservation of the species itself imperiously demands peace. Peace is a vital necessity; a necessity that is not less inexorable or less overbearing than cosmic forces because it is the result of the extraordinary growth and increase of powers of our own making.

THE REAL REVOLUTION

The real revolution in human affairs was not the discovery of the art of agriculture, whenever it may have occurred, but a reactionary vogue of conquest which broke out many thousands of years after man first learned how to sow or to plant and to rear cattle. It consisted in the formation of nations and empires.

During the hunting stage of mankind there had been explorations and migrations which entailed tribal wars. But tribal "aggrandisement" did not appreciably alter the size of tribes. Similarly, during the early agricultural period the unit of human society—the village or cluster of villages remained small. There was very little migration, and conflicts were confined within small regions. There were just a few families; at one time this, at another that, provided the local leader. Everybody knew everybody else, and nobody's business was his own; when the hue and cry was raised the

whole settlement turned out, and the principle of stewardship worked through the practice of solidarity. The differences, if any, between the individuals were negligible in quality and quantity. People tended their herds and tilled their fields by day and returned to their folds and homesteads at dusk. There was very little to do out of doors in winter. The other seasons brought in their slow train harvest, fruit, colour and joy, as well as wholesome labour. Even occasional famines were a blessing as a factor working towards sobriety. Agrarian conditions are eminently suited for the recuperation and further development of the race. The sequence of day and night and the succession of the seasons afford sufficient opportunities for rest and cogitation, while life in the open air and wholesome food supply an adequate store of vitality. But later, slavery, serfdom, conscription and forced labour interfered with the efficacy of Mother Nature's recuperative prescription—to the detriment of the human stock.

The progressive improvement of weapons of aggression and of means of coercion, transport and communication stimulated the "ideal" of aggrandisement and widened its scope. Venturesome men started on an ambitious career of local tyranny, conquest, alliance, and consolidation, spreading their control outwards by means of trained fighters and horsemen, beasts of burden, rude wheeled vehicles, seaworthy vessels and rough roads. If small settlements did not unite

in time and organize themselves under strong leadership for the purpose of defence, they were conquered one by one, or in batches, and absorbed. Whether for offensive or for defensive purposes, therefore, the day of the small, semi-independent, rudely democratic community was over.

Now, with the enlarged size of the new political entities—nations and empires—abuse of power increased and was intensified to such an extent that the waste occasioned thereby exceeded the power of resistance to disease and that of recuperation from it. For the first time class differentiation came into existence, society changed its pattern and became divided into Favoured and Non-favoured and automatically sub-divided into Fit and Non-fit. Thenceforward, not only was the advance of the race checked, but the communities affected began to live on their racial capital through inordinate living on one hand, and overwork on the other. They have accordingly deteriorated and, but for social and industrial legislation and international co-operation, would now be heading straight for racial bankruptcy and extinction.

Isolation, race and colour have had little or nothing to do with this process of forcible or compulsory amalgamations for the purposes of defence or for those of attack. Therefore, though it is true to say that the modern political conglomerations or States carry within them the seed of destruction, the cause of our unrest has not been

diagnosed correctly by Sir Arthur Keith. In its national aspect the unrest results from dissatisfaction with local conditions due largely to abnormal Individualism and Self-Selection, whereas in its international aspect it results from a desire for emancipation from the thralldom of Imperialism, which is nothing but Individualism and Self-Selection on a national scale.

Sir Arthur Keith affirms that "self-determination is not good for business"; yet in various quarters the movement of genuine self-determination, as that of every kind of political malingering, is either engineered from its inception, or exploited at a suitable stage of its development, by unscrupulous local or foreign economic interests.

When independence is accomplished two consequences ensue: First, certain resources which formerly left the country become available for local use and distribution; and secondly, the administration of affairs generally is transferred into local hands. Both consequences tend to encourage native talent and to improve native stock, e.g. Egypt. But in the event of the local rulers being less competent and more self-seeking than their imperial predecessors, the acquisition of the right of self-determination or of independence turns into a disadvantage. For instance, can any one doubt what disasters self-determination would bring upon India at this stage of Indian political and economic evolution? (This is not to say that the Indians are inferior to the Egyptians, but merely

that their respective circumstances and problems are widely different.) Is there any reason why, if the biological principle of stewardship is wisely applied, India should not be able, with the assistance of Britain, to develop her own resources for the mutual happiness of both countries and the improvement of their respective stocks—free from internal disorders and the attack or menace of potential aggressors? Need such collaboration cause injury to any other nation? Indeed, provided the same principle operates in all international relations, outside as well as within “the British League,” will not the fruitful results of Anglo-Indian partnership accrue to the “material” and racial benefit of mankind as a whole? If Sir Arthur’s theory is right, the differences of race and colour make Anglo-Indian co-operation and, *a fortiori*, world co-operation, neither possible nor desirable!

GOOD AND EVIL

To-day, as ever, the struggle is not between Man and Nature, or between “civilization” and biological improvement;¹ but between Indi-

¹ It is strange, though not necessarily significant, that in chap. xiv, book ii of *The New Crusade* “a certain degree of prejudice” is favoured, and racialism is contrasted with civilization and the development of commerce. The language of Sir Arthur Keith is somewhat reminiscent of the short argument advanced by one of the characters. But whereas the nineteenth century Semitic statesman made a shrewd guess, our Scottish savant has, in our submission, committed a fatal blunder.

vidualism and Stewardship, and man has in him the elements of both in different and changing proportions. In this struggle Nature would help him to combine with his fellows with a view to improving the stock of mankind. But she would not less eagerly assist him in his desire to encourage prejudice and discourage virtue to his own undoing. Man is part of Nature and his game is hers. They are both master and servant of one another, and their partnership is eternal. It is for him, however, to choose between the two diametrically opposed roads: the road of Individualism, Imperialism and War on the one hand—which leads to physical and moral unfitness, resulting ultimately in widespread misery and the extinction of the species; and on the other the road of Trusteeship, Responsibility and Equality, principles the practice of which tends to promote health, intelligence and virtue—to the biological advantage and increasing happiness of mankind. It is clear that Statecraft makes a direct and material contribution to race-development. Therefore, just as the statesman who would know his craft must learn the mysteries of evolution, the student of evolution who would understand his subject should be initiated in political science.

Now that the question of international rivalry is out of the way, the road is clear for the discussion of international teamwork.

CHAPTER VII

INDEPENDENCE AND INTERDEPENDENCE

STATESMANSHIP

STATESMANSHIP is the art of reconciling the interests of the individual with those of society, and of harmonising the different interests of its sections and those of the various States, with a view to preserving the race and promoting order, peace and contentment. Through statesmanship every effort made by and on behalf of society contributes to its survival; without it most of such endeavours are worse than useless, and human society is doomed to disorder and destruction, as will be evident from the following exposition.

If, for instance, the delegates to the defunct Disarmament Conference had unanimously agreed to abolish all armaments, and accordingly every nation of the earth carried out with unprecedented enthusiasm the complete liquidation of all its military and naval stores, land, sea and air weapons, ammunition factories and naval dockyards, their laudable labour would have been only of temporary value. For unless the statesmen and the administrators of the world constantly saw to it that mankind was adequately organized on a firm basis of peace, whatever that basis may be, sooner or later ammunition factories would be re-erected, naval dockyards would be

rebuilt, various up-to-date weapons would be brought into existence, with furious and epidemic rapidity, and war would once more be waged with unparalleled fierceness. It is for statesmen to find and to tread the path which leads to international confidence and security, wherever this path may lie. It is for them to conceive and effect the national and international re-adjustments necessary for the implementing of the principles of race-preservation.

Similarly, even if the physicians and surgeons succeeded one day in curing and conquering all the diseases which afflict mankind to the point of extirpating them from our species—until the statesmen came to their assistance and co-operated with them, the social system would continue, renew and multiply the circumstances which cause weakness and infection of one kind or another to grow. Nor would the complete sterilization of the unfit save the community from infirmity, assuming one could infallibly define and isolate the unfit. A policy of sterilization ruthlessly carried out might momentarily do away with the unfit, but it could not entirely abolish unfitness. Ailments and debilities would soon be reinstated through bad housing, malnutrition, uncongenial work, over-work and various excesses, which can only be banished by statesmen, whose task it is so to re-adjust political, economic, social and educational factors, as to create conditions congenial to the preservation of the race.

Curiously enough, a parallel phenomenon may be observed in connexion with the administration of justice. Lawyers are interpreters of the law, and policemen are executive officers in charge of the application thereof. In other words, lawyers and police officers are mere instruments of the law, and what could its instruments avail, however perfect they may be, if the law itself were at fault? Indeed, if the law is defective, the more thoroughly it is carried out, the greater the consequential mischief. Fraud of every kind would spread, irrespective of the various monumental laws framed with a view to securing honesty of dealing; while crimes of violence, including suicide, would increase and intensify despite the severity of punishment.

In such circumstances lawyers and criminals play a tedious game of see-saw or hide-and-seek. When severe punishment is administered for one kind of criminal activity, the supple human mentality diverts its nefarious energies to another. And if it be just and equitable to remit punishment proportionately to such share in the commission of crime as may be traceable to defects in the organization of society, as distinguished from the share for which offenders are more or less clearly responsible individually, then judges, in their discretion, ought to show mercy frequently and on a generous scale.

Therefore, concurrently with the suppression of crime, its causes must be detected and eliminated.

Bacteriologists have taught us that in order to get rid of microbes, we must not be satisfied with killing them, but ought also to dispose of the garbage or stagnation that produces them. Similarly, it is not enough to punish criminals; the breeding conditions of crime must be tackled by statesmen and medical men, since these conditions are either social or pathological.

Again, moralists constantly preach love, brotherhood, self-control, sacrifice, selflessness. Their business is mainly to propagate virtue, that is to say, the habit of using power in a fiduciary manner in the cause of intelligence and health. But virtue is a tender plant that has to be reared carefully in friendly soil, and the conditions propitious for its development have to be devised and planned out by statesmen.

Our statesmen are mostly Parliamentarians, and under their leadership Parliament governs this Island and various territories overseas. Therefore, the test of British statesmanship is to be found in the quality and range of the work of Parliament.

It is Parliament which decides what, if any, discretionary powers, absolute or qualified, should be allowed the individual and how much control should be assumed by the community; e.g. the laws governing commerce and sexual relations.

Parliament divides the control of conduct in certain respects between the individuals—or the

group—and the community, defining in every case whether the control allotted to the individual or to the group be limited, and the residue of control be vested in the community, or *vice versa*; e.g. the laws governing transport and communications.

Parliament enacts whether the communal or sectional control should be exercised through representative or non-representative institutions; e.g. local councils, tribunals, and public boards.

Parliament is the custodian of the national prerogative. By its authority, powers are acquired from and surrendered to other States; e.g. Imperial Constitutions, trade treaties, and political pacts.

Last but not least, Parliament determines at any time the conditions, expressed and implied, upon which the Crown of this kingdom shall be held, as has been amply demonstrated by the abdication of Edward VIII.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The urge to live, with which nature has endued the individual from the amoeba upwards, is inseparable from two impulses: the impulse for independence and the impulse for contact, association. This is inherent in the living substance and unalterable. But every individual of any species whatever is subject to his environment which curbs these impulses, reconciles them with each other and adapts them to its own conditions.

Therefore, there can be no real independence in this world ; certainly not for man, since (he being of necessity and by long tradition a social animal) his desire to exercise the utmost freedom of action is curtailed not only by the limitations imposed upon him by the natural environment, including his own organic shortcomings, but also by his social surroundings—to which we shall confine our remarks here.

As a rule, man has a strong tendency to self-selection, that is, he is inclined to love himself, to over-estimate his qualities and to underrate his faults, to exalt himself above his fellows and to resent another's opposition to himself. But social contacts, conventions and customs, together with natural circumstances and cultivated understanding, tend to correct these egoistic propensities and to give people a more or less practical, if not entirely accurate, sense of proportion. The difference in capacity, coupled with the diversity of function, engenders in every individual and community a realization of interdependence, and a feeling of the oneness of the community and the wholeness of mankind. This is a disciplinary training which every member of society has undergone for numberless generations, and which generally determines the character of his conduct and the scope of his aspirations.

The faithful and wise application of the principle of stewardship would remove the causes of friction between man and man, would diminish the conflict

between man and his environment and would release the creative forces of man, so as to effect economy in human energy, the reserve of which would be available for the general levelling up and improvement of the stock. A qualified individual and communal independence is indeed indispensable to the survival of the race, and is quite possible of attainment, provided the principle of stewardship is loyally accepted as the foundation of all our institutions and inter-human relations. Then an individual's independence would be consistent with his neighbour's, and a community's independence would not endanger that enjoyed by other communities, but all would co-operate for the benefit of all. Power might not be equally divided between them, their respective functions would vary, yet practically every individual and community would contribute to the general or particular need more or less according to his or its ability. Independence, therefore, must not exceed the limits of reasonably necessary interdependence or tend to destroy its harmony.

It was to secure and perpetuate these fair conditions of equality and solidarity that the League of Nations was founded. Its machinery has been devised for the maintenance of peace; it is not a fit instrument for the abolition of national independence or for the elimination of racial differentiation. Speedy communications and easy and frequent intercourse have rendered the creation of such a world co-operative society feasible, and

the furious growth of lethal weapons and of great empires has made its advent imperative. Both possibility and necessity, therefore, have converged on one object—peace—and when such a coincidence occurs there is a good chance for something practical and lasting to emerge.

We need not go into a detailed analysis of the Covenant; suffice it to say that its terms are in consonance with the three survival principles and that, if observed, it is calculated to safeguard the future of the race. Thus the Mandate System, which supersedes the predatory practice of annexation, enshrines the principle of Stewardship. The same principle underlies the provisions for international solidarity in matters relating to territorial integrity, independence, war, disease and traffic in arms and in dangerous drugs. The principle of Equality is guaranteed, *inter alia*, through the possession by each Member, big or small, of one vote and one vote only at meetings of the Assembly. Moreover, "Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony" is eligible for membership of the League. Lastly, the Covenant sanctions the principle of Responsibility in various ways. For instance, the Mandatory is accountable to the League for the government of the territory entrusted to its care. Further, certain offences are cognizable by the League, and any Member who is alleged to have committed one of them is answerable to the League therefor.

However, it is no use invoking mere ink-and-paper incantations. The strength of the Covenant depends entirely on the sincerity of its signatories. Owing to its democratic spirit, this unique international instrument has been what the nations of the world as a body, whether Member-States or non-Member-States, have chosen to make of it. It will do whatever they wish it to perform.

NATIONALISM

Nationalism is an aspect of communal life, it being the expression of the collective consciousness in a society of its urgent individual destiny. It is distinct from patriotism, independent of religious faith, and not necessarily bound up with racial affinities. As a matter of fact, history teems with conflicts between nationalism and one or other of the above aspects of human thought and feeling. For instance, in the Great War the main belligerents were white Aryans; French Protestants, Catholics and Jews butchered their respective German co-religionists like demons; and the Arabs fought against their fellow-Moslem Turks. Nor had the revolts of the North and South American colonies been less serious, or their severance from their respective mother-countries less complete, on account of their several racial and religious relationships, than they otherwise might have been.

Nationalism and patriotism are often mistaken one for the other, not because they are identical

one with the other, but because they generally seem to go together. Patriotism is the attachment one feels towards one's native or adopted surroundings, geographical, social, political and traditional. Its motive power lies in the past, whilst the dynamic attraction of nationalism lies in the future. One is essentially traditional and conservative; the other adaptable and creative.

Nationalism is to a nation what ambition is to the individual, and falls into one or other of four different kinds, namely, defensive, liberative, constructive and aggressive. But the emergence of nationalism does not preclude the existence of rival parties; for whatever the aim to be attained, at least two opinions will be held as to the way of attaining it.

Defensive Nationalism. This kind of nationalism manifests itself when the nation, being aware of a common peril threatening it internally or from an external or alien element, directs its forces against it. Such a peril need not of necessity be foreign warlike aggression; it may take other forms, e.g. widespread corruption, or the sudden appearance of a fatal epidemic. Let us give an illustration of the enemy within the gates: If the American nation were to react against the tyranny of gangsterdom in the same way as the citizens of New York recently awoke to the corruption of Tammany Hall, then the world would witness the finest type of defensive nationalism recorded in history.

Liberative Nationalism. Liberative nationalism is the manifestation of the national desire to free the community and its territory of alien rule. This would occur before the ruling nation has absorbed the subject race or been assimilated by it, and is born of the latter's discontent. For when the subject nation becomes conscious of its inferior status and of the restrictions which such discrimination entails, it becomes animated by a rebellious spirit, determined to rise to a level of equality with and independence from the ruling nation. It is this desire for freedom and equality, sober freedom and legitimate equality, which renders liberative nationalism an active factor in the way of justice or race-survival. A very good example of it was the Polish nationalism which strove and succeeded in freeing Poland from the triple yoke of Austria-Hungary, Germany and Russia. There was one feeling with which all Poles were imbued and which animated their co-operation, and that was the independence and integrity of Poland.

However, when the process of absorption and assimilation has gone too far, so that there remains no social, and little, if any, official difference between the ruling and the subject peoples, this kind of nationalism is out of the question. Perfect examples are Scotland and Wales: Freedom and equality are there already, if they ever were absent, and the Scots have been quick in availing themselves of all the advantages of the Union. Accordingly, if a local consciousness animates

them, it is not likely that it will take the form of liberative nationalism. Rather would it be a movement in favour of separation from England, with a view to some sort of federation with the southern part of Britain. The question would resolve itself into one of separate identity or of pure decentralization; say, should Scotland be represented at Westminster or in Edinburgh? The course which Mr. de Valera would trace for Ireland, on the other hand, does not seem to be altogether similar.

Constructive Nationalism. Constructive or regenerative nationalism evolves when the national resources are consolidated and orientated towards the material and cultural advancement of the nation. It is evinced when a nation becomes aware of its opportunities to exploit its soil, to remodel its organization and to improve its stock. Roughly speaking, the reigns of Elizabeth and Victoria, and the intermediate periods of the English and the Industrial Revolutions, were marked by such nationalism. Those times were characterized by a vigorous reorganization within and a bold expansion without, which placed England at the head of mankind. Modern examples of constructive nationalism are Russian Communism, Italian Fascism and, last but not least, the American New Deal. As to the Nazi movement, it is actuated by a spirit of liberation—having regard to the Peace Treaty restrictions on German freedom—as well as by the object of national reconstruction.

However, whether a particular national movement of a locally regenerative character is pro-survival or will ultimately work against race-preservation, depends on the method of reconstruction and its objective. For the modern State is a most efficient engine admirably constituted to crush and exterminate its human components, as well as to enable them to lead genuinely happy lives. The powers at its command are so enormous and deadly that their assumption and retention, even during a comparatively short time, by an incompetent or dishonest group, may work well-nigh irretrievable mischief to itself and to other States.

It is most instructive, if not always edifying, to watch the process of evolution of these various manifestations of the communal psychology which show man's earnest attempts at improvement and perfection. Some of his attempts are wise and successful, others are misguided and fail. Yet the genuine aspiration after a higher and more complete fulfilment is always there, ready to be used for the advancement of race-preservation by tactful and sagacious statesmanship. Unfortunately, it has often been diverted through ignorance, or exploited by unscrupulous persons. Thus National Socialism, in spite of the support it commands in Germany, is objectionable from at least three angles: its anti-democratic dogma, its hostility to minorities, and its grotesque racialism.

Aggressive Nationalism. Aggressive nationalism is the manifestation of a desire on the part of one

nation to derive some advantage at the expense of another. For instance, at the present moment the whole of Japan is seized with fervour as regards its future relation to Manchuria. Whether or not the conquest by the Japanese of the Chinese province will be to its own benefit, is irrelevant. What really matters here is the fact that the Japanese nation is bent on amputating Manchuria from China and assuming control over it, despite the almost unanimous protest of the other nations, including of course China, and irrespective of the interests or wishes of the Manchurians. *Prima facie*, this sort of behaviour is the very negation of stewardship and bears a close resemblance to larceny, yet its true character must be judged according to international terms of race-preservation. Which brings us to discuss the nature of war and the question of Imperialism.

THE CHARACTER OF ARMED CONFLICTS

As to the nature of any war, unless it is the result of a complete misunderstanding and honest mistake on both sides, it bears at one and the same time two aspects, one aggressive and the other defensive. But we may remark that international relations are even more intricate than personal relations, with the result that the conduct of nations lends itself to a far greater ambiguity than that of individuals. And if appearances are liable to be deceptive in personal behaviour, how much more difficult is it to ascertain the true character

of a given international conflict. For instance, the mere fact that one nation declares war on another does not make the former the aggressor. Nor does the crossing by its forces of the latter's frontier of itself render the home nationalism a defensive one, as taking the initiative by carrying the war into the enemy's camp is sometimes the best defensive strategy. It may well be that the interests of the genuine aggressor-nation compel it to bide its time, or to attack an ally of a third nation. In both cases, the intended victim would find it opportune to prevent the menacing scheme from maturing by striking a timely blow. Thus, who was the aggressor in the Anglo-Spanish conflict of Elizabethan times? Was the "singeing of Philip's beard" by Drake an act of aggression on the part of this country? Was the determined nationalism purely defensive, that found expression in the blazing beacons which, at the approach of the Armada, lit the countryside from Beachy Head to Carlisle? It is for historians to answer.

There may be some doubt also as to which of the two sets of belligerents in the Great War was the aggressor, the Allies or the Central Powers. Nevertheless, it can be asserted here and now as incontrovertible that in the Belgian episode Germany played the role of aggressor, while Belgium stood on the defensive, within the meaning of our definitions. To quote Briand's retort to Stresemann: "At least, history will not say that Belgium invaded Germany."

Here the existence of the League of Nations is useful, though its machinery is far from perfect. When, for one reason or other, the League has failed to prevent the outbreak of war, its virtue is not exhausted. It is still in a position to identify and indict the aggressor State. But experience has shown that such a power is of little more than academic value, unless the Members of the League are ready and willing to go to the assistance of the victim and to restore peace with justice. The League is in principle a democratic organization, and apathy is to democratic institutions what a vacuum is to animals and to vegetable growth.

And now let us advert to the question of Imperialism.

EMPIRES ANCIENT AND MODERN

Imperialism is individualism writ large, it being a system wherein a comparatively defenceless race or nation is forcibly placed under the authority of an armed one, which ultimately crushes out of existence all those who resist absorption or subjection and those who are deemed to be harmful or useless to the ruling race or nation. The process is one of exploitation, restriction and degradation of the servient community to the supposed advantage of the dominant one. The imperialistic policy is not one of enlightenment, with a view to arriving at an intelligent co-operation between the two nations or races for the

benefit of both on equitable terms, or with a view to arriving at their free coalescence. Rather is it one of overbearing discipline, with the object of stifling the spirit of independence and initiative in the subject race or nation, and of facilitating voluntary obedience to the ruling one. Thus in spite of the temporary benefit they received from the introduction of Roman order and Roman culture, the imperialism of Rome depleted or utterly destroyed her subject peoples, and in the end wrecked Rome herself.

But unfettered Imperialism, like unfettered Individualism, is non-existent these days, the nearest approach to it being Japan's domination in Korea. Here are some of its characteristics: Only the minor positions in the government service are accessible to Koreans, and then at a salary 30 per cent lower than that of a Japanese official of the same rank. At all government offices Japanese are served first. The penal code is harsh, and torture is by no means unknown. Not only are Koreans denied freedom of speech, but any of them is liable to suffer abject personal humiliation at the hands of the humblest Japanese immigrant. A few years ago there were less than 600 schools for over 90,000 Korean pupils, while more than 400 schools accommodated an aggregate attendance of about 45,000 Japanese pupils. The full meaning of these figures will be appreciated when it is remembered that the Japanese constitute barely 1·5 per cent of the population.

Finally, Koreans are not taught their language or history, and very few students are permitted to leave the country in search of knowledge elsewhere than in Japan. In contrast with this state of affairs, we may point to the comparatively high and rapidly rising status of India. It is significant that Lord Halifax, when Lord Irwin and Viceroy of India, declared that as between British and Indian interests, the latter would thenceforth receive priority. This declaration formally redeemed India from the thralldom of Imperialism and enshrined Anglo-Indian relations within the sphere of Stewardship.

THE ETHICS OF IMPERIALISM

The institution of Imperialism goes back to the beginning of recorded history and must have originated in the very cradle of the human race, nay earlier in animal life. Nomadic tribes left their scanty or drought-stricken regions and migrated as a matter of necessity in quest of fertile soil and plentiful produce. Sometimes the newly discovered country was uninhabited, and the newcomers simply settled down to enjoy nature's generous hospitality. But if the land happened to be in the possession of another community, then a struggle for the means of livelihood almost inevitably ensued; and whenever the invaders conquered, they exterminated the vanquished, evicted them or reduced them to slavery.

Less remotely, however, what had been a

process of necessity degenerated into an object of greed, and the struggle for existence changed into one for exploitation. Impudent bands of bullies, trained in the art of war and equipped with superior weapons, sallied forth from time to time from their confines and raided peoples who could not fight with them on terms of equality as regards numbers, valour, organization or equipment. They imposed their despotic rule over their unfortunate victims or contented themselves with robbing them and carrying away the spoils.

Thus Imperialism is the result of a natural impulse and, like all natural impulses, however perverted, it must ultimately be based on sound principles which one has to discover and interpret. Accordingly, it seems that Imperialism is justified on two grounds, known in municipal law as nuisance and waste.

1. Just as in a civilized State a householder is legally entitled, as he is always morally bound, to complain of and, in certain circumstances, even to abate a substantial nuisance which has sprung up on his neighbour's premises, so has one nation the right to protest against the misgovernment of another nation, and, sometimes, even to take the matter into its own hands and set it right. It is on this principle that the Viceroy's interference in the internal affairs of Indian States on occasions of misrule is founded, and that Great Britain has acted when calling the League's attention

to the deplorable conditions prevailing in Liberia.

2. In the same way as under certain codes a needy and capable citizen is sometimes permitted by law, as from the point of view of urgent self-preservation he is always bound, to enter upon uncultivated and abandoned land, in order to exploit it on his own behalf, a nation with a teeming and overflowing population has a right to occupy superfluous territory nominally belonging to a comparatively small or inactive community, e.g. the invasion of Abyssinia by the Italians and of North China by the Japanese.

Nevertheless, rules against nuisance and waste must be laid down by a State which will see to it that they are faithfully followed and fairly enforced within its jurisdiction. Is there in existence a similar authority and similar rules to be acknowledged and obeyed in international relations, to which Japan and Italy might have submitted? Before the establishment of the League of Nations there was none, the existence of a substantial body of International Law notwithstanding; so that the nations were left to manage as best they could. Some resorted to alliances; others relied on friendly intervention in case of conflict, much as a citizen who is assaulted may expect a neighbour to come to his assistance. But experience proved the inadequacy of such makeshift devices and uncertain hopes, and the League of Nations was formed. Since then there has been

in existence definite international machinery which, with good-will on the part of all concerned, might be invoked and brought into operation more or less efficiently in some of the above circumstances. There are now the Mandate System, the Permanent Court of International Justice and the Assembly of the League itself.

Now Japan and Italy defied the judgment of the League and proceeded to appeal to the very precedents of the last century, the dire consequences of which had led to the foundation of the League of Nations. Whatever the moral strength of Japan's claim and of the justification for her conduct in support of it may have been before the League's decision, her obstinacy in maintaining her independent action and in refusing to consider the international machinery—liable to modifications—advocated by the Lytton Report as the solution of the Manchurian problem, has placed her in the wrong. It has made aggressive her nationalism, which in some ways is based on defensive and constructive principles, and has converted it from a force in the direction of stewardship and order into one in the direction of anarchy and individualism. It is by this attitude that Japan stands condemned at the bar of civilization. Italy's case is rather worse, for not only has she flouted the League, but she has also annexed the whole territory of a fellow-member of the League, a territory she has conquered by the unlawful use of poison gas.

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

The British Empire is in several respects a unique political entity. It embraces within its frontiers nearly one-quarter of the globe's dry surface and shelters under its flag about one-fifth of mankind. Its territories are scattered over all the Continents and under every sky, while its citizens belong to a comprehensive variety of races, colours, languages, cultures and creeds. Yet in spite of great differences and vast distances, there is one important feature which all the component parts of the Empire have in common, and that is representative institutions, social, economic, and political. The United Kingdom and the Dominions possess independent legislatures; but elsewhere the legislature is subordinate to the Imperial Parliament, its basis is less democratic and its jurisdiction is restricted. Nevertheless, government is nowhere absolute within the British commonwealth: responsibility may be entirely local or entirely imperial, or partly local and partly imperial; it may be direct or indirect, proximate or remote; but it is always there, and account must be rendered of the stewardship of government, immediately or ultimately, to a popularly elected assembly. For instance, there is no incident that occurs in India but may be made the subject of a question to a responsible Minister, or of a free and effective debate, either in an Indian Assembly or in the House of Commons, or in both.

Moreover, the process of emancipation has by

no means reached a standstill, but continues to develop progressively in three directions:

First, there are centrifugal forces making for decentralization and local or national self-government;

Secondly, there is a general desire to render democratic control more and more effective and at the same time to empower as many citizens as may be qualified to take a share in the control; and

Thirdly, political control is evolving popular economic control and benefit.

The fact that this process of emancipation is guaranteed from external aggression and internal disintegration ensures deliberation, and favours the emergence and prevalence of wise counsel. Let us again take India as an example. If Britain were to cease to exercise control and supervision there in the immediate future, can there be any doubt but that the sub-continent, left to the heterogeneous, divided and undisciplined native leadership, would at once fall a prey to tyranny, corruption, and different civil wars simultaneously breaking out up and down the Peninsula? Another illustration is the suspension of democratic government in Newfoundland under the aegis of Britain, with a view to eradicating corruption from public affairs and rehabilitating the financial structure of the Dominion. Outside the British Empire a purgative measure of this nature would have certainly entailed a violent revolution of doubtful consequences.

No degree of freedom, however, need inspire fear of secession, for two reasons :

a. Complete independence would bestow on the separatist member no appreciable fresh advantage. On the contrary, it might easily expose it to new perils, especially now that Germany, Italy and Japan are on the war-path. What would Australia or South Africa gain by withdrawing from the Commonwealth? Nothing. On the contrary, they would stand to lose a good deal. Both realize full well that whenever the occasion (not necessarily one of war) may arise, they will receive from the Imperial pool according to their respective needs, just as in 1914-18 they contributed to it according to their relative capacities.

b. The self-governing members of the Commonwealth are bound together by common blood, common ideals and kindred institutions.

Both reasons create a feeling of interdependence and foster the spirit of solidarity and co-operation so essential for a sound Constructive nationalism.

The original motives and manner of the extension of the imperial frontiers do not materially affect the orientation of events at the present time. These are matters for historians to discuss and to settle and need not trouble us here. Canada is not less capable than Australia of co-operating with this country because the former was conquered while the latter was merely discovered, and the Statute of Westminster has entirely atoned for Irish misrule and the Boer War.

Now the Dominions have accomplished equality with the United Kingdom; and India, already a member of the League of Nations on the same terms as each of them, will in due course acquire its autonomous status within the Empire. As regards the other parts of the Empire, they are avowedly held in trust for the benefit of their respective populations as well as for that of the Commonwealth as a whole. The acceptance of these three principles, stewardship, equality and responsibility, is the real guarantee of our future. But they must not be applied in a happy-go-lucky manner or selfishly—without reference to the outside world, especially owing to the ubiquity of our interests.¹ Providing, therefore, its inhabitants make the best of their opportunities for the benefit of the rest of mankind as well as in their own interest, there is every reason to believe and to hope that the British Empire will not disintegrate, but that it will steadily flourish and that its ties will increase and strengthen.

¹ See Sir Samuel Hoare's speech at Geneva on the 11th September, 1935.

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