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ENCYCLOPAEDIA
OF WORLD POLITICS

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF WORLD POLITICS

by

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edited, revised and enlarged by

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PREFACE

The *Encyclopaedia of World Politics* surveys in alphabetical order the political terms, systems, trends, problems and watchwords of the contemporary world. It also gives political sketches of all countries, with their constitutions, parties, tendencies and special problems, as they are in the winter of 1949. It is deliberately confined to terms and names of the present time. Their abundance left no space for going back into history, however attractive and instructive this might have been.

The only exception to this rule has been made in favour of political thinkers and their ideas. The student of the history of political thought will realize that all the basic ideas of politics have been stated and restated long before our own time. Anyone wishing to understand contemporary political ideas should acquaint himself with the earlier thinkers from whose work they are ultimately derived. Therefore accounts are given of the most outstanding political thinkers of all ages and nations. The book is thus intended not only as an aid to those who wish to know more about the names and terms which appear day by day in the columns of the newspapers, but also as a guide to the fundamentals of politics. A volume of this size may not claim to be absolutely complete or to be an academic encyclopaedia, for it is in the first place intended for the general reader Yet students of the political sciences may also find it useful as an introductory text and as a work of reference for philosophies and institutions.

This encyclopaedia does not profess to be a handbook of economic and social statistics; these are readily obtained from year-books. Similarly, it is not a political Who's Who but confines itself to being a What's What of politics. Only a few leading politicians have been included, and for obvious reasons it has in most cases been necessary to restrict biographical notes to the barest life data. The exclusion of any political personalities does not imply a judgment of their importance or policies.

Cross-references have been employed amply, and the reader is advised to follow them up, and to read articles on allied subjects in conjunction with the article on the topic he is considering. Information on political parties, peace terms, etc., in respect of any particular country should be sought in the general article on that country, if no special article can be found on the subject in question.

The author's earlier *Penguin Political Dictionary* met with a very favourable reception in its day, and he now ventures to present a larger, more encyclopaedic work of this kind. The number of words is nearly twice that of the Penguin edition, the text has been largely rewritten and hundreds of new references have been added. The entries concerning political thinkers and their theories are almost entirely new. Needless to say, the work has been brought up to date, and numerous political terms which have emerged only in the post-war world have been included.

In compiling this political encyclopaedia the author has had the assistance of Mr. Peter Campbell, late of Nuffield College, Oxford, now Lecturer

in Government and Administration in the University of Manchester, who edited and revised the text. Apart from notes on recent developments, Mr. Campbell contributed a great number of articles on subjects related to the politics of the United Kingdom and the British Commonwealth, and made important additions to other articles in this particular field. He contributed also a number of articles of general interest including some on political thinkers, and numerous additions and amendments throughout the book are due to him. Miss Eila M. J. Campbell, Lecturer in Geography, Birkbeck College, London, has prepared the maps illustrating the text. Entries were concluded on 1 November 1949, but in some important cases it has been possible to consider events up to 1 January 1950, and a note has been specially added at the end of the book on the British General Election of February 1950.

The author and editor greatly appreciate the aid they have received from the information officers of several embassies, international organizations and political parties. They are especially grateful to Sir Henry Clay, to Mr. P. W. S. Andrews, and to Mr. R. B McCallum, who kindly read much of the work and gave valuable advice. Miss Cynthia Rowland also read the manuscript and tendered helpful suggestions. Responsibility for the statements and opinions appearing in the text belongs solely to the author and editor.

Political ignorance is democracy's worst enemy. By presenting in a handy format that political information which is essential to everybody, the author and editor hope to make a contribution to the fight against that enemy

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THE WORLD on Mollweide's Interrupted Homolographic Projection *in colour*. *at end of the book*

A

AALAND ISLANDS, in the original Swedish spelling Åland Islands, a group of several hundred islands and islets in the northern Baltic, halfway between Sweden and Finland (see both), total area 576 sq. m., population 27,000. Mariehamm is the principal town. The population is Swedish. When Sweden ceded Finland to Russia in 1809, the islands, which since the Middle Ages had been part of Finland, also passed to Russia. They are of great strategic importance in the Baltic and it has been the policy of the Baltic powers to prevent their fortification. After the Crimean War, in 1856, Russia was, at Sweden's request, forbidden to fortify them. After the Russian revolution of 1917, a plebiscite showed the islanders wanted Swedish annexation. In February 1918 Swedish troops landed in the islands but were withdrawn when the Germans arrived shortly afterwards. The Germans left in November and a dispute over the possession of the islands arose between Sweden and Finland, which had become independent. The League of Nations ruled in 1921 that the islands should go to Finland, but should be granted self-government and be demilitarized. They have since been an autonomous Swedish area in Finland. Swedish is the official language and the islands have their own parliament, the *Landsting*. In 1938 Sweden and Finland agreed on the fortification of the islands, but this was vetoed by Russia. After World War II, in September 1945, the *Landsting* demanded incorporation into Sweden, but no change has taken place so far.

A.B.C. COUNTRIES, a term under which Argentina, Brazil and Chile (see separate entries), the most important South American states, are sometimes grouped together.

ABD EL KRIM, rebel Arab leader in Morocco (q.v.). He was exiled to the French island of Réunion from 1926 to 1947, when the French gave him leave to reside in France for health reasons. In passing through the Suez Canal he escaped into Egypt, whose government allowed him to stay provided he did not participate in politics Despite this, he has founded a Committee for the Liberation of North Africa. (See also *Arab League*; *Arabs.*)

ABSOLUTISM, the system of unlimited government, the governed having no representation, vote or other share in the administration. An absolute ruler governs in accordance with his own will, without consulting the people and without being bound by any law. Indeed the term springs from Latin *legibus absolutus*, absolved from the laws. Absolutism is the opposite of constitutional government and democracy, and the antithesis to the separation of powers (q.v.). European absolutism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was, however, in a sense progressive; it initiated the abolition of feudalism, strengthening the central power at the expense of the nobility and often protecting the rising citizen class of the towns, and other subjects, from the barons' arbitrariness. By its work of unification it laid the foundations for the modern national state. Its supporters called it in some cases 'benevolent absolutism' or even 'enlightened despotism'. Louis XIV of France is regarded as the outstanding representative of absolutism; to him is ascribed the dictum, '*L'état, c'est moi*', epitomizing the essence of the system, although belief in his responsibility to God, the force of custom, and the fear of rebellion, in practice limited the freedom of action of the average absolute monarch. Yet from the eighteenth century onward absolutism generally became opposed to progress and relied on the feudal aristocracy which it had previously divested of effectual power. It clashed with the urban and peasant classes, the most momentous of these clashes being the French Revolution, and though absolutism lingered on until the middle of the nine-

teenth century, it had in the end to give way to constitutional government all over western and central Europe. In Russia, absolutism of the older pattern survived into the twentieth century to be swept away by the revolution of 1917. It was during the struggle between citizens' democracy and monarchs' rights that the term 'absolutism' acquired the derogatory ring it has to-day.

The English political philosopher Hobbes (q.v.) supplied the classical theory of absolutism in the seventeenth century, although absolutism proper had just come to an end in England where its work had been done, with some modifications, under the Tudors. Hobbes's ideas, like their subject matter, eventually proved to have paved the way for the modern type of state rather than for absolute monarchy. Residues of English absolutism played a part in the developments which led up to the American Revolution at a later date. Next to Hobbes, the Scots James VI and Barclay, and the Englishman Filmer, were the most important British theorists of absolutism.

Usually the term 'absolutism' refers to the rule of a person, but it is also used in respect of the absolute rule of a collective body, e.g. the ruling party in a single-party system. Even within the framework of responsible government the term is sometimes used, if the governing body has apparently unlimited powers, thus 'parliamentary absolutism' and 'cabinet despotism' have been spoken of to denote the position of Parliament and the Cabinet respectively in Britain. But it is hardly justifiable to use the term for a body which is dependent on free elections. 'Absolutism' has been used also of the general powers of the state, especially in connection with dictatorial and totalitarian systems (q.v.). Modern dictatorships are a revival of absolutism, and like their ancient model they derive their claims from the alleged embodiment of the state or nation in the person of the ruler. The divine right of kings is sometimes replaced by reference to other supernatural or superpersonal factors such as 'Providence' or 'History', which are supposed to have commissioned the dictator. Democrats reject absolutism of whatever kind as incompatible with the freedom and dignity of the individual. (See also *Democracy*.)

ABYSSINIA, an Empire in East Africa, official name *Ethiopia*, 350,000 sq. m., population variously estimated at 7 to 12 millions. The capital is Addis Ababa. The Emperor, at present Haile Selassie I (born 1891), is styled *Negus Negesti*, King of Kings. There is a parliament consisting of a Chamber of Deputies elected by the nobles and tribal chiefs and a Senate of nobles who have been high officers of state, but all the members are in practice the Emperor's nominees and have to ratify his decisions. The actual form of government is thus the personal rule of the Emperor. There are no democratic elections; neither is there a foundation for them in the present condition of this still feudal empire.

Abyssinia is inhabited by several different peoples, among whom the largely semitic Amharas in the central uplands are the ruling group. They number about 2 millions. They rule the other peoples by provincial governors, some hereditary, who are practically local princes. The people of Tigré, farther north, are related to the Amharas. Both are Christians of the Coptic Church. The Coptic Metropolitan or Archbishop of Abyssinia, known as the *Abuna*, has traditionally been an Egyptian since the fifth century but in 1944 the Emperor declared that at the end of the present Abuna's term an Ethiopian would have to take his place. The third people are the Gallas who occupy an inferior position although they form one-half of the population. They are farmers and cattle breeders of hamitic race and language, some are Christians, some Moslems, and some adhere to animistic tribal religions. Moreover, there are various minor peoples, including Moslem tribes of the Somali and Danakil groups and the Falashas, who profess the Jewish faith. The Jibouti Railway links Addis Ababa with the port of Jibouti in French Somaliland.

Ever since Italy had acquired the neighbouring colonies of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland on the Red Sea in the later nineteenth century, she had aspired to the vast Ethiopian hinterland. In the first Italo-Abyssinian war of 1896, however, the Italians were defeated by the Emperor Menelik at Adua. Abyssinia maintained its independence, the only native African state to do so, but remained backward and undeveloped in spite of great natural resources. Out of a struggle for the succession in the early twenties there emerged the modern-minded Ras (Prince) Tafari as heir-apparent; he toured Europe in 1924 and

embarked on a programme of reform when he had ascended the throne as Emperor Haile Selassie I in 1930. This was cut short by a new attack by Italy, beginning on 2 October 1935. Abyssinia invoked the aid of the League of Nations of which it was a member; the League declared Italy an aggressor and adopted limited economic sanctions against her. No more effective action was taken, however, and after six months Italy conquered all Abyssinia. The Negus fled to England, while the King of Italy assumed the title of Emperor of Ethiopia. Abyssinia was consolidated with Eritrea and Somaliland into Italian East Africa. The annexation was internationally recognized a year later.

When Italy declared war on Britain in 1940, Haile Selassie returned to North Africa under British auspices to organize a renewal of the Abyssinian struggle against Italy. Aided by Ethiopian levies, the British reconquered Abyssinia in the spring of 1941, and in May of the same year Haile Selassie returned to Addis Ababa as Emperor. In a treaty concluded in 1942 and modified in 1944, Britain recognized Ethiopian sovereignty, temporarily reserving certain military rights in some border areas. British influence remained strong. Capitulations (q.v.) were abolished, but a special agreement was signed concerning the legal treatment of British nationals. Ethiopia was accepted into the United Nations.

The Emperor resumed his reform plans and is working hard to modernize his country. He holds three portfolios in his own government and is especially concerned with education, the greatest need of the largely illiterate empire. He has enlisted foreign help; all ministries have foreign advisers. There is a British military mission, a British Commissioner of Police and a British customs adviser. The President of the High Courts and the general manager of the capital are also British. Four hundred Swedes help in training the army and air force and in staffing schools and hospitals. Americans manage the National Bank, the radio and air lines, and advise on foreign affairs, education and public health. A former German war pilot advises on commerce and agriculture. Italian technicians maintain public services, but the country is still very backward, the inefficient and corrupt native administration being one of the main barriers to the Emperor's vision of progress. The imperial family are shareholders in many industrial concerns. Abyssinia has raised a claim to the incorporation of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, which has been supported by the Eritrean Copts but opposed by the Moslem half of Eritrea and the Moslem Somalis. The Bevin-Sforza Plan of 1949 provided for the western (Moslem) half of Eritrea to go to the Sudan (q.v.), while the eastern (Coptic) half was to go to Abyssinia. (See also *Italian East Africa.*)

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH, in the United States the speech by which a presidential candidate nominated by the party convention accepts the nomination and outlines his programme.

ACHESON, Dean G., Hon. M.A. (Yale), Hon. LL.D. (Wesleyan), born 1893; educated at Yale and Harvard; served in the U.S. Navy in World War I; private secretary to Justice Brandeis, 1919–21, member of a firm of lawyers, 1921–33; Under-Secretary of the Treasury, 1933, back to law practice, 1934–41; Assistant Secretary, Department of State, 1941–5, Under-Secretary of State, 1945–7, back to law practice, 1947–8, Secretary of State in succession to General Marshall, January 1949. Democrat.

ACTION FRANÇAISE, a royalist extreme right-wing group in France, founded in 1898, during the Dreyfus affair which was discrediting the Republic. The spiritual leader of the movement was Charles Maurras, whose three principles were 'integral nationalism', the *coup de force* (the use of violence), and the axiom that order matters more than freedom. The *Action Française* demanded the restoration of the French monarchy under the House of Bourbon-Orleans (see *Bourbons*), the decentralization of France into the old provinces, a corporate state with a Chamber of Corporations instead of a territorial parliament, and a privileged position for the Roman Catholic Church. Its paper, *L'Action Française*, had a circulation of 50,000 in 1938 but its immediate political influence was small. Under the Vichy régime during World War II the *Action Française* gained some influence among the entourage of Marshal Pétain. After the war it was suppressed, together with its action squads, the *Camelots du Roi.*

ADDISON. Christopher Addison, 1st Viscount, British Labour politician, born 1869. A surgeon, he entered Parliament as a Liberal in 1910, and in the Lloyd George Coalition government he was Minister of Munitions 1916–17, Reconstruction Minister 1917–19, President of the Local Government Board 1919, Minister of Health 1919–21, and Minister without Portfolio 1921–2. He then joined the Labour Party and was at the Ministry of Agriculture 1929–31. He was raised to the peerage in 1940 and in the Labour government of 1945 became Dominions Secretary and Leader of the House of Lords. In October 1947 he became Lord Privy Seal. From July 1948 to April 1949 he was also Paymaster-General.

ADDRESS, debate on. (See *King's Speech.*)

ADEN. (See *Arabia.*)

ADENAUER, Dr. Konrad, German chancellor, born 1876, educated at Frankfurt, Munich, and Bonn, became a lawyer at Cologne; joined the Catholic Centre Party, deputy mayor of Cologne, 1906, Lord Mayor, 1917, chairman, Prussian state council, 1928–33; member of the Centre Party's executive committee till 1933; suspended from office as Lord Mayor by Nazis, March 1933; dismissed, July 1933; imprisoned on political grounds, 1934–1944, co-founder of Christian Democratic Union, 1945; became its leader in Western Germany, member of Advisory Council, British Zone, 1946; member of the diet of North Rhine-Westphalia, 1947; chairman of the Parliamentary Council (constituent assembly) at Bonn, 1948–9; first chancellor of the German Federal Republic, September 1949. (See *Germany.*)

ADMINISTRATIVE LAW, a term properly meaning the law determining the organization, powers and duties of administrative authorities, but used also for only such part of that law as is administered not by the ordinary courts, but by special tribunals, to which are appointed officials appreciative of the policies affected by the cases coming before the tribunals as well as the purely legal aspects of those cases. In France the administrative courts are organized in a separate hierarchy alongside the ordinary courts, and give to the aggrieved citizen a speedier and cheaper means of redress than is available in Britain. The British judiciary has been critical of such tribunals, which it has feared would make the state judge in its own case, and in consequence no well-developed system of administrative courts has been established. The ordinary courts can hear appeals against many of the decisions of the tribunals, can rule invalid (*ultra vires*) administrative action unsanctioned by statute, and can give compensation for injuries suffered by a person through a wrongful act of an authority. But the legal doctrine that 'the King can do no wrong' and cannot be sued in his own courts has meant that his servants (i.e. the central government departments) cannot be sued, although officials can be sued in their personal capacity and the department concerned usually pays any compensation ordered by the court; local authorities and statutory authorities (e.g. the organizations which control nationalized industries) are not servants of the King and can therefore be sued. Critics of this system have tried to secure that tribunals do full justice to persons seeking redress from them and to make the departments of state liable in the courts. The Donoughmore Committee on Ministers' Powers, 1930, made recommendations on the first head and many of these have been implemented, the Crown Proceedings Act, 1947, made most departments of state liable in the courts and abolished the old, difficult and expensive method of petitioning to secure redress (See also *Delegated Legislation, Dicey.*)

AFGHANISTAN, Kingdom of, 250,000 sq m., population about 8,000,000, capital Kabul. This Central Asiatic kingdom guards the mountain passes leading from Russia to India, a fact to which it owes the preservation of its independence, because both Britain and Russia have been interested in its existence as a buffer state. The policy of Afghanistan has correspondingly been for generations to manœuvre between the two great Powers. The country is mountainous and undeveloped, and part of its warlike inhabitants still live under a tribal system. It can be reached only by a few high passes, among which the Khyber Pass on the Indian (now Pakistani) frontier is the most important.

The present King or Shah, Mohammed Zahir, was born in 1914 and succeeded to

the throne in 1933. He appoints a senate of forty-five members, in session throughout the year, while an elected National Assembly of one hundred members meets only from May to October. About every four years there is also a Grand Assembly of notabilities and tribal chiefs to discuss matters of state. Except for a million shiites, the Afghans are all sunnite Moslems. Languages spoken are Persian (the language of the educated classes), Pushtu (an Indian language) and Turcoman (in Afghan Turkestan). An educational system of some size is being built up. The Turcoman and Kirghiz tribes of Afghanistan have been reported to be subject to propaganda from their kinsmen in the neighbouring Soviet republics.

Afghanistan attracted international attention in the twenties by the reform policy of King Amanullah. It had previously been an emirate of strictly Islamic character. Emir Habibullah, moderately progressive and pro-British ruler, was assassinated in 1919 by a conservative group which tried to enthrone his brother Nasrullah instead. This was prevented by the murdered Emir's son, Amanullah, who imprisoned Nasrullah and ascended the throne himself. He sent an army down the Khyber Pass to help insurgent Indian frontier tribes against the British. The Afghans were rapidly defeated, and the war was ended by the Anglo-Afghan peace treaty of 1921. Emir Amanullah concluded a treaty with Soviet Russia and embarked on a bold policy of reform. In 1926 he adopted the title of King (in Persian, *Shah*); in 1926 and 1927 he toured Europe and the Near East and came home full of fresh reforming zeal. He ordered modernization along Turkish Kemalist lines: European clothing, abolition of women's veils and of polygamy, etc., with the result that in 1929 the conservative mullahs, the powerful Islamic clergy, aroused a revolt against him. It so happened that the pay of the King's troops was in arrear at the time, and this left him without defenders. He fled to India and later went to Italy. The interesting episode of his rule in Afghanistan is not forgotten. Britain did not greatly regret the disappearance of the pro-Russian King, and Colonel Lawrence of Arabia was alleged to have taken a hand in the Afghan rising. In Afghanistan, a period of internal disorder followed. The leader of the anti-Amanullah revolt, Bacha-i-Sakao ('son of the water-carrier'), an Afghan brigand chief of low descent, seized power, declared himself Emir and withdrew all the reforms of his predecessor. He proved incapable of ordered government, and General Nadir Khan, a scion of the old dynasty, rose against him. With the help of Waziris from the Indian side of the frontier he defeated the usurper, and Bacha-i-Sakao was hanged at the end of 1929. The victor ascended the throne as Nadir Shah, obtained a loan from Britain and restored order in the country. He returned to Afghanistan's traditional foreign policy, and Russian influence was eliminated. After a time Nadir Shah entered the way of reform again, though more slowly and cautiously than his forerunner. On 8 April 1933 he was assassinated during a football match; the murder was reported to have been an act of personal revenge by a dismissed court official. Nadir's son, Mohammed Zahir Shah, succeeded to the throne without any obstacle, and has continued his father's policy since. Renewed Russian interest in Afghanistan found expression in an Afghan-Soviet trade pact in 1940. Russia gave some technical assistance, but a few American contractors were also admitted. Some industries have been established in recent years, and the army was modernized with the aid of instructors from Turkey; there is also a small air force. Ex-King Amanullah was reported during World War II to be active on the Axis side and to have been seen in Iraq (q.v.) in the Middle East during Rashid Ali's anti-British revolt; his wife is the daughter of a prominent Syrian.

It remains to be seen how the withdrawal of the British from India will affect the international position of Afghanistan. The two new Indian countries may endeavour to continue the buffer state policy with regard to the mountain kingdom. Afghanistan's relations with Pakistan (q.v.) became strained because of Afghan support for an independent, and ultimately Afghan, 'Pathanistan' in what used to be India's North-Western frontier province. Afghanistan joined the United Nations in 1947. The country was also a party to the Saadabad Pact of 1934 (q.v.).

AGA KHAN, title of the head of the Ismailia sect of Islam, which has about a million adherents in India and is also widespread among Indian immigrants in East

Africa. The sect is shiite. All shiites trace the lawful succession of Mohammed to the prophet's son-in-law, Ali, but shiite sects differ as to which of his last-known descendants (the line became extinct in the tenth century) should be regarded as the true Caliph or Imam. (See *Caliphate.*) Ismailites choose one particular scion of the house of Ali, Prince Ismail. He is said to be reincarnated in the head of the sect. The members of the sect style themselves hodjas or mollahs. The Aga Khan claims the imamate, the shiite equivalent of the caliphate, and the present holder of the title is regarded by his followers as the forty-seventh Imam or reincarnation of Mohammed since Ali. In practice he is only the spiritual head of his sect, not a temporal ruler. Aga Khan (pron. *agaa*) is a title, not a name; it is Turko-Tatar in origin and means 'Great Lord'. The present Aga Khan is the Rt. Hon. Sir Mohammed Shah ibn Aga Ali (born 1877). He is a descendant of Hassan-ibn Sabbah, the 'Old Man of the Mountain' and founder of the sect of the Assassines, from whose doctrine Ismailism is derived. The Aga Khan is famous for his enormous wealth, he receives one-tenth of the income of the members of his sect. He lives a great deal in Europe, is married to a Frenchwoman and has a son. He is also active in politics and in 1934 was president of the League of Nations Assembly as the representative of India; he is regarded as pro-British. In spite of the difference in sect, he emphasizes his solidarity with the rest of the Islamic world, and for a time supported the maintenance of the sunnite caliphate.

AFRICA HIGHWAY, a highway connecting Cape Town and Algeria. It was constructed during and after World War II. (See Map IV.)

AGENT PROVOCATEUR, a French term for political agent sent during political or social conflicts into the adversary's ranks to provoke in the guise of an adherent incidents and compromising actions.

AGGRESSION, a much-used term of contemporary diplomacy. It was incorporated in the Treaty of Versailles which spoke of 'the aggression of Germany', and in the League Covenant by which members undertook 'to respect and preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members'. League sanctions were provided against the aggressor, but it proved impossible to agree on a definition of aggression. The various Powers put forward rather different views on what should constitute aggression and their interpretations were mostly designed to preserve freedom of action in their national policies. An exact definition of aggression is made difficult by the fact that every nation declares its wars a legitimate defence against aggression, actual or threatening, by other states upon itself or its allies; other reasons invoked in cases of military action include an alleged threat to law and order in neighbouring countries, the protection of kindred minorities, the defence of civilization, etc. Attempts were made in the Mutual Assistance Pact of 1923 and the Geneva Protocol of 1924 to base the definition of an aggressor on refusal of arbitration, but this was not generally accepted. Nevertheless, in a few cases the League declared certain nations aggressors, with the result that these states left the League and continued their actions without effective opposition from the League (Japan v. China in 1932, Italy v. Abyssinia in 1935, Russia v. Finland in 1939). In political practice the prevailing definition still seems to be the one ironically suggested by Clémenceau in 1919: '*L'aggresseur, c'est l'autre*'. Against the general feeling that aggression is something to be rejected, it is sometimes argued that aggression is a historical phenomenon through which more or less all nations of the world have come into existence or grown, and that this law of history cannot be changed in a society of sovereign states. This school of thought holds that a world-state, with clear laws and executive power, is requisite for the effective outlawry of aggression.

AGRARIANS, a term used in northern, central and eastern Europe to denote the political parties representing agricultural interests. Sometimes the use of the term is restricted to parties controlled by the more well-to-do farmers, usually with a conservative outlook; this type of party seems practically extinct in the eastern half of Europe. Yet sometimes the term is also applied to parties representing the small farmer, though these are preferably known as peasant parties. In Bulgaria and Switzerland, for instance, the name 'Agrarians' is

in use for peasant parties. In Balkan countries, the peasant parties are progressive and moderately left-wing, or, rather, this was their character before they were more or less co-ordinated with the communists during the Russian occupation after 1945. The Swiss peasant party is a Liberal Party of the centre.

ALASKA, an incorporated territory of the United States, situated in the north-west of the North American continent and facing Siberia across the Bering Straits. Area, 586,000 sq. m., population only 72,000, of whom 40,000 are white; the rest include 11,000 Indians, 15,000 Eskimos, and 6,000 Aleuts, a race akin to the aborigines of the Japanese islands. The capital is Juneau. Alaska was purchased by the United States from Russia in 1867 for about $7,000,000, meaning one penny an acre. In 1912 it was made an organized territory, having so far been governed under the laws of Oregon. There is an elected bicameral legislature, sitting normally for sixty days every two years, but legislation on a number of subjects is reserved to Congress. The governor is appointed for four years by the President. The territory has a delegate in the House of Representatives in Washington. A desire for statehood has been expressed, and a plan for admission of Alaska as the forty-ninth state was prepared in 1945, and President Truman recommended admission in his 1948 message to Congress.

Alaska is rich in timber, minerals, fish, and fur-bearing animals. There has been some progress in development during and after World War II. It is of strategic importance as a gateway from Asia to America, and because the shortest air route from the United States to East Asia is via Alaska.

ALBANIA, a republic in the west of the Balkan Peninsula, 10,600 sq. m., population 1,000,000. The capital is Tirana. The Albanians speak a language which occupies a unique position among the Indo-European group and may be a derivative of ancient Thracian or Illyrian. It now contains words of Greek, Slav and other origins, but the Albanians are neither Greeks nor Slavs. The Gegh dialect is spoken in the north and the Tosk dialect in the south. Seventy-one per cent of the Albanian population are Moslems, the others are Orthodox or Roman Catholic Christians. Some of the northern hill peoples known as the Malissores still live in tribal organization, and blood feuds have until recently played a part in Albanian politics. About 500,000 Albanians live outside Albania. Of these, 200,000 are domiciled in Yugoslavia (especially in Old Serbia and Macedonia) and 200,000 in Greece, while 100,000 are scattered all over the Near East.

Albania belonged to Turkey from the fifteenth to the twentieth century, and was made an independent state after the first Balkan War in 1912. A German prince, Wilhelm zu Wied, accepted the Albanian throne in 1914, but after a few months he was forced to leave the country. In World War I Albania was a theatre of war. After the war its independence was recognized anew, after unsuccessful attempts by Italy, Yugoslavia and Greece to annex or partition the country. A period of internal disorder followed, out of which emerged Ahmed Zogu in 1925 as President and in 1928 as King of Albania. He tried to modernize the backward country and collaborated with Italy Nevertheless, Mussolini suddenly attacked Albania at Easter 1939 and annexed it to Italy. King Zog was driven out and the King of Italy took the Albanian royal title. In World War II Albania became the base for Italy's attack on Greece. There were uprisings in the Italians' rear, and later in the war the communists, based on Tito-controlled districts of Yugoslavia, assumed leadership of the partisan movement. Their 'National Liberation Front' took power after the war under General Enver Hoxha (pron. Hodja). This government was recognized unconditionally by Russia, conditionally by the Western Powers which made reservations concerning the holding of free elections. A Constituent Assembly was elected on 2 December 1945. The communist-controlled 'National Democratic Front' obtained 470,000 votes, the opposition 30,000. The election was not free according to Western standards, and those who had, at the invitation of the government, organized the opposition, disappeared afterwards. On 7 March 1946 the Assembly declared Albania a People's Republic and General Hoxha became Prime Minister. He also holds the offices of Foreign Minister and Commander-in-

Chief (there is an army of 100,000 men). Numerous political trials and executions, especially of Albanians suspected of British and American sympathies, have been reported.

Under the present government Albania is firmly under Soviet influence. She entered into close relations with Yugoslavia, a customs union was concluded in December 1946, and Yugoslavia undertook to establish industries in Albania. However, when in June 1948 the Cominform (q.v.) denounced the Yugoslav communists (see *Yugoslavia, Tito*) Albania complained that the latter had been treating her as a colony and abrogated the economic treaties at the end of 1948. Many Albanian communists suspected of Tito sympathies were executed. The frontier area known as the Epirus is the subject of contention between Albania and Greece. The latter aspires to the Albanian Northern Epirus, while Albania has claimed the Greek Southern Epirus—both parties invoking the ethnical principle. In recent years Albania has aided the rebel communist forces in northern Greece

A mining incident off the Albanian coast, involving British warships, was taken to the International Court in 1947. The Court ruled in April 1949 that Albania was responsible for the explosions, but that Britain had infringed Albanian sovereignty by sweeping the Corfu Channel for mines. Britain was awarded damages.

ALEXANDER, Lord Albert Victor, British Labour and Co-operative politician, born 1885 He was Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade 1924, First Lord of the Admiralty 1929–31, 1940–5, and 1945–6, and has been Minister of Defence since 1946. In 1950 he was made a viscount.

ALEXANDRETTA, Sanjak of, an area on the north-western frontier of Syria (q.v.), containing a port of the same name, with a population of 220,000. It was Turkish until 1918, when it was, after World War I, joined to Syria. Turkey emphasized the fact that Turks were the largest ethnical group in the district, and aspired to the re-acquisition of Alexandretta. A census showed 40 per cent Turks, the others being Arabs and miscellaneous racial groups, none having a majority. In 1938, France as the Mandatory Power in Syria granted autonomy to the district, and a Franco-Turkish condominium was established. In 1939, the area was ceded to Turkey by France against the protest of the Arabs. The cession was the price of the Anglo-French-Turkish aid pact of 1939. (See *Turkey.*) The Turks renamed the area Hatay. Syria wishes to regain possession of the district.

ALGECIRAS, Act of, an international treaty concluded at Algeciras in Spain, in 1906. The signatories were Britain, France, Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Belgium, Sweden, the United States, and Morocco. By it the sovereignty and integrity of Morocco (q.v.) were recognized, and the powers accepted the principle of 'the open door' (q.v.) with regard to that country.

ALGERIA, French territory in North Africa, 848,000 sq m., population 7,500,000 of whom 1,000,000 are Frenchmen, the rest Arabs and Kabyles, both Moslem. The province, conquered by France 1830–57, is divided into a Northern Territory of 222,000 sq. m. and a Southern Territory of 626,000 sq. m The Northern Territory consists of three large *departements* (Algiers, Oran, Constantine) and elects members to the French Parliament. The Southern Territory, mostly desert with an estimated population of 600,000, is under military administration Algeria, or at least its northern portion, is regarded as part of metropolitan France, but its actual status is partly colonial. The French governor-general wields supreme power. Full citizenship extends only to Frenchmen, Jews, and special categories of Moslems who on the basis of certain qualifications (war service, property, education) have taken 'naturalization' as Frenchmen and given up Moslem status. The step is unpopular and has not been taken by many Moslems. The French settlers are mostly farmers known as *colons*, or live in the great cities, they are of conservative and anti-native views. Moslem non-citizens have had a minority representation on various deliberative bodies since 1919, including the Financial Delegations which have a limited control of the budget and represent the landed interest, both European and Arab.

Nationalist, pan-Arabic and pan-Islamic tendencies have been in evidence since 1930. During World War II the French resistance government promised to increase Algeria's measure of self-government. In May 1945

there was a serious rising in the Sétif region. A new statute for Algeria was enacted by the French Parliament in 1947. It provided for an Assembly of 120 members, half elected by Europeans and 'naturalized' Moslems, and half by the other Moslems, which would mean a sixfold vote for the Europeans. The Assembly would vote the local budget by a two-third majority; and while certain classes of laws passed by the French Parliament would be automatically applicable to Algeria, others would be applied only with the agreement of the Assembly. Moslems would have a greater share in the administration. The Statute was criticized by the socialists, communists and Algerians for giving too little, and by the M.R.P., the radicals, the P.R.L., the Gaullists and the French in Algeria for giving too much.

The first Assembly was elected in April 1948 The Europeans and naturalized Moslems elected 38 members of the pro-Gaullist Algerian Union and French People's Rally, 4 Socialists, 3 Radicals, 1 Communist and 14 Independents. The other Moslems elected 43 Independents, 9 members of the *Mouvement pour le triomphe des libertés democratiques* (M.T.L D) and 8 members of the *Union Démocratique du Manifeste Algérien* (U.D.M.A) The U.D.M.A. is a moderate nationalist party, which wants equal rights for all Arabs with Frenchmen but accepts the French connection; it is led by Ferhat Abbas. The M.T.L.D. wants a free Algerian republic, its leader, Messali Hadj, being a supporter of pan-Islamism (q.v.).

ALPHABET AGENCIES, in the United States the economic and social agencies established under President Roosevelt's New Deal (q.v.), and known by their initials, such as C.C.C. (Civilian Conservation Camps), F.H.A. (Federal Housing Agency), N.R.A. (National Recovery Administration), T.V.A. (Tennessee Valley Authority; q.v.), W.P.A. (Works Progress Administration).

ALSACE-LORRAINE, eastern border province of France, 5,600 sq. m., population 1,900,000, of whom about 1,500,000 are German-speakers. In Alsace nearly the whole population talks German, in the Lorraine section 70 per cent talk German and 30 per cent speak French. This section of the border province is not to be confused with the bulk of the ancient province of Lorraine (the capital of which is Nancy), which has always been ethnically French. Alsace-Lorraine has been much disputed between France and Germany in the course of history. Until the sixteenth century it was part of the Holy Roman Empire and consisted of a variety of small principalities, bishoprics and free cities. French conquest began in 1552, and lasted two centuries. The French kings respected local law and custom, and notwithstanding a measure of assimilation the Germanic character of the country was preserved. This changed with the French Revolution, which abolished local rights here as elsewhere in favour of a unitary state. The region was organized into three *départements* on the same footing as the rest of France. French became the language of administration and of schools. Most Alsatians welcomed the revolution none the less, because it freed them from feudal bondage. The 'Marseillaise' was written and composed in Strasbourg.

The restored Bourbon monarchy and the Second Empire continued the policy of assimilation. The population clung to the German language (except a section of the educated classes which gradually adopted French), but the Alsatians were loyal French citizens, and many of them were called to high positions in the French army and administration. German aspirations to Alsace-Lorraine, based on ethnical and historical grounds, had been in evidence since the Napoleonic Wars, and were fulfilled with the Franco-German War of 1870–1. Germany annexed the three *departements* and made them into the *Reichslande* of Alsace-Lorraine under an Imperial Governor.

The population resented the annexation in spite of Germanic affinity. Town and district councils as well as the newly elected deputies to the German Parliament protested against the annexation, even against the introduction of German as the language of the schools. Germany retorted by withholding self-government and maintaining dictatorial administration with a military flavour. In the nineties the protest movement ebbed, and the Alsatians lined up with the various German parties, especially the Catholic Centre Party, Centralism was mitigated to some extent, but an Alsatian constitution was not granted until 1911; it provided for a Diet with

limited autonomy. While a section of the population was now ready to co-operate with Germany, there was also a renewed pro-French current under the Abbé Wetterlé. Incidents like that of Zabern in 1913 (outrages by the military against the civilian population) hindered the bid for reconciliation, and the Diet was constantly at loggerheads with the Reich Government. With the outbreak of World War I, pro-French sympathies flared up again. While many Alsatians fought for Germany, there were also many deserters to the French. When the French returned in 1918, they received an enthusiastic welcome from the population. By the Treaty of Versailles (1919) the province was re-united with France. A German demand for a plebiscite was turned down by the peace conference.

The French restored the three *départements* (*Haut-Rhin*, *Bas-Rhin* and *Moselle*) and returned to the policy of assimilation. French became the language of the schools again. Yet during the period of German rule the population had learned to think in terms of regional unity, and while mostly feeling no allegiance to Germany, they had become more conscious of their ethnical character as German-speakers. An autonomist movement arose and gathered momentum by the French Government's attempt in 1925 to introduce French lay legislation instead of the still valid German legislation favouring the Catholic Church. Catholicism is a very strong factor in Alsace-Lorraine. Autonomist organizations such as the *Elsass-Lothringer Heimatbund* (German for 'Homeland League for Alsace-Lorraine') and the *Elsass-Lothringische Partei* were established. The autonomist party was not represented in the French parliament, but of the thirty deputies of the province returned as members of other parties, six were avowed autonomists and a few more supported some autonomist demands. The administrative position remained unchanged; administration in the province was in practice bilingual, town administration was mostly conducted in German. The press was printed largely in German, literature was produced in German, French, and local German dialect. Of the French parties, only the communists supported the autonomist movement, but even they withdrew support after 1935.

Germany had not given up aspirations to Alsace-Lorraine, and various institutions designed to keep interest in the province alive were maintained on German soil. With Hitler's advent to power, Alsatian irredentism was fostered by Germany, in spite of Hitler's solemn renunciation of the province, and some of the autonomists entered into relations with the German Nazis. Organizations in which Germanic feeling was mingled with sympathy with Nazi principles sprang up in Alsace-Lorraine, while in other sections of the population attachment to France was reinforced by resentment of Nazi methods. On the outbreak of war in 1939 the French Government suppressed the autonomist organizations, and the autonomist leader, Roos, was shot for espionage on behalf of Germany. During the German campaign in France in 1940 the attitude of the Alsatians was once more equivocal; many Alsatian soldiers in the French army showed active sympathies for Germany, while many others fought loyally for France. After the occupation of Alsace-Lorraine by the Germans in 1940 the province was administratively separated from France and placed under a Nazi *gauleiter* together with the neighbouring German province of Baden, but no formal annexation was pronounced. German became once more the language of the schools. French people who had settled in the province were expelled to France. A *Volksdeutsche Bewegung* (German National Movement) organized as a branch of the Nazi Party, had 250,000 members according to a German statement at mid-year 1941. On the other hand, intense discontent with German rule persisted throughout large sections of the population.

After the reconquest of the province by the Allies (1944–5), the previous state of affairs was restored. The policy of assimilation was resumed, and French became the school language again. There is little doubt that the majority of the population was in sympathy with France, but the French have been heard complaining since the war that the German occupation has made Alsace-Lorraine again a 'problem province', which indicates the persistence (though unofficial for the moment) of sectional tendencies in this borderland.

The importance of the province is enhanced by its wealth in potash (Europe's only large potash deposits, beside those of Yorkshire and central Germany, are found here) and iron ore. Because of its strategic

position it was chosen for the site of the French Maginot Line, which proved, however, ineffective. The capital of the province, Strasbourg, was chosen as the seat of the Council of Europe (q.v.) in 1949.

ALTERNATIVE VOTE. (See *Proportional Representation.*)

AMENDMENT, an alteration to a law or constitution. In many countries a proposed amendment to the constitution requires more support than is necessary in the case of ordinary laws, e.g. in the United States it requires the support of two-thirds of those voting in each House of Congress and ratification by the legislatures (or special conventions) of two-thirds of the states.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOUR, one of the two great North American federations of trade unions—the other is the Congress of Industrial Organizations (q.v.). Before the birth of the latter in 1935, the A.F.L. represented the main body of the American labour movement. It was founded in 1881 as the federation of skilled workers who seceded from the Noble Order of Knights of Labour which had organized skilled and unskilled workers together on the basis of one union to each industry. After 1886 the Order disintegrated because of defeats but the A.F.L. increased in strength until in 1920 it had 4,000,000 members—a sixth of American labour. The post-war depression and the slump of 1929 reduced its membership but it revived during the New Deal. In 1935, however, a number of unions, led by John L. Lewis of the United Mineworkers, seceded on the question whether workers should be organized in industrial unions including the skilled with the unskilled, or whether craft unions should continue. The seceding unions formed the C.I.O. whose creation did not seriously weaken the A.F.L. because it expanded among the semi- and unskilled workers previously neglected by the A.F.L. Gradually the latter allowed many of its unions to become industrial ones and by 1949 had 7,800,000 members. The conflict between the A.F.L. and the C.I.O. continues but is less acute now. The A.F.L. is strongest in the building, construction, engineering, transport and western shipbuilding industries, but has members in almost all industries in the U.S.A. and Canada. The United Mineworkers rejoined the A.F.L. in 1943, after Lewis had resigned from the C.I.O. on account of its support for Roosevelt whom he, as an isolationist, opposed.

Within its ranks the A.F.L. insists on there being only a single union for each trade. The workers are organized in local unions which form international (American-Canadian) or national unions and these, numbering over 100, are federated in the A.F.L. which is a quite loose association which persuades rather than controls its autonomous constituents. In the U.S.A. there are state, and in Canada provincial, federations of local unions. The headquarters of the A.F.L. is in Washington and the president is William Green, successor to the founder, S. Gompers.

The A.F.L. is still more conservative than the C.I.O. It decided to comply with the anti-communist provisions of the Taft-Hartly Act (q.v.) and this attitude possibly contributed to the United Mineworkers' decision to secede again in December 1947. In February 1948 the A.F.L. condemned Henry Wallace (q.v.) as a communist apologist and it supported the Democrats in the 1948 elections, thus continuing a long-established policy.

The A.F.L. used to be a member of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, but refused to join the 1945 World Federation of Trade Unions because it included the Russian unions which the A.F.L. regards as unfree. The A.F.L. nevertheless allowed some of its members to join international trade secretariats (see *Trade Unions*). When the C.I.O. and the West European democratic unions left the W.F.T.U. in 1948–49 on account of Communist and Soviet domination, and decided to form a new trade union international, the A.F.L. agreed to join it together with the C.I.O.

AMERICAN LEGION, an organization of U.S. ex-servicemen of both world wars, formed 1919. It is a conservative body whose general object is to protect the American way of life (this includes anti-communism, strong national policies and conscription) and whose particular object is to provide, or persuade the government to provide, assistance and relief work for ex-servicemen.

AMERICAN LOAN AGREEMENT, in Britain an agreement between Britain and

the U.S.A. for a loan of $3,750,000,000 (then £937,500,000) from the U.S.A. The agreement, concluded in December 1945, provided that Britain could draw on the 'line of credit' between 1946 and 1951, when she would have to start repaying it and the interest (2 per cent) in fifty annual instalments. The agreement provided also that Britain should pay £162,500,000 (later reduced to £154,000,000) in settlement of Lend-Lease (q.v.). Both sides undertook to refrain from discriminatory exchange control and tariffs, and Britain undertook to support the U.S. proposal for an International Trade Organization to extend this practice. The financial generosity of the loan agreement was recognized in Britain, but there was criticism of the trade undertakings, which were believed, especially by conservatives, to threaten the sterling area and imperial preference (both q.v.). The loan was almost exhausted in 1947 and Britain is now receiving more American aid through the European Recovery Programme (q.v.).

AMERICAN STATES, Organization of. (See *Pan-Americanism.*)

AMNESTY, from the Greek ἀμνησία, forgetfulness of wrong, an act of general pardon of offenders and remission of their penalties. Amnesties are usually granted in the name of the head of the state and are generally for political offences. They are used to reconcile opponents of a régime by an act of generosity and trust.

ANARCHISM, from Greek ἀνάρχεια (non-rule). A political doctrine standing for the abolition of every organized authority and of state machinery, and the creation of a stateless society instead. Anarchists hold that every form of government, whether a monarchy or a republic, a dictatorship or a democracy, or even a socialist democracy, is equally evil and tantamount to tyranny. They want to do away with all forms of state and government, and to substitute for them free associations of individuals or groups without any coercive organization, without written law, police, courts, prisons or armed forces (which are, in the anarchist view, the common characteristics of all forms of the state). In such a society men are expected to live together harmoniously on the basis of voluntarily respected mutual contracts. Anarchism is an extreme form of liberalism, taking an optimistic view of the nature of man. It includes a variety of sects which may be divided into the individualist and socialist schools as to their ends, and into the peaceful and revolutionary schools as to their means. Only the socialist schools of anarchism have achieved any political significance. The revolutionary anarchists chose a black flag in place of the red flag of socialism. There is no anarchism advocating anarchy in the sense of dissolution of all social order: anarchist society is ordered, but its order is voluntary, not compulsory. There were precursors of anarchism in the Middle Ages, mostly in the shape of Christian sects. The principal representatives of modern anarchism are enumerated in the following paragraphs.

William Godwin (1756–1836), English social philosopher, rejected government and big property, and advocated equal distribution of land. He described a free society of smallholders with 'just' property, which would need no government. This aim was to be attained by the persistent propagation of the idea of justice. Godwin was a treasury official and a servant of the state which he sought to abolish. His views got him into some trouble, which was not, however, very serious.

Max Stirner (1806–56), whose real name was Kaspar Schmidt, and who was a teacher in a German girls' school, wrote *The Ego and His Own*, a work advocating extreme individualism. Every individual is unique, Stirner taught, and superior to society which has no right to put demands on him. He repudiated the state, morals and so-called good causes (*'I am My cause Myself, and I am neither good nor bad'*). Society was to him a mere 'association of egoists', a view also held, in a somewhat milder form, by the older school of natural law. (See *Hobbes.*)

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (q.v.) was an important French labour leader (1809–65), half individualist, half socialist, who believed a harmonious free society could be achieved by co-operatives and by 'popular banks' granting loans without interest. He opposed state socialism and violent revolution. Toward the end of his life he recommended federations of small units as the best form of the state.

With **Michael Bakunin** (q.v.), Russian

revolutionist and the most outstanding figure in anarchism (1814–76), the doctrine finally took a socialist turn. The rise of modern industry, based on the combined work of many persons in large units, had rendered the ideal of a society of small independent producers obsolete. Bakunin was the first to make anarchism an organized international movement. He opposed Marx (q.v.) and 'authoritarian' state socialism; not the state but local groups of workers were to take over the means of production. The struggle between Bakunin and the Marxists dominated the First International (see *Internationals*), and eventually wrecked it. The anarchist organization also fell to pieces soon after, but much was heard of the anarchists during the last quarter of the nineteenth century when they organized plots and the assassination of heads of state in various countries, in accordance with the doctrine of 'propaganda by action' established by Bakunin's assistant, Netchayeff. Anarchists assassinated Tsar Alexander III of Russia, King Humbert of Italy, Empress Elizabeth of Austria, President Carnot of France and President McKinley of the United States. In Europe, the Marxian socialists went on combating the anarchist side-current which was Bakunin's legacy. The anarchists refused political and parliamentary action and favoured a tactic of uprisings and strikes.

Prince Peter Kropotkin (q.v.), a Russian officer and geographer (1842–1921), evolved a system of communist anarchism, more precisely communal anarchism. Men were to organize in small, self-sufficient communities, without any coercive powers. Kropotkin's friend, the prominent Belgian geographer, **Jacques-Elisee Reclus** (1830–1905), developed similar theories, the materialization of which he expected from propaganda for kindness and reason. Kropotkin, however, was a revolutionist.

Count Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910), the famous Russian writer, was a religious anarchist who held that state and law were inconsistent with Christianity, and that love should rule instead of law. He taught non-violence and non-co-operation with the state. His prescription was that everybody should refuse to render military service, to pay taxes and to recognize the courts of law: the existing order would then collapse at once.

Anarchism reached some strength in the Latin countries of the Mediterranean and in Russia. In Switzerland it had a foothold in Bakunin's days in the 'Federation of the Jura', a labour association. In Holland, the movement achieved some importance during the first years of this century under Domela Nieuwenhuis. In Britain it has always been confined to tiny groups. MacKay, a Scots anarchist writer of the last century, wrote in German. Contemporary British anarchism is represented by Herbert Read, Alex Comfort, and several younger writers. Two international anarchist congresses were held (Brussels, 1877; The Hague, 1907), but no Anarchist International was ever set up. The only branch of anarchism which achieved political significance in the twentieth century was syndicalism (q.v.), also known as anarcho-syndicalism, a mixture of anarchism, Marxism and unionism; it became a mass movement in Latin countries. Its American offshoot was the I.W.W. (the International Workers of the World). Syndicalism played a great part in the Spanish Civil War (1936–9), when it was the policy of the *Federation Anarquista Iberica*. Syndicalist ideas can also be discerned in some currents of the labour movements in Latin-American countries. Small groups of anarchists proper still exist in various countries, but they are without any significance.

The indirect influence of anarchism on the international labour movement has been appreciable in spite of its numerical weakness. It had a radicalizing effect, supplied various ideas to the whole left wing and was the most revolutionary section of the labour movement until the emergence of communism. What divided the anarchists from other socialists was chiefly their concern for man's individual freedom under a future collectivist system. Their early warnings against the omnipotence of the state and bureaucratic dictatorship anticipated many questions which are much discussed to-day in the light of recent experience.

ANDORRA, a little neutral republic in the Pyrenees, under the joint suzerainty of France and the Spanish Bishop of Urgel, area 191 sq. m., population 5,000. Andorra was in the news early in 1949 on account of a radio war with France. Its broadcasting station, Radio Andorra, complained of jamming by French stations. French spokes-

men said Radio Andorra was controlled by a French traitor named Trémoulet, sentenced to death *in absentia* for collaboration with the enemy in World War II, and had been used for enemy propaganda and espionage. A lawsuit in France is pending.

ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN (See *Sudan.*)

ANGLO-SAXONS, a term historically denoting the Teutonic Angles and Saxons who came over to England in the fifth century A.D. from what is now north Germany and Jutland, but used to-day as a collective term for the English-speaking peoples. It is not exact in a scientific sense, since the British race of to-day is a mixture of Anglo-Saxon, Celtic and other stock. In the older states of the British Commonwealth, the racial composition of the Australians, New Zealanders, and English-speaking Canadians and South Africans closely resembles that of the mother country. In America, on the other hand, scarcely more than 35 per cent of the people are of English origin. Estimates concerning the racial origin of the Americans vary, and are confused by intermarriage through generations. Some students believe that the proportion which may be described as Anglo-Saxon is as high as 60 per cent; others would put it a good deal below the 50 per cent mark. The difficulties which beset the racial analysis of modern nations in any country are enhanced by the considerations applying to a nation which has for a long time been open to mass-immigration from many lands. Indeed, the usefulness of any such analysis is doubted by many students. The conception of the United States as an Anglo-Saxon country is the prevailing one in America, but it is resented by a proportion of the non-Anglo-Saxon population. This section opposes what it calls the 'White-Protestant-Anglo-Saxon Myth' and describes the United States as a country not essentially Anglo-Saxon, but a mixed blend of cultures from many lands.

Nevertheless, the term Anglo-Saxon may pass as an expression of an actually existing community of language, outlook, civilization, law, political ideals and institutions among the English-speaking peoples, thus meaning cultural rather than racial characteristics. It is widely believed that a certain fundamental liberalism, strong emphasis on individual rights, tolerance, democratic institutions, as well as a basic trend of rationalism and realism in thinking, are Anglo-Saxon traditions. The idea of Anglo-Saxon community has repeatedly found expression in suggestions for union between the United States and the British Commonwealth. The intervention of the United States in favour of Britain in two world wars has been interpreted in terms of Anglo-Saxon kinship, although a number of other factors conducive to this intervention have also been mentioned. In World War II, the combined forces of the two countries were referred to as the Anglo-Americans rather than the Anglo-Saxons, though an Anglo-American might also mean an American of English descent. Whatever the term chosen, Anglo-Saxon feeling definitely underlies the special relationship of the United States and the British Commonwealth, and in combination with certain practical necessities it makes Anglo-American co-operation a constant in world-politics.

ANGOLA, a territory in south-west Africa belonging to Portugal (q.v.).

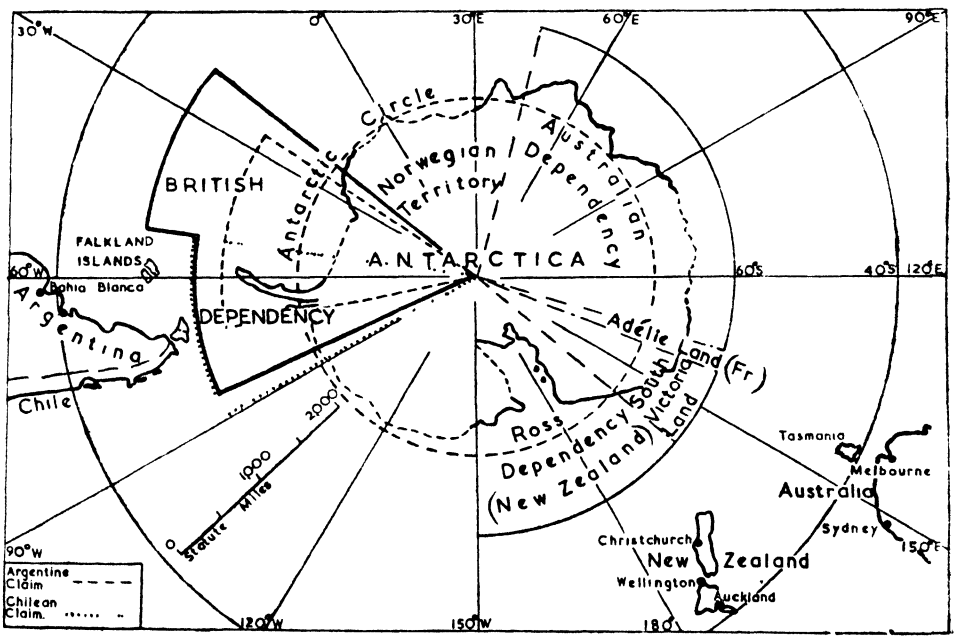
ANNEXATION, from Latin *annexus*, tying on, the act whereby a state takes possession of a territory formerly belonging to another state, or to no state at all. It is a unilateral action without the consent, or at least the voluntary consent, of the former possessor. According to international law, annexation must be formally pronounced and requires international recognition. Annexation confers full rights of sovereignty and possession, as distinguished from other actions which practically or temporarily confer similar rights but are not annexation proper, such as military occupation, League mandate or United Nations trusteeship. Occupied or administered territory is not identical with annexed territory; neither does temporary transfer of sovereignty to one or several foreign states, as in the case of Germany after World War II, mean annexation. The creation of protectorates is also distinct from annexation if the protectorate remains at least semi-sovereign. (See *Sovereignty.*) The acquisition of territory by purchase or lease is not regarded as annexation in the strict sense becase it takes place by mutual

consent. The inhabitants of annexed territory automatically become citizens of the annexing state, sometimes with the right of option (q.v.) for their former allegiance. Only quite recently has mass expulsion from annexed (or indeed occupied) territories in eastern Europe taken the place of this principle of international law.

ANSCHLUSS, a German word for union, used between 1918 and 1938 for the union of Austria and Germany (see both), which took place in 1938.

ANTARCTICA, the continent surrounding the South Pole. Estimated area 5,000,000 to 5,500,000 sq. m.; no inhabitants. Its waters and islands are important for whaling and sealing. The British Commonwealth claims about 60 per cent of Antarctica. In 1908 and 1917, the British Government declared the whole sector of the Weddel Sea, all Western Antarctica as far as the South Pole, and a number of islands surrounding the continent, a British dependency coming under the Falkland Islands. In 1923 it declared the Ross Sea and South Victoria Land to be the Ross Dependency, and placed it under the jurisdiction of New Zealand. In 1933 the sector between 45 and 160 deg. E. long., except Adelieland, was declared British territory and placed under the jurisdiction of Australia. France claims Adelieland on the continent and the Kerguele and Crozet Islands. Norway claims the Bouvet Islands and Peter I Island. American interest was shown by the famous Byrd expeditions. It was rumoured that the last one in 1947 was looking for uranium. No mineral deposits of any kind have so far been discovered in the ice-clad continent.

Chile and Argentina have claimed some of the area annexed by Britain. In 1947 these two countries revived their claims; they protested to Britain about the issue of stamps commemorating the centenary of British rule in the Falkland Islands (of which much of British Antarctica is a dependency) and in July they made an agreement for laying claim to a large Antarctic sector and to the Falkland Islands (q.v.). In the winter they established naval bases in the Antarctic, and in February 1948 the Chilean President visited the area and declared it annexed to Chile. Britain sent a cruiser and offered to submit the dispute to the International Court of Justice. Earlier, in December 1947, South Africa, with British approval, annexed Prince Edward and Marion Islands between South Africa and Antarctica. The United States does not recognize any claims



Map I. Antarctica

in Antarctica, and favours internationalization of the whole region. In January 1949 an agreement was announced between Britain, Argentina and Chile, barring the two South American countries from sending warships south of 60 deg. lat. during the 1948–9 Antarctic season, and it was renewed for 1949–50. (See Map I.)

ANTI-COMINTERN PACT, a pact concluded on 25 November 1936 between Germany and Japan with a view to collaboration in checking the activities of the Communist International (abridged Comintern). Italy joined the pact on 6 November 1937. No specific anti-communist action was taken on the strength of the pact, which was rather a demonstration of the political co-operation of the three signatories against the Soviet Union and the democracies. Subsequently a number of smaller states in sympathy with, or dependent on, the original signatories joined the pact. Spain did so also in 1939. Adherence to it was the condition of admission to the Axis system (q.v.).

ANTI-SEMITISM, hostility toward the Jews (q.v.). The name alludes to their semitic origin, but anti-semitism is not directed against other semitic peoples, such as the Arabs. It takes the form of blaming the Jews for whatever goes wrong, for every kind of illegality and vice, and for being exclusive. In the nineteenth century the former religious motive of hatred for the descendants of the persecutors of Christ was largely replaced by racial anti-semitism, which used pseudo-scientific racial theories. It declared the Jews a foreign race with nothing in common with the 'Aryan' or 'Nordic' race inhabiting Europe and America. (See *Aryans, Nordic, Race.*) It ascribed to them a position of enormous power and a plan for world dominion. In 1895 an anonymous book called *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion,* was published, purporting to contain the proceedings of an alleged secret conference of leading Jews to plan the domination of the world. This book, though easily recognizable as a clumsy invention, has been much used by anti-semites in their propaganda. At Berne, Switzerland, the question of the origin of the *Protocols* was taken to the law courts in 1933, but neither the lower court nor the Court of Appeal were able, in a trial that lasted till 1937, to give a definite verdict on the authorship. The *Protocols* were probably compiled by an agent of the Russian *Okhrana,* the Tsarist secret police, in order to supply a pretext for pogroms. *The Times* produced strong evidence for this theory in a famous article in 1921. It is certain that the *Protocols* are an adaptation of a satirical pamphlet against Napoleon III, which was written in 1864 by a French lawyer named Maurice Joly and published in Brussels, Belgium. It was entitled *Dialogue aux enfers entre Machiavelli et Montesquieu* and ironically described a meeting in hell for the purpose of scheming the conquest of Europe by Napoleon, with Machiavelli (q.v.) giving the Emperor cynical advice on how to achieve this. From this pamphlet the unknown author of the *Protocols* copied whole passages. Hitler (q.v.) was an admirer of the *Protocols,* although according to Dr. Rauschning he admitted in private conversation that they were forged. Anti-semitism made itself continually felt in Europe, especially in Germany, Austria and France, but during the liberal-constitutional epoch it did not become a serious political phenomenon. The centre of anti-semitism was Tsarist Russia, the only country at the time still to refuse legal equality to the Jews, and the country of the pogroms (q.v.). Rumania also was by tradition anti-semitic, but nominally it granted equality to the Jews. After the Russian Revolution of 1917, Jews were given equality in Russia also and anti-semitism was officially suppressed. The Soviet Government made a special law against it.

In Britain there is little anti-semitism, although in certain social circles there is some slight discrimination against Jews, and the Fascist groups have engaged in anti-semitic outrages. Attacks by Jewish terrorists on British troops in Palestine in 1945–8 caused anti-semitic hooliganism in several towns in Britain.

In America, anti-semitism has been propagated by some writers concerned with the Nordic racial idea (see *Nordic*), by various groups with Nazi and fascist leanings, by Ku-Klux-Klan (q.v.) and a variety of minor political, social and religious groups, but it has not seriously affected the position of citizens of Jewish descent.

The aims of anti-semitism include legal, social and economic discrimination against

Jews; their partial or total ousting from the positions they hold in economic, cultural and public life; their treatment as a national minority with a restriction of the positions held by them in all walks of life to a percentage corresponding with their quota of the total population (the *numerus clausus*); in the more recent savage form initiated by the German Nazis and adopted by many anti-semites elsewhere, anti-semitism aims at the complete expulsion of the Jews from the countries in which they live and the confiscation of their property; and during World War II this aim was widened to the physical extermination of all Jews

Anti-semitism reached its culmination in Nazi Germany. With Hitler's advent to power in 1933 it became government policy. Their actual practice went much further. On the basis of the racial theory, progressively more severe laws were made against the Jews. They were removed from public office; gradually their legal equality which had existed for more than a century was abolished, they were excluded from an increasing number of occupations and subjected to an economic, and social and cultural boycott, the observance of which was forced upon the reluctant section of the population by the Nazis' system of pressure. The Nazi government's campaign against the Jews, unequalled in baseness, calumny and absurdity, had a noticeable effect on considerable parts of the population, although a large section of the German people remained opposed to this policy.

In September 1935 the Nuremberg Laws were enacted, forbidding marriage and sexual intercourse between Jews and persons of 'German blood'. Christians of Jewish extraction were regarded and treated as Jews. Special regulations were also made against persons of mixed descent with only partially Jewish ancestry, who were labelled 'half-castes'. More and more Jews were put in concentration camps merely on racial grounds. They were forced to transfer their property for a nominal price to 'Aryans' and especially Nazis. The persecution of the Jews reached its pre-war climax in the brutal pogroms of 10 and 11 November 1938, staged by the Nazis after the assassination of a German embassy official in Paris by a Jew. The world's exasperation over the Nazis' Jewish policy failed to deflect Hitler and his followers from their course. The confiscation of all Jewish property followed; it amounted to 7 milliard marks, at the time the equivalent of roughly £580,000,000. At the outbreak of World War II in September 1939 about one-half of the Jews of Germany (and Austria) had been driven out; there remained about 300,000 Jews.

With the war, Hitler proceeded to the physical extermination of the Jews, as mentioned before. Obsessed with his delusion concerning their enormous importance and diabolical policies, he believed 'World Jewry' to be responsible for the war, for which it had to be annihilated.

The Jews of Germany and later of all European countries occupied by the Germans were deported to Poland and put in camps, together with the Polish Jews. From 1941 onwards mass assassination of the Jews, regardless of age or sex, was carried on systematically by means of gas chambers, gas vans, poisonous injections, shooting, burning and other methods of mass murder, apart from decimation by starvation, disease and overwork. (See *Jews*.) The total of Jews murdered up to 1945 considerably exceeded 5 millions, murdered for no other reason than their being Jews. In spite of the huge size and long duration of this industry of death, its originators managed for years to surround it with a system of secrecy which made any definite knowledge and confirmation of the events difficult. Gradually reports spread about the events in Poland. The Allied radio also reported the massacres. But these reports were widely disbelieved in Germany because of their monstrosity. Thus the Nazis were able to complete the greatest and most senseless crime in history without hindrance.

The Allied Governments endeavoured to check anti-semitism, which grew in Allied countries during the war (although it was the enemy's ideology), and after victory the Allies immediately abolished anti-Jewish laws in Germany and in the countries on whom Germany had foisted such laws in the preceding period. But as an aftermath of long Nazi propaganda, a noticeable anti-semitic current has remained in existence in a number of European countries. This applies also to some countries outside Europe. Parties and movements of the type generally described as fascist are anti-semitic everywhere, although anti-semitism is not necessarily inherent in the idea of fascism (q.v.). (See also *Genocide*.)

The roots of anti-semitism lie in the fact that the Jew is a competitor, and usually a capable competitor, and in an emotional over-rating of certain subordinate external peculiarities of some Jews. The psychology or rather psychopathology, of anti-semitism is a complex one. It centres on exaggerated reactions based on primitive or infantile instincts. Sometimes the centuries-old endeavour of the Jews to maintain their group-identity amidst their environment is mentioned among the reasons for anti-semitism. Misbehaviour of Jews in business or the appearance of Jewish names in connection with corruption or black market affairs is readily generalized, while the frequent occurrence of Jewish names in connection with cultural, scientific, economic and other achievement is not made the basis of more favourable generalizations. The various theories propounded in support of anti-semitism can be shown on analysis to be merely rationalizations of the emotional and economic motives mentioned earlier. They do not prove anti-semitism but presuppose it. As a group-affect, anti-semitism belongs to the same class as other forms of racial or national chauvinism. It is incompatible with a progressive, liberal, humanist outlook on life. All liberal and socialist movements reject racial anti-semitism. It is still banned in the Soviet Union, where it is, however, reported to survive as an undercurrent. The Christian Churches reject racial anti-semitism as inconsistent with Christian doctrine. On the other hand, Catholic-fascist movements adopted anti-semitism in a number of countries; while it was mild in Austria during the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg period, the policy of the Catholic-fascist government in Slovakia (1939–45) toward the Jews was no different from the Nazis'. Father Coughlin's anti-semitic campaign in America in the thirties is another example; it was, however, rejected by the late Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago. The attitude of Catholic populations in respect of anti-semitism differs considerably from country to country, and even within the various countries.

ANZAC AGREEMENT, popular name of the agreement between the governments of Australia and New Zealand concluded at Canberra in 1944. It provided for co-ordination of their policies on the armistices with the Axis powers and on the post-war settlement, for joint action to ensure their defence and security, for co-operation in the administration of their Pacific Ocean dependencies and in the establishment of Allied trusteeship for Japanese colonies, and in the formation of an Allied South Seas Regional Commission in the development of South Pacific colonies (see *South Seas Commission*), for a joint immigration policy, and for close consultation between the two governments in the future. (ANZAC stands for Australian and New Zealand Army Corps, the unit in which soldiers from those countries fought in World War I, since when it has come into common use to describe co-operation between the two dominions.)

APPEASEMENT POLICY, the policy of appeasing Hitler (q.v.) and Mussolini (q.v.) by continuous concessions on the part of Britain and France in the period 1935–8. The policy emanated from Britain under the Chamberlain administration. The official explanation was that it was hoped in this way to avoid war and finally to reach a point of saturation, when the dictators would be willing to accede to international collaboration. Critics of the appeasement policy were of opinion, however, that the real purpose of its conservative originators was to support the dictatorships as a bulwark against communism and to divert Hitler's aggression eastward against Soviet Russia. The acceptance of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia, the toleration of the German annexation of Austria, the abandonment of the Spanish Republic and the Munich Agreement (q.v.) were the principal milestones of appeasement. It came to an end when Hitler seized Czechoslovakia on 15 March 1939, in defiance of his promise given at Munich, and the Western Powers decided to resist further aggression. Some critics regarded the Stalin-Hitler Pact of 23 August 1939 as a continuation of appeasement on the part of Russia which had previously opposed it. The term 'appeasement' has since become a byword for any similar policy of yielding to aggressive, expansionist tendencies, particularly the acceptance of encroachment upon weaker nations by a powerful neighbour, in order to buy peace for a time, and the use of the word generally implies a warning that this policy should not be repeated.

AQUINAS, St. Thomas, Roman Catholic theologian and philosopher, born near Aquino in southern Italy about 1226, died 1274. He was a member of the Dominican Order of friars, whose teachers led the movement to incorporate into the Christian philosophical system the philosophy of Aristotle (q.v.). Of these teachers Thomas was the greatest, and he constructed a synthesis of Aristotelian philosophy and Christian theology that became the official doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church. His political theory is to be found in the *Commentaries on the 'Politics' of Aristotle*, the unfinished *De Regimine Principum* (*On the Rule of Princes*), and the great *Summa Theologica*.

His political theory is an integral part of his general philosophy. For him the universe is a moral hierarchy under the governance of God. Man has two ends: eternal blessedness and earthly happiness (by which he means the condition of mind that results from virtuous living). To achieve these ends there are two systems of government: the spiritual, represented by the Church, and the secular, composed of temporal states. Because earthly happiness is not a final end, but is a means to eternal blessedness, temporal states are subordinate to the Church, which has the power to direct them so that they promote conditions of life favourable to men's realization of eternal blessedness.

Within its own sphere, the temporal state has tasks of great importance. Like Aristotle, St. Thomas Aquinas considers that the state is essential to men, who need to live in society if they are to live full lives and develop their personalities. His state is a medieval version of the modern welfare state, which has a positive part to play in the material, social and spiritual activities of its people. Thus in the *De Regimine Principum* he declares: 'These are the duties of the prince: to preserve the peace, to inculcate right actions in the people, to provide the necessities of life in a sufficient quantity; and when he has prepared a happy life for his subjects he must endeavour not only to preserve it for them, but to better it continually.'

Following Aristotle, St. Thomas Aquinas discusses the merits of various forms of government. Monarchy, aristocracy and democracy have their various advantages and dangers. The best political system is that which combines the advantages of each and at the same time guards against the greatest danger—the abuse of power. He suggests that the monarch and the aristocracy should both be elected by and from the people, who would, in addition, themselves participate directly in government. By election and by constitutional limitations of their power, the monarch and the aristocracy would be prevented from abusing their privileges and neglecting their duties. The people owe loyalty and obedience to their rulers, but have the right to resist, passively and actively, a monarch who constantly misgoverns. Misgovernment is a violation of the natural law by obeying which alone can men prosper. True law is an ordinance of reason for the common good, and statutes are invalid when contrary to the natural law.

St. Thomas's restatement of the moral purpose of society, of the subordination of human law to the natural law, and of the right of rebellion, exercised considerable influence on later political writers. Through the English Elizabethan Richard Hooker he influenced John Locke (q.v.), who made his principles one of the foundations of modern liberalism (q.v.). Among Catholic writers, there has been an important neo-Thomist movement since Pope Leo XIII commended the study of St. Thomas Aquinas's works in 1879. Among those neo-Thomists who have developed this political philosophy Jacques Maritain is outstanding.

ARABIA, a peninsula in south-west Asia inhabited by the Arabs (q.v.). Recently the term has been used by pan-Arabists (q.v.) to describe the whole territory inhabited by Arabic-speaking peoples, but this use has not become general. Arabia proper is a territory of about 950,000 sq. m. and consists mainly of desert and mountains. The population, estimated at between 6 and 7 millions, is concentrated in the coastal regions and, to a smaller extent, in the oases of the interior. A considerable proportion is nomadic. Almost all are Moslems. Except for the southern coast, Arabia was Turkish until 1918. It is now divided into the following political units.

1. **Saudi Arabia** (q.v.) consists of the Hejaz, Nejd and Asir and is a kingdom under Ibn Saud. Its area is about 927,000 sq. m. and its population 5,250,000.

2. **Yemen** (q.v.), an independent kingdom, area 75,000 sq. m., population 3,500,000.

3. **Aden,** a British colony and naval base, with the British protectorate of the Hadramaut; total area about 112,000 sq. m., population about 700,000. The Red Sea islands of Perim and Kamaram, and the Kuria Muria Islands in the Persian Gulf, are attached to Aden.

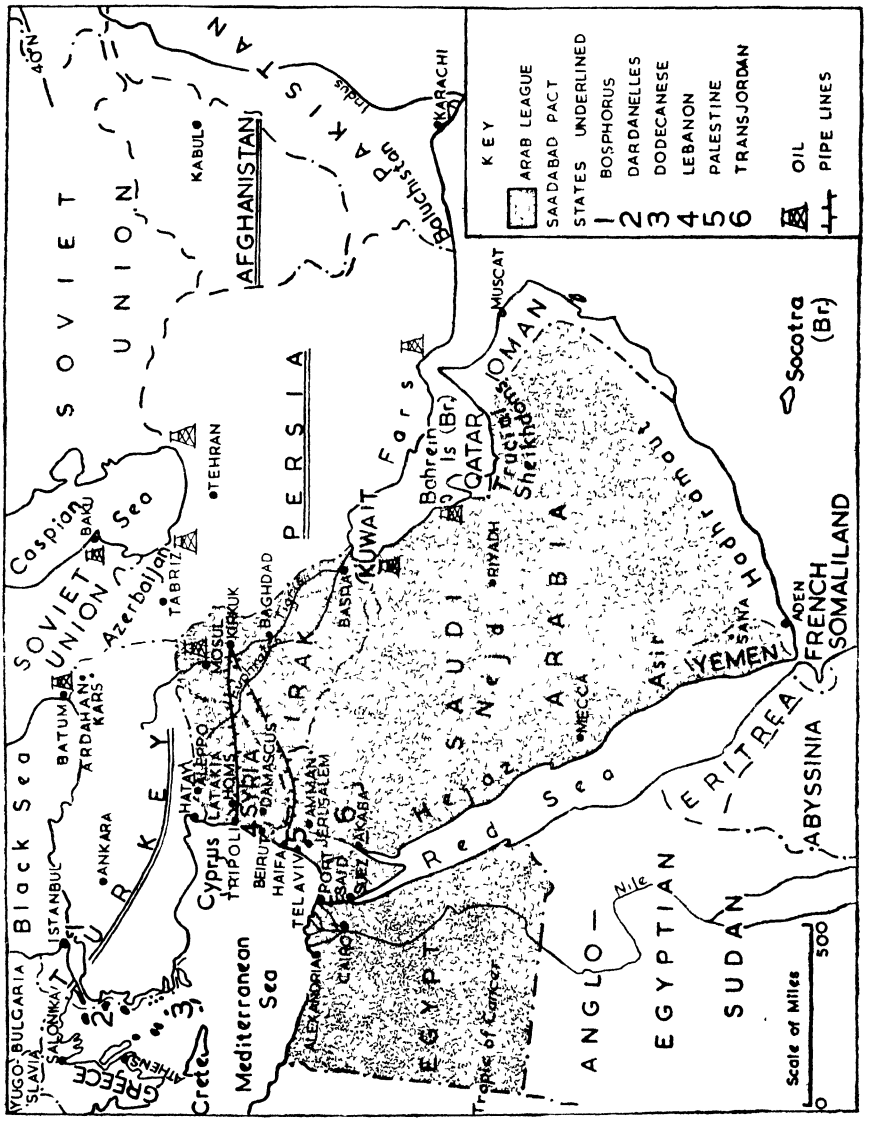
4. **Oman and Muscat,** a sultanate which under treaties made between 1790 and 1939 may have relations only with Britain; area 82,000 sq. m., population 550,000, of whom a large proportion are negroes and Indians.

5. The **Trucial** or **Pirate Coast,** six sheikhdoms which under a treaty of 1892 may have relations only with Britain; area is undefined, population 80,000.

6. **Qata,** a sheikhdom with a similar treaty (1916); area 8,000 sq. m., population 30,000.

7. **Kuwait,** a principality under British protection since 1914; area 2,000 sq. m., population 100,000.

8. **The Bahrein Islands,** a caliphate in the Persian Gulf, area 200 sq. m., population 120,000. The islands are important for their



Map II. The Near East

oil, pearl fisheries and strategic position. The oilfields are owned by the Bahrein Petroleum Co., registered in Canada and a subsidiary of the American companies Standard Oil and Texas Corporation. (See *Oil.*) There is the usual treaty with Britain. Persia has laid claim to the islands.

ARAB LEAGUE, an association of the Arab states (see *Arabs*), established 22 March 1945. The organization of the League was announced in the name of the Kings of Egypt, Saudi-Arabia, Iraq, Transjordania and Yemen, and of the Presidents of Syria and the Lebanon. (Articles on each of these Arab states can be found in this volume.) A representative of the Arabs of Palestine was admitted to the Council of the League, but for the time being without official status. Concern for the Arabs of the North African colonial territories was indicated in the announcement, but their admission was not found appropriate for the time being. Members were admonished to collaborate with 'Arab countries outside the League'—a reference to the colonial territories. Morocco also remained outside, being unable under the protectorate treaty with France to conduct a foreign policy of its own, but the Sultan of Morocco expressed sympathy with the Arab League in 1947.

Every member state is represented by one delegate in the Council of the League. The League's announcements are usually issued in Cairo, the seat of the secretary-general, sometimes at Bludan in Syria, the place of foundation. The statute emphasizes the right of every Arab state to self-determination and independence. The tasks of the League are the strengthening of the relations between the members, political collaboration, defence of the independence of member-states, discussion of Arab affairs, co-operation in the fields of economics, finance, culture and communications. Article 5 stipulates that no force shall be used in settling disputes among members. If a dispute does not affect the integrity and security of the parties and if they entrust its settlement to the Council, the decision of the Council is final. The Council is to mediate in disputes which might lead to war between members or between a member and a non-member. The Council's decisions in cases of arbitration are taken by a simple majority, the parties to the dispute not voting.

The Arab League appeared in Arab politics mainly in order to fight Zionism (q.v.). When the British mandate over Palestine (q.v.) ended on 15 May 1948, the states of the Arab League took concerted action against the new state of Israel (q.v.). During the campaign in Palestine, grave disunity was revealed between the members of the Arab League concerning the aims to be pursued there. This, together with the military weakness of the Arab states displayed in the campaign and the successful resistance of Israel (q.v.), led to a weakening of the structure of the League. (See Map II).

ARABS, a group of peoples in the Middle East and North Africa speaking the Arabic language, totalling about 45,000,000. The distribution of the Arabs is (in millions): 6–7 in Arabia proper (Saudi-Arabia, Yemen and neighbouring regions), 3 in Syria, 3 in Iraq, 1 in Palestine, 15–16 in Egypt, 2 in the Sudan; 0·7 in Libya, 2·3 in Tunisia, 6 in Algeria, and 5 in Morocco. Articles on all these Arab countries are to be found in this volume. Reliable statistics of the population are lacking in most Arabic countries, and the total figure may in fact be somewhat less. Only the Arabs or Arabia proper, the Desert Arabs, are of the original (semitic) Arab race; the others are derived from arabized peoples of the Middle East and North Africa. The Arabs of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia speak the Moghrebi (= western) variant of Arabic and are of Hamitic-Berber stock. With the exception of some Christian communities in Syria, the Lebanon and Egypt, all Arabs are Moslems.

Arab countries are rather undeveloped. More than 90 per cent of all Arabs are illiterate. All Arab countries, except those with a prevailing nomadic-bedouin character, are characterized by the contrast between a small, very wealthy upper class and the mass of the people living in extreme poverty. There is no middle class of any appreciable size. Industry is only in its beginning, being comparatively most developed in Egypt and largely under European and (as far as oil is concerned) American ownership. Industrial workers' wages amount only to a fraction of west European wages (Egyptian average, for instance, 22 per cent of that of England). Agriculture predominates, but the land is largely in the possession of big landowners, while the

peasants, known as *fellahin*, mostly work as tenants. The land question and other social problems loom in the background of Arab politics, and nationalism, Islamic fanaticism and social discontent are interwoven in the Arab movement. The upper classes, supported by the new intelligentsia which has reached a considerable size only in Egypt and Syria, lead the movement for full independence and closer association of the Arab countries, but also seem bent on maintaining their feudal position. The masses follow suit, are anti-European and fanatical, but there are indications that they may raise social demands once complete national freedom has been achieved. The Powers interested in the Arab region are mainly Britain, France and America. The concern of the United States is of recent date; it began with the discovery of huge oil deposits in Saudi-Arabia by American oil interests. Soviet Russia has also shown growing interest in the Arab region since World War II. Nominal statehood and independence has so far been achieved by all Arab territories except those west and south of Egypt.

The Arab national movement began, after centuries of Turk domination, in 1847 among the Arabs of Syria, notably those educated in American and French mission schools. A literary society patronized by American missionaries was the first to spread Arab nationalism. Numerous open and secret societies throughout the Middle East fostered the Arab movement, which was mainly directed against the Turks who ruled most of the Arab countries at the time. World War I led to the rising of a large section of the Arabs against Turkey. Britain was instrumental in the organization of the revolt through the famous Colonel Lawrence. On the Arab side the rebellion was conducted by the Sherif of Mecca, Emir Hussein, and his sons. The Emir demanded a British promise of Arab independence within frontiers including Arabia proper, Syria and Mesopotamia. the western frontier to be formed by the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. Sir Henry MacMahon, British plenipotentiary, wrote to the Emir in October 1915 that Great Britain was prepared 'to recognize and uphold the independence of the Arabs in all the regions lying within the frontiers proposed by the Sherif of Mecca' with the exception of certain districts situated to the west of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo. The arrangements made after victory were declared by the Arabs not to be in accordance with the promises given during the war. No united, independent Arab state or federation was set up, but a number of separate dependent units were formed: Iraq, Palestine and Transjordania under British; Syria under French mandate. Only the Hedjaz was formally recognized as an independent state; Inner Arabia attained *de facto* independence under Ibn Saud (q.v.). Emir Hussein, who had meanwhile adopted the title of King of Hedjaz, made attempts to establish Arab unity. His sons were made Kings in Iraq and Transjordania, but when he began calling himself 'King of the Arabs' or 'King of the Arab countries', he met with opposition from the other Arabs. Eventually Hussein was ousted from his own kingdom in Hedjaz by Ibn Saud in 1924.

The Arab national movement turned against Britain and France after 1919. There were continuous disorders, and gradually the mandatory powers granted increasing self-government to the Arab states. Egypt was made nominally independent in 1922, Iraq in 1932 and Syria in 1936, but British troops remained stationed in Egypt and Iraq, and French troops in Syria. The last-named country was finally evacuated after World War II in 1946, after British support had been given to the Arab demand for withdrawal of the French forces. There are still considerable British forces in Egypt, though evacuation has been agreed upon in principle and some garrisons have actually been withdrawn. Transjordania was declared independent in 1946. The Arab movement has made Palestine (q.v.) its special concern and has maintained strenuous opposition to the policy of establishing a Jewish national home there, with the result that Britain declared the mandate unworkable in 1947, and evacuated Palestine in May 1948, when the neighbouring Arab states at once invaded the country. (See *Israel.*)

The pan-Arabic movement (q.v.) aims at the union of all Arabic-speaking countries in an empire or federation. The Arab League (q.v.), founded 1945, is a loose association of the Arab states. It sometimes acts as their common representative in dealings with the outside world and claims as its concern all Arab national groups inside and outside their boundaries.

ARGENTINA, second largest South American republic, 1,080,000 sq. m., population 16,105,000. The capital is Buenos Aires. Politically, Argentina is regarded as the most important nation in Latin America besides Brazil, and the leading one among the Spanish-speaking states of the hemisphere. Economically, it is the most developed of all; it has 54 per cent of all South American railroads, 55 per cent of all automobiles, 50 per cent of all telephones, and 43 per cent of the foreign trade of South America. The population is of European descent, apart from a remnant of Indians in the south; one-quarter of the people are of Italian extraction. Argentina stands on a plane by itself among the Latin-American nations, whose natural leader it considers itself. It is intensely nationalist, outspoken in its opposition to United States influence, and rather cool in respect of pan-Americanism (q v.). Culturally, its educated classes look to Europe, mainly to France and Spain.

Argentina depends largely on agriculture, in which 70 per cent of the population are engaged, and is one of the world's leading exporters of wheat, maize, and beef. Traditionally, Britain is Argentina's largest customer, taking 40 per cent of its exports in normal times, and British economic influence in the country is strong. Britain's investments totalled £400,000,000 until her economic crisis after World War II forced her to sell many of them. In peace-time, Germany was Argentina's second largest customer, while the United States came third.

The constitution, which dates from 1853 and was last revised in 1949, is federal on the United States pattern and provides for a Congress consisting of two chambers. The Chamber of Deputies has 158 members, popularly elected for six years, with one-half vacating their seats every three years. The Senate has 30 members, two for each of the 14 provinces (states) and the capital; they used to be elected by the provincial legislatures, but will now be elected popularly. The President is elected for six years —henceforward by popular election. The autonomy of the provinces, which choose their own governors and legislatures, is great, but federal intervention on political grounds is not infrequent. (See below for recent constitutional developments.)

The principal political problem of Argentina is land. As in most Latin American countries, the structure of land tenure is still feudal, and most of the best land belongs to big landowners who work their fantastically large *estancias* (some of which reach 1,000,000 acres and more) with the aid of landless labourers known as peons, who live in very depressed conditions. Next to land reform, it seems that urban labour and industrialization, the latter being connected with the tariff question, present the most urgent problems. There are strong and radical trade unions. Argentina has the largest middle class in all Latin America, and the struggle between this class and the landowning class has for long dominated Argentine politics, now complicated by increasing working-class influence.

Of the traditional great parties, the conservative National Democrats represent the landowning interests, while the Radicals represent the middle class. A succession of military *coups* known as *pronunciamentos* has in recent years tended to reduce the role of the political parties. The Radical President Irigóyen was deposed by a *coup* in 1930, and a succession of conservative oligarchies under Generals Uriburu and Justo ruled afterwards. The members of the *Unión Civica Radical* who adhered to Irigóyen became known as the *personalistas*, while a more conservative section, describing itself as the *radical-antipersonalistas*, broke away and concluded an alliance with the national democrats, known as the *concordancia*. The Radical President Ortiz, elected by this alliance in 1938, strove for reforms, but fell ill and retired in 1940; some time later he resigned, having been implicated in a scandal by his opponents. The anti-fascist *Acción Argentina* had 800,000 members in 1940, but was an ephemeral affair. The conservative Vice-President Castillo assumed the government after Ortiz's withdrawal. The 1941 election resulted in 68 seats for the *concordancia* and 64 for the *radical-personalistas*. The socialists obtained 17 seats; the communists, suppressed in most provinces, were active underground. The *radical-personalistas*, led by Dr. M. de Alvear, were strongest in Buenos Aires and Santa Fé.

In 1943, Castillo was overthrown by a military rising under General Ramirez. Congress was dissolved, all parties were banned, and a dictatorship was set up. On 25 February 1944 another *coup* was

organized by General Edelmiro Farrell, who succeeded Ramirez as President. Behind both *coups* was Colonel Juan Domingo Perón (q.v.), who had the support of the majority of the Argentine officer corps whose 3,600 members are one of the most important factors in Argentine politics. A secret officers' brotherhood is known as the G.O.U. (which some believe to stand for Gobierno, Orden, Unidad—Government, Order, Unity; others believe the initials stand merely for Grupo Oficiales Unidos—United Officers' Group). Perón became Vice-President, Minister of War and Labour under Farrell, and became popular among the masses by some social measures, including higher wages, the breaking-up of a few *estancias*, and the creation of a department of social legislation. On 9 October 1945 Perón was forced by a *coup* of General Avalos, to relinquish his offices, but was carried back to power within ten days by strikes and mass demonstrations of the workers.

The political parties had meanwhile been allowed to reappear; yet a great portion of the politicians of the old parties, especially *radical-personalistas* and socialists, declared themselves *Peronistas*. On 15 March 1946 Perón (now a general) was elected President of Argentina in an election which was generally described as free and fair, the first to have been so since 1928. He obtained 1,500,000 votes, while his opponent, Dr. José Tamborini, Vice-President of the Radical Party and the candidate of a Democratic Front formed by radicals, socialists, and communists, obtained 1,200,000 votes. During his campaign Perón announced radical social reforms, including land reform and the uplifting of the working classes, especially those whom he called the *descamisados* (the shirtless), the poorest section of the workers. Congressional elections held at the same time yielded a strong *Peronista* majority. The *Peronistas* took the name of *Laboristas*. All the 30 members of the Senate are now *Laboristas*, while the Chamber is composed of 111 *Laboristas*, 44 Radicals and 2 others. These elections were properly conducted, but since 1946 the opposition has been subjected to considerable restrictions, and although a democratic façade has been maintained, the government is really a dictatorship.

In October 1946 Perón announced a five-year plan of political, social and economic development. It provided for reorganization of the machinery of government and justice, extension of the franchise to women and N.C.O.s (as in many countries, Argentine women and serving soldiers were disfranchised), extension of educational and public health services, institution of health and old-age insurance, encouragement of workers' participation in industrial control, the immigration of 250,000 persons, and extensive industrialization. On these projects £420,000,000 were to be spent, in addition to large sums on the forces. Agreements for economic co-operation were made with other Latin-American and with European countries. The plan was to be executed by a National Economic Council under Perón and Miguel Miranda, former president of the Central Bank, which was nationalized in 1946. In January 1949 Miranda was dismissed. New economic and financial secretariats were created.

The convention elected on 5 December 1948 to revise the constitution, met on 17 January 1949. It consisted of 109 *Laboristas* (*Peronistas*) and 49 Radicals. The conservatives and socialists, opposing constitutional revision, had announced that their electoral activities were paralysed by the *Peronista* authorities, and that they advised their adherents to deliver blank ballots; the radicals, who also opposed revision, nevertheless fought in most provinces, and the communists, who favoured revision but opposed Perón's proposals, contested some seats. The chief constitutional amendments include the following. The President and Vice-President are to be immediately re-eligible. The President and the Senate are to be elected directly by popular vote, and the terms of office are to be the same for President and Congress—six years. Half the seats in each chamber are to be vacated every three years. The rights of labour, family rights and 'age rights' are to be guaranteed. The President may decree a state of emergency, suspending fundamental rights. Organizations which are anti-democratic or opposed to individual liberties may not be recognized. Government intervention in economic life and certain monopolies, including foreign trade, is provided for, while the rest of economic activities remain in the private sphere, with the exception of public services, mineral resources, and water power which are liable to be nationalized. The state is to divide the

big estates. Foreigners may naturalize after two years and become automatically naturalized after five, unless they express their unwillingness to change their status. The new constitution came into force in March 1949.

Under all recent governments, Argentina has been bent on maintaining friendship with Germany, Italy and Spain under their respective dictatorships. The United States succeeded in persuading Ramirez in 1944 to sever relations with Germany and Italy, and later induced Farrell and Perón to expel some German Nazis and Italian fascists; still Argentina has kept the reputation of being the refuge of these elements. As the only nation to do so, Argentina refused to take part in the recall of ambassadors from Franco's Spain, decided upon by the United Nations at the end of 1946. Within South America, Argentina exercises particular influence in Paraguay, Uruguay, and Bolivia (all q.v.), and a certain antagonism to Brazil is traditional. Argentina used to fear the formation of a 'diagonal' Chile-Bolivia-Brazil and on the other hand showed interest in friendship with Colombia (q.v.) and other states situated on the other side of Brazil. Now, however, its relations with all Latin-American nations are quite good. Argentina announced claims to the British Falkland Islands (q.v.) and their vast Antarctic dependency in 1947. (See *Antarctica.*)

ARISTOTLE, Greek philosopher and political thinker, born 384 B.C. at Stagira, Macedonia, died 322 B.C. at Chalcis, Euboea. At the age of eighteen Aristotle came to Athens and became a pupil of Plato (q v.), at whose Academy he worked for twenty years, first as a student, then as a teacher. King Philip called him to Macedonia in 343 as tutor to his son Alexander the Great. When Alexander embarked on his campaigns of conquest, the philosopher returned to Athens and opened his own school there in 334, known as the *Lyceum* or White House. Because of its colonnades, in which teachers and students used to amble engrossed in tuition and discussion, it was also called the 'peripatetic school'. After the death of Alexander, the philosopher had to flee to his estate at Chalcis, where he died soon after.

In his political teachings Aristotle follows Plato's *Laws.* (See *Plato.*) He was much more of a realist and empiricist than Plato. The construction of an ideal state was of secondary concern to him; he saw his primary task in collecting historical and topical facts on political life, in grouping them systematically and deriving general laws from them. His principal political work is the *Politics.* He also states some political principles in the *Nicomachian Ethica.* With the collaboration of his students he carried on a great deal of constitutional and historical research. He collected and commented upon 158 Greek city constitutions, but of these writings only one, the *Constitution of Athens,* has been preserved. A number of other political works have also been lost.

Unlike his teacher Plato, Aristotle was not of aristocratic but middle-class origin, and this fact finds expression in his political views. He may be regarded as the first spokesman of the *juste milieu,* the constitutional state based on the middle class. Against Plato's philosophical constructions he emphasizes not only the value of empirical study, but also of popular opinion and the experience of generations. He rejects his teacher's benevolent absolutism and insists on constitutional government; he also declines Platonic communism and upholds private property, the family and the rights of the individual citizen. These are not to extend, however, to slaves; Aristotle accepts slavery Except for slaves, the state is to him 'a community of equals directed toward the best possible life'; for Plato it had been a hierarchy of rulers and ruled. The law alone is the foundation of the state and the authorities are its servants. A constitutional government rules with the consent of the governed and is therefore compatible with human dignity. This does not apply to a despotic government which rests on force. Of public opinion Aristotle takes a more encouraging view than Plato who thinks the people on the whole rather stupid politically. Aristotle held that in legislation collective wisdom, with its many mutually complementary individuals, is preferable to the wisest of the individual law-givers. Common sense, tradition and customary law are important sources of wisdom.

It can be seen that it is a far cry from Aristotle to modern democratic concepts, though he was more favourably disposed toward the people than Plato had ever

been. He also rejects pure democracy, of which he has, however, experience only in the Greek city-states, beyond whose framework he was unable to think although Alexander's empire entailed the doom of those states. He divides the forms of government into monarchy, aristocracy and the πολίτεια (polity, in Aristotle's theory a specific mixture of oligarchy and democracy; in later usage the word became a term for every kind of constitutionally organized political community). These forms are contrasted with tyranny, oligarchy and (pure) democracy, the latter being to Aristotle identical with mob-rule. These three systems are described as degenerate variants of the three commendable forms of government. He balances the claim of the upper class to government, based on education, property and leisure, against the claim of the masses which rests on the principle of the welfare of the largest possible number and on the value of public opinion. Aristotle tries to find a compromise between the oligarchic and the democratic principles. Behind the conflict of these principles Aristotle discerns, ages before Marx, the conflict of the wealthy and the poor classes which he declares to be the real cause of revolutions. The compromise, he feels, is to be found on the basis of existing social and economic conditions rather than by artificial constructions based on wishful thinking.

The value of the various forms of government cannot be simply derived, according to Aristotle, from their names and definitions, but follows from an analysis of their functioning in a given set of social and other conditions. Anticipating modern views, he divides governmental power into the 'advisory' power concerned with legislation and foreign policy, the administrative (in modern forms the executive) and the judical power. Each of these powers can be organized and handled in different ways, in a more or less democratic or oligarchic manner. The right combination of these methods in a 'mixed' system of government is the essence of the good state. Its prerequisite is, as Aristotle points out repeatedly, the existence of a strong middle class, numerous enough to give the state a broad basis, but educated and self-restrained enough to avoid the evils of mass-rule. Aristotle is opposed to all extremes.

Political science as the study of facts essentially began with Aristotle. As the first thinker to do so, he distinguishes between state and society; the state is to him something essentially different from other communities, a higher emergence peculiar to civilized man. In contrast to the animal and to primitive man, civilized man is the only ζῶον πολιτικόν (*zoon politikon*, political animal), living in towns, giving laws to himself, creating religion and culture. All this would be impossible without the state. Thus, in the eyes of Aristotle, who derives his views from biological as well as political studies, the state becomes something natural, an element of the biology of civilized man, an organic whole, as in the system of Plato. It is an autarchy, a unit that is self-sufficient not only in production and foreign policy but in its whole life. Like all other entities in Aristotelian philosophy, the state has its entelechy (predetermined form) which gradually realizes itself. Nevertheless, Aristotle was not a totalitarian, and did not regard the state as having unlimited claims upon its citizens.

ARMENIANS, a mid-Eastern people of still about 1,000,000. Until their mass extermination and expulsion by the Turks in 1915 the Armenians inhabited the Armenian highlands in north-eastern Turkey, south of the Caucasus. They speak an Indo-European language and are descended from an ancient oriental population that mixed with an Indo-European people which probably immigrated from Thrace. Armenian is in part similar to Persian, but does not belong to the Iranian group of languages. The Armenians are monophysite Christians with a Church of their own whose head is known as the Katholikos. As merchants and bankers they spread all over the East in bygone centuries, and are still to be met with in many places in south-eastern Europe. Armenia came under Turkish, partly also Persian rule about five centuries ago. Russia conquered some Armenian territory in the nineteenth century (Eriwan from Persia in 1829, Kars and Ardahan from Turkey in 1878) and tried to assume the role of protector of the Armenians. The Armenian people suffered heavily under Turkish oppression. Decisions of the congress of Berlin (1878) aiming at reform remained on paper. By the notorious Armenian massacres of 1895–6 and 1914–15 the Turks exterminated a large

part of the Armenian people, and the remainder was almost completely deported from Armenia in 1915. Remnants of the Armenians settled in Syria and other parts of the East. The Peace Treaty of Sèvres (1920) provided for the establishment of a free Armenia, but this clause was never put into effect. Under Kemal Pasha (later known as Ataturk, q.v.) the surviving Armenians were once more massacred in their homeland. (The area of Kars and a district of Eriwan were returned to Turkey by Russia in the same year.) There are hardly any Armenians left in Turkish Armenia; their only national territory is now the Armenian Soviet Republic (capital Eriwan), a member-state of the Soviet Union. This republic covers only 12,000 sq. m. and has 1,300,000 inhabitants, among whom are 70 per cent Armenians. In 1948, when Russo-Turkish relations were bad, the Russian press discussed the annexation of Turkish Armenia to Soviet Armenia and the resettlement of the scattered remnants of the Armenian people in their homeland. The Soviet government demanded the return of Kars and Ardahan. (See *Turkey*). The Armenian National Committee, an organization of refugees in Syria, petitioned the United Nations to return Turkish Armenia to Russia. Under the auspices of this organization, about 30,000 Armenians from Syria have settled in Soviet Armenia since 1945.

ARYANS, from Sanskrit *arya*, lord, a term originating in the science of languages and erroneously applied to racial and national questions. In ancient Indian documents dating from 3000 B.C., a warlike North Indian people is mentioned as the *aryas*. It became usual in philological science to speak of an inter-related group of Indian languages as 'Aryan'. The idea that an Aryan *race* might have existed as a parallel to these languages is due to a German scholar, Friedrich Max Muller, who lived at Oxford, England, from 1848 to 1900. This philologist propounded the hypothesis that the legendary *aryas* of the Sanskrit documents had spoken the first or primeval Indo-European language from which all present tongues of this family (ranging from Hindustani to English) derived their origin, and that they had indeed been the Aryan *Urvolk* or primeval race. This hypothesis was taken up by romantic and nationalist writers in Germany, England, America and France, and given a topical political aspect, especially in connection with anti-semitism (q.v.). A myth arose of the Aryan *Urvolk* descending from the snow-clad peaks of the Pamir and not only spreading over India and Persia but, more important, riding across the wide Russian steppes into Europe to lay the foundations for all future civilization. It was supposed to have been a 'master race' to whom extraordinary qualities were attributed. These included courage, nobility of character, beauty, profound thought, idealism and a capacity for political organization, all far surpassing similar gifts in other peoples. It was alleged that all Europeans, and parts of the Asiatic peoples speaking Indo-European languages, were descended from this original 'Aryan' race, and were therefore to be described as 'Aryans'. This myth was adopted by Hitler (q.v.) and his Nazis, and formed the basis for their racial policy.

The Aryan myth finds no support in scientific research. The Indo-Persian group of languages known to philologists as the Aryan group is not the oldest or primitive Indo-European language. It is not known at present which people first spoke a language of the Indo-European family, where it lived (except that it was probably somewhere in Asia) and of what race it was, especially whether it bore any resemblance to the white race inhabiting Europe and America to-day. There is no historical proof of any 'Aryan' people coming to Europe from the East, and generally speaking, languages may migrate without a corresponding racial migration. The people who first spoke an Indo-European language, or brought it to Europe, may have been of any race. Recent studies on the Aryan language of the biblical Hittites have even suggested the idea that the Aryan-speaking *Urvolk* was semitic, long-nosed and black-haired. The Hittites certainly played a part in the migration of the Aryan languages.

There is no such thing as an 'Aryan' race, and the term 'Aryan', applied to modern Europeans or Americans, is meaningless. The saga of the Aryan origin of all civilization is also scientifically untenable. The share of Egyptians, Semites and Mongols in the creation of human civilization was by no means smaller than that of the peoples mistakenly described as Aryan. In India to-day there are societies bearing the name

arya in various contexts (such as *arya yoga*, the Aryan path), but they have nothing in common with European theories of racial hatred. They stand for a humanist and rationalist philosophy, and stress the equality of all human races.

Müller recognized his error in later years and wrote much to retract it, but the myth survived its repentant creator, mainly because it became the principal weapon of anti-semitism (q.v.). Among anti-semites, 'Aryan' became practically synonymous with 'non-Jewish'. (See also *Race, Jews, National Socialism, Nordic.*)

ASCENSION ISLAND. (See *St. Helena.*)

ASIAN RELATIONS CONFERENCE. (See *Pan-Asia.*)

ASIR, a territory in Arabia (q.v.) and part of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (q.v.).

ATATURK, Kemal, Turkish general and statesman, born 1881 at Salonica, the son of a customs official. He became an army officer and joined the Young Turk movement. In World War I he defended the Dardanelles as General Mustafa Kemal Pasha. In May 1919 he was sent by the Sultan to Anatolia (Asia Minor) to demobilize the Turkish Army. He did not carry out this order, but instead organized a national movement in Anatolia, called a National Assembly to Ankara, and made war upon the Greeks who had landed in Asia Minor in pursuance of the Peace Treaty of Sèvres between the Allies and Turkey. The Sultan's government outlawed the general, whereupon the National Assembly elected him president and commander-in-chief. In 1921 he brought the war against the Greeks to a victorious conclusion, and expelled not only the Greek Army but also the native Greek population of Asia Minor. The Assembly conferred upon him the title of '*Ghazi*', the Victorious. Kemal Pasha transformed Turkey into a republic (see *Turkey*), and became its first president. With the aid of the Turkish People's Party he had founded, he modernized the state and revolutionized Turkish life. In 1934 he ordered all Turks to adopt surnames, himself taking that of Ataturk (Father of the Turks), whilst the title of Pasha was dropped, together with all other un-republican titles. He died in 1938, and was succeeded by his former close collaborator, President Ismet Inonü (q.v.).

ATLANTIC CHARTER or **DECLARATION,** a statement of the aims of the policies of the British and American governments, on 14 August 1941, issued after a meeting on board a warship in the Atlantic between Churchill (q.v.) and Roosevelt (q.v.). It declared that the two leaders deemed it right to make known certain principles common to the policies of both their countries. These principles were:

1. Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.

2. They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

3. All peoples should have the right to choose their own form of government; sovereign rights and self-government should be restored to those who had been forcibly deprived of them.

4. They would endeavour to further the enjoyment by all peoples, great or small, victors or vanquished, of access on equal terms to the trade and raw materials of the world.

5. They would foster international cooperation to secure improved labour standards, economic adjustment and social security for all.

6. All nations should be able to dwell in safety within their own boundaries; men should be free from fear and want.

7. The seas should be free.

8. Nations threatening aggression should be disarmed, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security.

The Soviet Union and twenty-four other Allied governments subsequently adhered to this declaration. In March 1944 Churchill declared that it was not applicable to the treatment of Germany.

ATLANTIC PACT. (See *North Atlantic Treaty.*)

ATLANTIC UNION, the idea of federating the democratic countries bordering on both sides of the Atlantic; largely identical with Federal Union (q.v.). The North Atlantic Treaty (q.v.) of 1949, essentially a defensive alliance of North America and western Europe (see *Western Union*) against the Russian-communist group of states, to some extent followed its lines, though it

is far from a federation. The signatories undertake to regard an attack on one of them as an attack on all, and to aid each other if one is attacked. The manner and amount of aid is left to the individual decision of each signatory. A permanent council of the signatories was created. The structure of the pact is similar to that of the Inter-American Pact of Rio de Janeiro (see *Rio de Janeiro, Treaty of*) which also leaves the decision on the actual aid to be given to the discretion of each member. It was explained that the clause was necessary in order to preserve the power of the United States Congress to decide on war and peace, but that the Atlantic Pact was for all practical purposes a military alliance. The terms 'North Atlantic Union' and 'Atlantropa' have also been suggested for this grouping, though it is commonly referred to as Atlantic Union.

ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION, a body established in 1946 by the General Assembly of the United Nations and working under the control of the Security Council. Its task is to make proposals for the control of nuclear energy, the prohibition of atomic weapons and other means of mass destruction, effective international inspection of the uses of atomic energy. The U.S.A. proposed the Baruch plan, modified later to meet criticisms and known in its final form as the Lilienthal plan. This provides for an International Atomic Development Agency to take over and control not only all plant for the mining and processing of fissionable material (uranium—q.v.—etc.) but also all power stations, inventions, etc., with a view to ensuring that atomic energy is used only for peaceful purposes. All nations would submit to international inspection and action against any state violating the international atomic weapons agreement would not be hindered by the exercise of the veto power. The United States would destroy its atomic weapons if this plan came into force. The Soviet Union rejected the plan as incompatible with national sovereignty. Later it offered the admission of international inspectors to a limited number of installations to be specified by national governments, and demanded the prohibition of atomic weapons and the destruction of existing atom bombs previous to any international agreement. The Commission had, with Russia and Poland abstaining, approved the American plan in December 1946, and the plan was discussed by the Security Council in June 1947; the Council referred it back to the Commission. The Russians then made proposals coming nearer the American plan, except for the vital veto clause. The Commission rejected the Russian plan and approved a new plan, based on the American proposals, in September 1947; this was again turned down by the Soviet Union. The Commission reached deadlock and stopped work. The United Nations Assembly in Paris in October 1948 set up a sub-committee to discuss the position. Russia now proposed to conclude two conventions simultaneously: one for atomic inspection and one for the destruction of atomic bombs. This was rejected by the United States which pointed out that simultaneity was only apparent: in fact the bombs would have to be destroyed a considerable time before control became effective. Finally a Canadian motion, calling on the Commission to resume its work, was adopted against the Russian vote. In July 1949, however, the Commission decided to suspend its activities until the great powers had agreed on a plan.

ATTLEE, Clement Richard, British Labour leader, born 1883. Educated at Haileybury and University College, Oxford, he was called to the bar in 1905 and became a lecturer at the London School of Economics in 1913. His experience at Toynbee Hall, the university settlement in East London, converted him to socialism. After serving in World War I, and reaching the rank of major, he returned to London, becoming first Labour mayor of Stepney in 1919 and M.P. for Limehouse 1922. He became a leading member of the Labour Party, and was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1930–1, in the second Labour government. When the party split in 1931 he was elected deputy leader, and succeeded Lansbury as leader in 1935. From then until May 1940 he was leader of the Opposition. In Churchill's war government he was Lord Privy Seal, 1940–2, Dominions Secretary, 1942–3, Lord President of the Council, 1943–5; he was Deputy Prime Minister, 1942–5. When Labour won the general election of July 1945, he became Prime Minister of the first Labour government with a majority in the House of

Commons. Among his books are *The Labour Party in Perspective* (1937) and *Purpose and Policy* (1948).

AUGUSTINE, Saint, one of the Fathers of the Church, born 354, died 430. A pagan, he was converted to Christianity in 386, became a priest and in 395 was appointed Bishop of Hippo Regius in North Africa. Besides the *Confessions*, an autobiography, his chief work is *The City of God* (*De Civitate Dei*), written to defend Christianity against the pagan charge that it was responsible for the decline of the Roman Empire, and to explain the true nature of temporal states and the Christian society. It is not a systematic work, having been written and published in sections, as controversy demanded and time permitted, in the years 413–26.

Augustine distinguishes between the *civitas terrena* and the *civitas Dei*—the terrestrial and the heavenly cities, although *civitas* is better translated by 'society' than by 'city' or 'state'. The *civitas terrena* is the society of all those who live for man instead of for God or who seek God only half-heartedly and intermittently; the *civitas Dei* is the society of those who truly seek God. 'Two loves have created two cities: love of self, to the contempt of God, the earthly city, love of God, to the contempt of self, the heavenly.'

The *civitas terrena* is not identical with the temporal state, which is not evil in itself but is, indeed, part of the divine Providence. Similarly, the *civitas Dei* is not the Church as it exists on earth, for many members of the Church do not truly seek God. The state and its institutions—government, property, slavery—are necessitated by, and are the remedy for, man's sin. They will eventually be replaced by the *civitas Dei* at the Second Coming of Christ. Until then, the state is needed to restrain man's sinful nature and to serve the cause of God. The problem of the relations between Church and State, which have been the subject of dispute since the early Middle Ages, had hardly come into existence in Augustine's day, although there were signs of its advent. His own remarks are vague, and although he urges absolute obedience to rulers, his exaltation of the *civitas Dei* over the *civitas terrena* was later used to justify the Church's claim to supremacy over the State.

Augustine was influenced by Plato (q.v.) and Cicero among classic writers, and by Saint Paul and the early Fathers among Christian ones. In his turn, he influenced not only Christian political theory but also the economic principles of the medieval Church. His doctrines that the ideal is a society in which all goods are held in common and that property is therefore an institution required by man's sinful nature rather than ordained of God, that the rich have a duty to support the poor, that goods have a 'just price' which should not be exceeded by the seller or denied by the buyer, and that interest is usury, were the basis of medieval economic thought. (See also *Aquinas*.)

AUSTRALIA, Commonwealth of, member of the British Commonwealth, area 2,975,000 sq. m., population 7,580,000, capital Canberra. Australia was formed in 1901 by the federation of the six states of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, South Australia and Western Australia; there is also a vast and almost uninhabited Northern Territory and Australia administers part of New Guinea and some Pacific Islands under mandate. The constitution is like that of the U.S.A. in that a number of powers are reserved to the federation and all others remain with the states, but government is parliamentary as in Britain, and not presidential as in the U.S.A. The federation deals with external relations and defence, inter-state and external commerce, banking and currency, communications, inter-state industrial disputes, social services. To alter the constitution a referendum has to be held and the proposed change must be approved by a majority of all those voting in each of at least four states. As a result only two changes have been made—one in 1927 and the other in 1946. To deal with the new problems which have arisen since 1901 it has been suggested that not merely should the federation be given much more power but the existing states should be replaced by a larger number of smaller and weaker units. The King is represented by a Governor-General who acts on the advice of a ministry responsible to the Parliament which consists of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The Senate used to have 36 members elected for 6 years, half retiring every three years; each state counted as one constituency returning 6 Senators by

plurality voting. In 1948 the Government and Opposition agreed that each state should have 10 Senators and that proportional representation should be introduced. The House has 121 members (75 prior to 1948) elected for 3 years. The Senate cannot amend money bills; it can delay other bills but a conflict between the two houses can be resolved by a dissolution of both Houses and, if need be, a joint session. The House is the predominant chamber and there has been only one forced dissolution (1914). In 1947 an Australian was appointed Governor-General for the first time—he was W. J. McKell, Labour Prime Minister of New South Wales, whose appointment was criticized by the Opposition, which claimed that the government should not have advised the King to appoint a partisan.

Australia is primarily an agricultural country, one of the world's greatest producers of wheat and wool, but industrialization has been extensive. About half her imports come from, and half her exports go to, Great Britain. Her workers are well organized and they have induced successive governments, state and Commonwealth, to secure by regulation of wages and working conditions, by restrictions of immigration (especially the maintenance of a 'White Australia' by the exclusion of Asiatics), and by protection against foreign imports, the high standard of living they have achieved. They have also obtained comprehensive social services.

The Labour Party, now led by ex-premier J. B. Chifley (q.v.), is socialist and nationalist. From 1941 to 1949 it was in power in the Commonwealth, though at the election of 1946 its representation in the House of Representatives declined from 49 to 44 members; its representation in the Senate increased from 21 to 33. Labour is also in power in New South Wales, Queensland and Tasmania. The Liberal Party is the chief anti-socialist party, though in 1917 and 1931 it was joined by dissident Labour leaders and is not opposed to collectivist legislation to maintain the standard of living. Its present leader is R. G. Menzies (q.v.); it won the 1949 election. It is also in office, with Country Party support, in Victoria. (From 1917 to 1932 it was called the Nationalist Party and from 1932 to 1945 the Australian Party; in 1945 it resumed its pre-1917 name.) The Country Party, led by Sir Earle Page and Fadden, represents especially agricultural interests, and has 16 representatives. It is loosely associated with the Liberal Party, with which it has fused in South Australia; the policies of the two parties are similar—the Country Party is more opposed to socialism and extensions of federal power. From 1933 they have been in power in South Australia; in 1947 they regained power in West Australia after fourteen years' Labour rule. Their 1947 victories were partly due to popular dislike of the Federal Labour government's legislative proposals, especially the nationalization of the Banks. For the same reason the Federal government's proposal to retain its war-time control of rents and prices was rejected. The Communists are not numerous, but they are influential in some trade unions, especially in marine and mining unions. The election of 10 December 1949 was won jointly by the Liberal and Country parties, which opposed a number of government controls. R. G. Menzies became Prime Minister. The House issued from the election with the following composition (previous figures in brackets): Liberals 51 (17), Country Party 16 (12), Labour 54 (43). The Senate retained a Labour majority, having been only partially due for election.

Like New Zealand, Australia is a 'British' Dominion, in that its population is almost entirely British, unlike that of Canada and South Africa, with their large French minority and Boer majority respectively. Unlike New Zealand, however, Australia has tended to assert its nationalism—especially during periods of Labour rule. At present Labour seems more favourable to the Empire tie—Chifley's predecessor, Curtin, proposed an Imperial Council, and Chifley has encouraged large-scale immigration from Britain (see *British Empire*); in 1944 the Anzac Agreement (q.v.) provided for military and foreign policy co-operation with New Zealand. American interest in Australia is considerable; in the early stages of the war with Japan it was on the United States that Australia had to rely for aid, since Britain was hard pressed in North Africa.

AUSTRALIAN BALLOT. (See *Ballot.*)

AUSTRIA, republic of, 32,000 sq. m., population 7,000,000. The capital is Vienna. When the old Austro-Hungarian Empire

dissolved into its ethnical constituents after World War I, in 1918, the German-speaking Alpine provinces constituted themselves as the state of 'German Austria' and proclaimed themselves a part of Germany. Union with Germany was, however, barred by the peace treaties, and the country was obliged to call itself just Austria, being treated as the continuation of the old Austrian Empire. Austria became a federal republic, consisting of eight *Lands*, including Burgenland, newly obtained from Hungary. Governments were first socialist, then Christian-social (Catholic). Austria obtained a loan from the League of Nations. The desire for union with Germany remained widespread, especially among the liberals and the socialists. A tentative Austro-German customs union in 1931 was vetoed by the International Court on Allied objections. One section of Catholic and conservative circles in Austria, however, thought of a Habsburg restoration rather than union with Germany, and of a Danubian federation as a substitute for the old empire. This movement organized the *Heimwehren* or Home Militias, which combated both socialists and Nazis. After Hitler's advent to power in Germany, opposition to union with Germany grew also in quarters which had so far been favourably disposed towards the *Anschluss*, as the union was called. The Nazis alone went on to demand the *Anschluss*.

On 12 February 1934 the socialist militia known as the *Schutzbund* or Defence League rose in defence of the republican constitution against the government of the Christian-social chancellor, Dollfuss, who had committed a number of breaches of the constitution. In a short civil war the socialists were defeated by the government and the *Heimwehren*, and Dollfuss established a fascist régime with a Catholic tinge. On 25 June 1934, the German-controlled Austrian Nazis rose against him, and Dollfuss was assassinated. Yet the rising was put down. A milder government under von Schuschnigg followed and worked for internal reconciliation; its ultimate aim was the restoration of the Habsburg pretender, the Archduke Otto. (See *Habsburg*.) When Hitler (q.v.), himself an Austrian, after repeated interference with Austrian affairs, was making preparations for marching into Austria in March 1938, Schuschnigg arranged for a plebiscite on the future of the country. Since Catholics and socialists were united, at least temporarily, in opposition to union with Germany, a majority was expected for Schuschnigg and his mildly totalitarian party, the Fatherland Front. Hitler forestalled the plebiscite by occupying Austria on 12 March 1938. He met with no resistance, and the Powers which had guaranteed Austria's independence recognized the incorporation of the country in Germany after a short protest. Austria now became a *Land* of Nazi Germany and took part as such in World War II.

In the Moscow Declaration of 1943 the Allies included the restoration of Austrian independence among their war aims. In May 1945 Austria was occupied by the Allies and divided into four zones of occupation. The Soviet zone comprises the *Lands* of Burgenland, Lower Austria and part of Upper Austria; the British zone includes Carinthia, Styria, and East Tyrol; the American zone consists of Salzburg and the greater part of Upper Austria, and the French zone covers the rest of Tyrol and Vorarlberg. The Russians appointed an Austrian government under the Socialist, Dr. Renner, on 28 April 1945, and after some time (21 October 1945) it was recognized by the other allies. Vienna was divided into four sectors of occupation. The Allied Control Council in Vienna is in theory still the supreme authority, but actual administration has largely passed into the hands of the Austrian government. The zonal boundaries make themselves felt, however, in economic matters, especially at the boundary of the Russian zone.

The republican constitution, abolished in 1934 by Dollfuss, was restored with some modifications. The parliament elected for 4 years on 25 November 1945, on the basis of proportional representation, was composed as follows: Austrian People's Party (Catholics) 85, Socialists 76, Communists 4. Dr. Renner was elected Federal President. Chancellor Dr. Figl (People's Party) formed a coalition government of all the three parties. The People's Party is the continuation of the Christian Social Party, traditionally the strongest party in Austria. It is on the whole rather conservative, but has a progressive labour wing. The Austrian socialists (social-democrats of the Second International) used to be very radical and were among the few European socialist parties

that escaped splitting by communism. They now appear to be somewhat more moderate and look to the west. The communists have remained weak in spite of support by the Soviet authorities. The Austrian parliament by a unanimous vote nationalized a number of banks and industries in 1946. This was in part a move to prevent the seizure of some concerns by the Russians.

A new Austrian parliament was elected on 2 October 1949. The League of Independents emerged as a fourth party, believed to be pan-German and right-wing The parliament is composed as follows People's Party (Catholic) 77, socialists 67, League of Indep. 16, communists 5. The government remained in office.

It is a more or less agreed tenet of Allied and Austrian policy that Austria should be treated as a liberated country rather than an ex-enemy. The state of war between Great Britain and Austria was formally ended by an official British declaration on 16 September 1947. The Moscow conference of March 1947 set up an Inter-Allied Commission to discuss the peace treaty with Austria. Introductory articles ban union with Germany and provide for Inter-Allied consultations in the event of a threat to Austria's independence. The commission was unable to agree on some twenty disputed articles, including those referring to German assets which Russia wanted to take. Yugoslavia wanted a strip of territory in Carinthia which has a Slovene minority, but which in a 1920 plebiscite voted 59% for Austria. At the Paris conference in June 1949, the foreign ministers of the four great powers reached agreement on the fundamentals of the Austrian peace treaty. Austria's frontiers were to remain those existing on 1 January 1938, the Soviet Union ceased to support Yugoslavia's demands, presumably on account of Tito's policy (see *Yugoslavia*). Austria undertook to protect Slav minorities in Carinthia and the Burgenland. Austria was to pay no reparations, but Yugoslavia would keep all Austrian assets in Yugoslav territory, the Soviet Union would receive from Austria $150,000,000 within six years, while Austria kept all German assets except the oilfield of Zistersdorf (1948 production, 750,000 tons) and the river fleet of the Danube Navigation Co., which would pass to the Soviet Union, but would remain, in general, subject to Austrian legislation. If the treaty were concluded, Austria would be evacuated by all the Allies within six months. The technical details of the agreement were to be worked out by the deputy ministers, and some differences were reported to exist between them in the autumn of 1949.

Austria's demand for the return of South Tyrol (q.v.) was rejected in 1947 but Italy undertook to grant autonomy to this ex-Austrian region. Austria is a participant in the European Recovery Programme (q.v.).

AUTARKY, a term from the Greek αὐτάρκεια, used for the idea of national self-sufficiency. The term was coined by Aristotle (q v.) to express his belief that the state is an entity on a plane by itself, not dependent on other organizations. But he also spoke of economic autarky, and this has become the only meaning of the term in modern usage. Vast continental economies like the United States or the Soviet Union, which produce, or can produce, nearly all kinds of foodstuffs, raw materials and industrial products, come fairly near to potential autarky. Other countries have in recent times aimed at partial or total autarky by the artificial promotion of certain industries, especially agriculture and synthetic raw materials. The usual motives for autarky are the striving of domestic producers to monopolize the market, preparation for war and blockade, and a general transference of nationalism to economics. Means for fostering autarky include protective tariffs, a ban on imports, subsidies and deliberate planning. The Soviet Union can be described as a planned autarky, though, in fact, Russian self-sufficiency has never been quite complete. Elements of autarky were also contained in the Ottawa Agreements (q.v.).

AUTHORITARIANISM, the political system in which the government is based on what is claimed to be the natural need for a strong and resolute authority to direct the state without reference to the fluctuating opinions of the people, as opposed to the democratic system based on their freely expressed opinions. (See *Democracy.*) The term is a milder name for absolutism (q.v.) Totalitarian systems like fascism, Nazism, and communism (each q.v.) are extreme forms of authoritarian government, although the Soviet Union would reject the application of the term to itself. (See also

Bonapartism, Clerico-fascism, Corporate State.) Some political theorists would describe as authoritarian any system in which the head of the state or the government has considerable authority. Thus, the American system has been called an 'authoritarian democracy' because of the great powers of the President within the framework of an otherwise fully democratic constitution. But contemporary adherents of 'authoritarian democracy' usually mean a dictatorship of the fascist type, with a democratic façade of elections and referenda that are not really free.

AUTOCRACY, a term from the Greek αὐτοχράτωρ, meaning the unlimited rule of an individual. The Byzantine Emperors and the Russian Tsars bore the title of 'Autocrat', which has been applied also to any ruler, whether royal or not, who can govern as he wishes or tries to do so, and even, as a colloquialism, to dictatorial persons outside politics, such as an employer or head of a family. (See *Absolutism, Authoritarianism.*)

AUTONOMY, from the Greek αὐτονομία, 'self-legislation', a term meaning self-government by parts of a larger whole (e.g. a state or a federation of trade unions). In democracies local self-government subject to limited central control is a usual institution but this is not autonomy, which is found on the level of states, provinces and dependencies. The mark of autonomy is the possession by the autonomous unit of a government of its own with substantial powers exercised without intervention from the central government. Thus in a federation (e.g. the U.S.A.) the states are to a great extent self-governing. In unitarian states such as Britain or Italy certain provinces (e.g. Northern Ireland, Sicily) may be given a degree of freedom from the central authority which is not granted to other parts of the country. In multinational states autonomy is sometimes granted to an area in which the nationality in a minority in the whole country has a local majority—thus in Italy the Germans of the South Tyrol have been given autonomy. The degree of autonomy can vary greatly, ranging from cultural autonomy (meaning mainly the administration by a minority of the schools in which its children are taught) to the large powers enjoyed by the parliament of Northern Ireland. Sovereignty (q.v.) means complete independence and should not be confused with autonomy.

Struggles for autonomy have been of great importance during the last century. They resulted in the dissolution of the Austrian and Turkish empires after World War I. The long Irish fight for Home Rule almost caused civil war in Britain in 1912–14 and did lead to civil war in Ireland in 1918–23. The inter-war struggles of the Macedonians, Catalans, Basques, Alsatians, Sudeten-Germans, Slovaks and other ethnical groups, are remembered. Many colonial peoples now demand autonomy. (See *British Empire, Indo-China, Indonesia.*) Struggles for autonomy are often the prelude to the demand for secession or independence.

AXIS, ROME-BERLIN, a term denoting the political collaboration between Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, which began during the Italo-Abyssinian War in 1936, was widened into an alliance in 1939 and led to Italy's entry into World War II in 1940. It was shortly referred to as 'the Axis', and Germany and Italy were known as 'the Axis Powers'. (See *Anti-Comintern Pact.*)

AZERBEIJAN. (*a*) Member republic of the Soviet Union (q.v.), south-east of the Caucasus, 33,000 sq. m., population 3,000,000. The oil town of Baku on the Caspian Sea is the capital. The Azerbeijanis are of Turko-Tatar origin and speak a Turkish dialect A Tatar National Assembly declared independence in May 1918; after a period of British occupation and civil war, Azerbeijan became a Soviet Republic on 28 April 1920, first within the framework of the Transcaucasian Federation, from April 1936 as a federal republic of the Soviet Union. The bulk of Soviet oil industry is located in Soviet Azerbeijan. Oil production in the republic amounted to 25 million tons in 1940 out of a total Soviet production of 32 million tons.

(*b*) North-western province of Persia (q.v.), bordering on Soviet-Azerbeijan, about the same size, population 1,000,000 to 2,000,000. Tabriz is the capital. The inhabitants are for a large part akin to the Soviet Azerbeijanis and also speak Azerbeijani Turkish, but there are also Persians, Kurds and other racial groups. From 1941 to 1946 the province fell under the Russian zone of occupation in Persia. In the autumn

of 1945 a Soviet-sponsored 'Democratic Party' emerged in the province, led by Jafar Pishewari, and demanded autonomy from the Persian Government in Teheran. When this demand was fulfilled under Russian pressure, the Soviet forces evacuated the area, while an autonomous provincial government supplied by the Democratic (in fact Communist) Party took power. The autonomy conceded was far-reaching. Azerbeijan proceeded to the organization of a national militia. For a time the province was left to itself, but on 10 December 1946 the Persian Prime Minister, Qavam es Sultaneh, ordered troops of the Persian Central Government to occupy the province with a view to 'supervising the elections to the Persian parliament'. Little resistance was offered, and Pishewari fled to Russia.

B

BAHAMAS. (See *British West Indies.*)

BAHREIN ISLANDS. (See *Arabia.*)

BAKUNIN, Michael, Russian revolutionist, one of the founders of anarchism (q.v.), born 18 May 1814, on a country estate in the province of Tver, Russia, the son of a liberal-minded Russian nobleman, died 1 July 1876 at Berne, Switzerland, first became an army officer, then went to western Europe and joined the revolutionary movement. In Paris he was influenced by Marx (q.v.), Proudhon (q.v.) and other European radicals. He combined revolutionary with pan-Slavist ideas (see *pan-Slavism*); from 1847 onwards he was preoccupied with a plan for a rising of the Slav peoples against the Russian and Austrian empires, to be followed by the establishment of a Slav revolutionary federation. (The latter idea seems to have been revived in recent Soviet policy.) Extradited to Russia, he spent twelve years in prison and in Siberia, whence he escaped in 1869. He went to Italy and became one of the most active figures in the revolutionary movement. In 1864 he founded the International Social-Democratic Alliance, which had its followers mainly in Italy, Spain and Russia, for a time also in Switzerland.

In 1864 Bakunin joined the First International (see *Internationals, Socialism*) with his organization, but he soon came into conflict with the Marxian faction. From the Marxists he differed in aims as well as in the methods suggested for the achievement of a revolution. He rejected the 'authoritarian' state of socialism of Marx and Engels, and the idea that the working class should take over the *bourgeois* state. To this he opposed the anarchist doctrine of the immediate abolition of the state as such, and the transfer of ownership of the means of production to small local communities, which were to federate loosely on the basis of mutual contracts without forming a state with a coercive system. The revolution was to be the spontaneous work of the masses, not of large, disciplined organizations or political parties; socialists were not to embark on parliamentary politics but on a system of permanent uprisings under the leadership of small conspiratorial groups. Together with Netchayeff, another Russian anarchist, Bakunin composed the *Catechism of a Revolutionist* (1869), a book preaching complete amorality in the pursuit of revolutionary aims, the good cause hallowing any means employed. The task of revolutionists was only destruction, according to this catechism, while the new social order would grow by itself on the ruins of the old. Netchayeff, a doubtful character, evolved the doctrine that assassinations and explosions were the best propaganda for revolution ('propaganda by action'), which led to a series of spectacular political assassinations by anarchists in the next two decades. Netchayeff was later arrested in Russia and died in prison. The struggle between Marxists and anarchists ended with the expulsion of the anarchists in 1872. Bakunin continued to conduct his own organization, but it crumbled in the next few years. He took part in various revolutionary enterprises, the last of which was an attempted uprising in Bologna, Italy, in 1874. Then he fell ill and retired. He died soon afterwards in Switzerland. Shortly before his death he expressed his disillusionment with the masses 'who did not want to become impassioned for their own emancipation'.

Bakunin exerted a strong though ephemeral influence on all who came in touch with him. He was of big stature, massive, long-bearded, and he was a fascinating orator. From his anarchist groups in the Mediterranean countries were derived the anarchist and syndicalist movements which still regard him, rather than Marx, as the leading thinker of socialism. Bakunin's thoughts were laid down in his book, *State and*

Anarchy (1873), and in numerous pamphlets and speeches.

BALANCE OF POWER, a system based on the idea that the nations in a given space should have roughly equal power so as to balance each other and to make any hegemony impossible. The policy of the balance of power consists essentially in: 1. Preventing an excessive increase in the power of a particular state or group of states. 2. Where this is not possible, in balancing it by a similar increase in the power of another state. 3. In creating coalitions of weaker states against a strong one, or a counter-alliance against an existing one. 4. Generally in supporting the weaker nations against the more powerful ones. History shows that a coalition is inevitably formed against any hegemonist, and eventually prevents or overthrows his domination. A disturbed balance of power is, if necessary, restored by war. Adherents of the policy of the balance of power believe that if properly applied it is conducive to peace, because it reduces the chances of success for any single state to such an extent that everybody will hesitate to start a war.

The idea of the balance of power was known to antiquity. The Greek League which overthrew Athenian domination in the Peloponnesian War in the fourth century B.C. was an application of it. Polybius praises the balance of power 'lest one Power survive alone to impose its will on all the rest without hindrance'. With the rise of the universal empires (Macedonia, Rome, Charlemagne, Holy Roman Empire), the idea of the balance of power receded; it is obviously based on the existence of sovereign states side by side, and loses its meaning if there is a supernational power. The idea was revived when the modern national state replaced the universal empire, although it had also loomed in the background of medieval politics within the framework of the theoretically paramount empire. From the sixteenth century onwards the balance of power became the doctrine of European diplomacy. It played a great part in the Thirty Years' War; the Westphalian Peace admittedly sought to substitute the balance of power for the dying Empire. The peace treaty of Utrecht (1713) described itself as a settlement *ad conservandum in Europa equilibrium*; from then onwards until 1914 the term never vanished from the diplomatic vocabulary. The wars of the eighteenth century and the coalition wars against Napoleon I were dominated by the idea of the balance of power; which also governed the Congress of Vienna in 1815.

Throughout the nineteenth century the balance of power was the *leitmotiv* of European politics. As a system it reached its summit in the period 1871–1914, when the German-Austrian alliance, with Italy as an uncertain third partner, was confronted by the French-Russian alliance, with Britain in reserve. Britain is regarded as the traditional upholder of the balance of power. Up to the turn of the century, British policy aimed at balancing the continental states of Europe against each other so that Britain could act as arbitrator. Then the growth of Germany necessitated Britain's joining the Franco-Russian group of Powers to maintain the balance. The famous Crowe Memorandum of 1907 (by Sir Eyre Crowe, the assistant of Sir Edward Grey) declared the balance of power the fundamental principle of British policy. In point of fact history shows that England has always opposed any attempt at hegemony in Europe (Charles V, Philip II, Louis XIV, Napoleon I, William II, Hitler), and British diplomacy is traditionally regarded as the automatic opponent of the strongest Power in Europe at any given time.

After World War I the European balance of power vanished, with Germany powerless, Austria-Hungary annihilated, and Russia eliminated from European politics for a considerable length of time. Britain soon began to foster gradual German recovery as a counterweight to French hegemony. Then it supported Hitlerite Germany with a view to balancing the Russian Power which had reappeared on the scene. When Hitler proved himself to be a hegemonist, Britain and France tried to oppose to him an alliance with Russia. These attempts at renewing the policy of the balance of power were frustrated by the disunity of the Powers. American isolationism, dominant at the time, was also contributory to the failure of this policy. (The United States has definitely become a factor of the European equilibrium.) The great coalition against Hitler materialized only in World War II. The outcome of the war once more brought the disappearance of the traditional pattern of balance in Europe, the policy of com-

pletely eliminating the defeated enemy as a Power being substituted for the policy of equilibrium. An uneasy new balance emerged, based on the partition of Europe between East and West, with the Atlantic Pact group confronting the Soviet Union. A 'global' balance of power is indeed nowadays declared to exist between the United States and the Soviet Union, with Britain as a third partner practically aligned with America. Recent developments in the technique of war, particularly air warfare, long-distance self-propelled weapons, and the atomic bomb, and the twice-proved ability of the United States to concentrate decisive forces at all points of the globe, have in fact made the balance of power a global problem. However, the idea of restoring a specific European equilibrium is also still to be met with.

Since World War I the principle of the balance of power has been made unpopular by pacifist and socialist propaganda. Its critics argue that it perpetuates a system of pure power-politics; that it is devoid of any ethical idea; that it leads to a race in armaments; and that in the last analysis it is unable to prevent war. The unequal development of the nations, these critics insist, is bound ever to upset the balance and only a world federation is held to be capable of securing peace. The proponents of the balance of power, on the other hand, argue that it is the only realistic policy pending the establishment of a world-state (q.v.); that a long period of peace was once achieved under the influence of this policy; that even if war could not always be avoided, wars used to be shorter and less savage, and war aims and peace terms more moderate while the principle of the conservation of equilibrium reigned; and that an element of equity is *a priori* inherent in the idea. (See also *Geopolitics, North Atlantic Treaty, Western Union.*)

BALFOUR DECLARATION, a letter from A. J. Balfour, then British Foreign Secretary, to Lord Rothschild, chairman of the British Zionist Federation, whereby the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine was promised. Dated 2 November 1917, the letter reads as follows: 'His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.' The declaration became the keystone of the politics of Zionism. In 1920 it was incorporated in the peace treaty with Turkey, the former possessor of Palestine, and was endorsed by the principal Allied Powers. The declaration was also incorporated in the League Mandate for the administration of Palestine given to Britain in 1922. (See *Zionism, Palestine.*)

BALKANS, in political usage the Balkan peninsula in south-east Europe with the countries of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, Albania and European Turkey. Rumania is often also reckoned as a Balkan country, though this is geographically questionable. In English-speaking countries the whole of south-east Europe, covering roughly the former area of the Austrian Empire together with the Balkans proper, is sometimes referred to as 'the Balkans', thus classing Hungary and Czechoslovakia, occasionally even Austria, with the Balkan countries, but this is definitely incorrect. (Articles on all the countries mentioned are to be found in this volume.) The Balkans proper were known as 'the cockpit of Europe' already prior to 1914, in point of fact World War I started there, after the two Balkan Wars and the hundred-year struggle of the Balkan peoples to free themselves from Turkish domination had been keeping European diplomacy busy for a long time. The political significance of the Balkans is partly based on their considerable agricultural and mineral resources, but even more so on their strategic position. The Balkans control the approaches to the Dardanelles (q.v.), the land route from Europe to the Middle East and beyond, and partially also the east Mediterranean and the Adriatic.

Before World War I the Balkans were the area of collision between the German-Austrian group of Powers and Russia, which had assumed the role of protector of the Balkans, invoking both Slav feeling (Yugoslavs and Bulgarians are Slavs) and the Orthodox faith (prevailing in the whole of the Balkans). From the war there emerged an aggrandized Yugoslavia (formerly known as Serbia) and Rumania, now extending

far into the former area of Austria-Hungary. During the period between the two world wars the Balkan countries remained grouped politically much as they had been in the second Balkan War and in World War I, viz. Bulgaria on one side and the other Balkan states on the other. Yugoslavia and Rumania formed, together with Czechoslovakia, the 'Little Entente' directed against Hungary and associated with the French system of alliances in Europe. In 1934 the 'Balkan Entente' was established between Yugoslavia, Greece, Rumania and Turkey. It provided for a mutual guarantee of frontiers and joint action against a Balkan country which would join a non-Balkan country in aggression. (The country meant was Bulgaria.) Between 1933 and 1939 Germany secured about 50 per cent of Balkan trade, and German political influence in the Balkans increased accordingly. From 1938 onwards Russian influence reappeared in the Balkans after a long interval, although the monarchical and dictatorial Balkan governments disliked its new Soviet guise. In Yugoslavia and Bulgaria the Soviet Union worked with pan-Slavist slogans on the lines of Tsarism. In 1939 England and France gave guarantees to Greece and Rumania in case of these states being attacked. From 1931 to 1941 German, Russian, British and also Italian influence competed with each other in the Balkans. When Germany conquered the



Map III. South-Eastern Europe

whole of the Balkans by military action in 1941, the Balkan system of alliances proved worthless. Hungary re-annexed large territories from Rumania and Yugoslavia, Bulgaria occupied Macedonia (q.v.), the old bone of contention between the Balkan states, and Italy tried to obtain a foothold in Greece, having occupied Albania in 1939.

In the course of World War II Russian interest in the Balkans grew stronger. The Kremlin supported communist partisan movements against the Germans in Yugoslavia and Greece, while the Western Powers gave preference (except for the concluding period of the war) to more conservative resistance movements. After the war the whole of the Balkans with the exception of Greece came into the Russian sphere of influence in accordance with the agreements of Teheran and Yalta (q v.). It soon became a point of friction between Russia and the Anglo-Saxon powers. Soviet troops were stationed in Bulgaria and Roumania, where communist-controlled governments were established. Communist governments were formed in Yugoslavia and Albania also. Soviet troops were withdrawn in 1947 but British troops remain in Greece, although the intention to withdraw them has been announced. The United States extended financial, economic and military aid to Greece as well as Turkey in order to protect them against 'totalitarian encroachment'. (See *Truman Doctrine.*) Heavy fighting started in 1946 in north Greek frontier areas between Greek Government forces and communist guerrilla forces receiving support from neighbouring countries under Russian control and operations were still in progress at the end of 1949. The United Nations sent a commission to the Balkans. (See *Greece.*)

Under Soviet auspices the frontier questions among the Balkan states of the Russian zone were settled by awards from Moscow, and the antagonisms between these states have been mentioned as little as possible since, except those referring to Greece and Tito's Yugoslavia. At first, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, both under communist governments, made a pact on 1 August 1947 providing for a close alliance and a great amount of economic collaboration, and aiming at an eventual customs union. Also the idea of a south Slav federation, embracing both countries, has been discussed again but support given to it by Dimitrov of Bulgaria in 1948 was censured by Russia. Whether the old feud between the two states over Macedonia (q.v.) has in fact been eradicated for ever, is doubted by some observers. While a number of bilateral pacts have been made between the Balkan states and between them and Russia, the outline of the traditional divisions in the Balkans is still discernible, scarcely less than the position of the Balkan states relative to non-Balkan nations: Bulgaria *v.* Greece in the frontier question and *v.* Rumania over the Dobrudja (q.v.); Yugoslavia *v.* Italy over frontier areas, especially Trieste (q.v.); Albania *v.* Greece over the Epirus region; the old quarrel about Macedonia and some adjacent areas between all concerned; territorial differences between Yugoslavia and Rumania on the one hand, and Hungary on the other, in addition to this there is Turkish suspicion of Soviet control of the approaches to the straits, and latent Yugoslav-Greek antagonism. Under the peace treaties signed in Paris on 10 February 1947, Soviet forces were withdrawn from Bulgaria and only such Soviet forces as were said to be required for maintaining communications with the Soviet zone of Austria were left in Rumania, but entirely Soviet-controlled governments were installed in both countries. On special developments in Yugoslavia, see *Yugoslavia* and *Tito.* (See Map III.)

BALLOT, the paper on which are printed the names of candidates for office in elections. The elector indicates his choice by marking a cross in plurality (q.v.) electoral systems; in proportional representation (q.v.) systems he either places numbers against the name(s) of the candidate(s) he supports or he chooses one of several ballots if there are separate ballots for the various parties. The term is derived from the little coloured balls once used, and indeed in some cases still used, for secret voting. The term 'Australian ballot' is sometimes used because it was in Australia that ballot papers of the modern type were first employed. 'Vote by ballot', i.e. secret voting, was one of the chief political demands of nineteenth-century radicals. It was introduced into British elections in 1872; before this voting had been public. In the United States voting machines are employed in twenty-one states instead of printed ballots. The voter enters the polling booth and

pulls levers mounted over the names of the candidates; the levers do not spring back until he draws the curtain to leave the booth. The machine counts the votes automatically. 'Stuffing the ballot' is the American term for the corrupt practice of party agents pushing forged ballot papers into the ballot box. The 'second ballot' is a form of proportional representation (q.v.).

BALTIC STATES, a collective noun for Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, three countries situated on the eastern shore of the Baltic. They were Russian provinces until 1918, when they became independent. A certain antagonism between the Baltic states and the Soviet Union remained, the states being strongly anti-communist and two of them adopting right-wing dictatorial governments, while Soviet Russia did not abandon its aspirations to the re-acquisition of these territories with their ice-free ports and strategic importance for control of the Baltic. The independence of the Baltic countries was, however, supported by the other Powers. In September and October 1939 the Soviet Union, taking advantage of the European war, forced the three Baltic states to admit Russian bases and garrisons on their territory. German minorities previously living in the states were expelled to Germany. In June and July 1940 the three countries were totally occupied by Russian troops. Pro-Soviet governments were set up and applied for admission into the Soviet Union, which was granted in August 1940. The three states became member republics of the Soviet Union. The annexation has not so far been formally recognized by America and a number of other countries. In conformity with the U.S. policy of not recognizing the annexation of the Baltic states, a new Latvian minister was accredited in Washington in June 1949, the Secretary of State expressing the American people's 'concern for the welfare of the Latvian nation'. The minister was appointed by the last Latvian minister in London, whom the last Latvian government had empowered to do so. Britain accorded *de facto* recognition in May 1947. Swedish minorities in the three states were transferred to Sweden after the change of sovereignty. Sometimes also Finland (q.v.) is included in the term 'Baltic States'; as a rule, however, it refers only to the three countries named before.

BARBADOS. (See *British West Indies.*)

BARLOW REPORT, in Britain the report of the Royal Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population, under the chairmanship of Sir M. Barlow, published in 1940. It recommended the control of the distribution of industry and the formation of a national planning authority. (See *Development Areas.*)

BARUCH PLAN. (See *Atom Commission.*)

BASQUES, a people of about 2,000,000 on the north coast of Spain, also to be found in south-west France. The Basque language is totally different from Spanish and not akin to any European language. The Basques in Spain strove for autonomy for a long time and finally obtained it in 1936 from the republican government. Although devoted Catholics, they fought on the republican side in the Spanish Civil War. When General Franco conquered the Basque region in 1937, Basque autonomy and linguistic rights were suppressed. The Basque President, Aguirre, took part in the Spanish republican government-in-exile in Paris in 1947, but withdrew after some time. The Basque region is important for its iron-ore mines. Its capital is Bilbao.

BEAVERBROOK, Max Aitken, first baron, British conservative politician, born 1879. A Canadian by birth, he is an advocate of imperial unity, and in his *Express* group of newspapers has campaigned for Empire Free Trade (q.v.). As an M.P. he was a member of the group that overthrew Asquith in 1916, when he became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Minister of Information in the Lloyd George coalition. In the Churchill governments Lord Beaverbrook was Minister of Aircraft Production 1940–1, Minister of State 1941, Minister of Supply 1941–2, Minister of War Production 1942, Lord Privy Seal 1942–5.

BELGIUM, Kingdom of, 11,775 sq. m., population 8,511,000, capital Brussels. Belgium is the most densely populated country in Europe. The population consists of 55 per cent Dutch-speaking Flemings (q.v.) and 45 per cent French-speaking Walloons. The

Flemings inhabit the north and west, the Walloons the south and east. Flemish and French are official languages. King Leopold III (born 1901, of the House of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha) is not exercising his office at present; a regency functions under his brother, Prince Charles. The heir-apparent is Prince Baudouin, the King's eldest son (born 1930). The Belgian Parliament is elected for four years on the basis of proportional representation. It consists of a Chamber of Deputies elected directly, and a Senate the members of which are in part elected directly, in part indirectly (by the provincial assemblies), and to some extent co-opted. Female suffrage was limited until 1949, when the franchise was extended to all women.

The Kingdom was established in 1830 by the secession of the Southern Netherlands from Holland, to which they had been joined in 1815, after a history including periods of Spanish, Austrian and French control. Its neutrality was internationally guaranteed, but at the start of World War I Belgium was invaded and occupied by Germany. The reason was the country's strategic position on the northern flank of France; via Belgium the invader could by-pass the French eastern belt of fortifications. After the war Belgium concluded an alliance with France. In 1936 it terminated the alliance in order to revert to a policy of neutrality. Belgium remained neutral on the outbreak of World War II, but on 10 May 1940, it was once more attacked by Germany, for the same reason as in 1914. After a short fight the Belgian army was cut off in Flanders and surrendered by order of the King. This led to recriminations by the Allies and was condemned by the Belgian Parliament which continued to sit in France. The King's action is still the subject of controversy. Seven Belgian Ministers under Prime Minister Pierlot went to England, declared themselves the Belgian Government-in-exile, and continued the war by the side of the Allies.

The government was, as it had been before the war, a Catholic-liberal-socialist coalition. There had been fascist movements in Belgium in the thirties, including the *Vlaamsch National Verbond* (Flemish National League) and other groups among the Flemings, and the *Rexistes* among the Walloons; the *Rexistes* were led by Léon Degrelles, a former member of the Catholic Party. These parties held one-fifth of the seats in Parliament in 1936; the Flemish National League remained strong, while the *Rexistes* were reduced to 4 seats by 1938. Under the second German occupation (1940–4) the fascist parties received much support; also the antagonism between Flemings and Walloons was fostered. A Belgian underground resistance movement sprang up, split into a left-wing F.I. (*Front de l'Indépendance*) and a right-wing A.S. (*Armée secrète*). After the liberation of Belgium by the Allies in 1944 the government returned from England. Belgium recovered comparatively quickly, not having suffered so much in this war as in the last one. A tendency developed to revert to the political conditions of the pre-war period Attempts by the left wing of the resistance movement to assert itself more strongly in domestic politics were foiled by the government, with some help from the British, and the Catholic-liberal-socialist coalition continued for a time. It disintegrated in 1945 over the question of the return of the King, still living abroad. Belgium is split in two over the question whether Leopold's behaviour during the war was justifiable or not. The King declines to abdicate. On 18 July 1945, the Belgian Parliament instituted a regency under Prince Charles, to operate until ended by Parliament. The Catholic Party left the coalition and made renewal of its participation in the government conditional upon the recall of the King This was the opportunity of the communists who took the Catholics' place in the government. A socialist-liberal-communist coalition was formed by Van Acker, the liberals holding the balance and preventing any measures of nationalization.

In February 1946 the first post-war general election was held. The new Chamber contained 93 Catholics, including 1 member of the Democratic Union, 69 Socialists, 23 Communists, and 13 Liberals. The Senate consisted of 83 Catholics and 84 Senators of other parties. The Catholic Party is now known as the Christian Social Party and has separate Flemish and Walloon sections; a left wing, the Democratic Union, has recently been asserting itself more strongly. The leaders of the party are Pierlot, Theunis, and van Zeeland., The Socialists, led by Huysmans, van Acker, de Brouckere, and Spaak, are moderate social

democrats. The Liberals under Motz and Gillon represent industrial interests and are rather conservative. The *Rexistes* and the Flemish National League have been suppressed.

After prolonged inter-party negotiations van Acker reformed the government, which remained in office until 1947, although a cabinet crisis in July 1946 had caused van Acker to be replaced by Huysmans. On 19 March 1947 the government fell when the communists withdrew because the other parties had not accepted their price-control proposals. The Catholic Party waived its vow not to take part in the government until the settlement of the royal question. Without prejudice to its position in this respect, it rejoined the government, and a Catholic-socialist coalition was formed under the socialist Spaak. Liberals and communists went into opposition. This change was attributed by some observers to the increased influence of the United States in Belgium. Apart from other considerations, the growth of American interest in Belgium was said to be connected with the large uranium deposits in the Belgian Congo. (See *Atomic Energy Commission, Uranium.*) In June 1947 a committee of eminent Belgian lawyers issued a report upholding King Leopold's attitude during the war.

A new Parliament was elected on 27 June 1949, with all women voting for the first time, and with the number of deputies increased to 212 and that of senators to 175, the new seats going to the Flemings and to Brussels The election was fought largely on the issue of the return of the King, who had been pressing for a decision. The pro-Leopold Christian Social Party obtained a majority in the Senate (92 seats, against 53 Socialists, 24 Liberals and 6 Communists), but failed by a narrow margin to gain one in the Chamber, which contained 105 Christian Socials, 66 Socialists, 29 Liberals, and 12 Communists.

In August 1949 the Spaak government resigned, and a Catholic-liberal coalition government was formed under the Catholic, Eyskens. After negotiations with King Leopold in Switzerland, plans for a referendum to be held on his return were announced, the King declaring that he would regard a vote of 55 per cent in his favour as the necessary minimum.

Next to the royal question, Belgium's ethnical dualism is its main problem. The Flemings are the majority and their birth-rate is much higher than that of the Walloons. Their influence is exerted within the framework of the all-Belgian parties, especially the Catholic Party, rather than through Flemish nationalist parties. The Catholic Party relies largely on the Flemish districts. On the whole, the Flemings achieved actual full equality in 1932, formal equality had existed since the foundation of the state. As a parallel to the Flemish national movement against the French-speakers who up to 1914 dominated the Belgian state, there are at present indications of a Walloon national rally against the Flemings who are getting more and more conscious of being the majority in the country.

While maintaining their political independence, Belgium and Holland concluded a customs union which came into force on 1 September 1947 and is to be followed by full economic union. Neighbouring Luxembourg (q.v.), which has been in customs union with Belgium since 1921, is the third partner of this union known as *Benelux.* (Short for Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, for details, see article *Benelux.*)

About 17 sq. m. of German territory with 5,000 German inhabitants were allotted to Belgium by decision of the Western Powers in 1949. For the time being she took only 8 sq. m. with 600 Germans, reserving her claim to the rest, although it seems to be her intention to forgo it.

Belgium is also a great colonial power; she possesses the Belgian Congo in Central Africa (up to 1907 the Congo State under the King of the Belgians, but a colony since then) with 927,000 sq. m. and a native population of 10,000,000, an area enormously rich in mineral and other resources. It is one of the world's largest copper producers, the greatest producer of radium (the uranium deposits forming the basis of radium production have now acquired particular importance in connection with atomic energy), and also a producer of gold and diamonds. Under a League Mandate, Belgium also administered the territory of Ruanda Urundi, a former part of German Eastern Africa adjoining the Congo; since 1947 she has governed it under trusteeship from the United Nations.

BELIZE, another name for British Honduras. (See *British West Indies, Guatemala.*)

BENELUX, short for Belgium-Netherlands-Luxembourg, the economic grouping of the three 'Low Countries'. An agreement between the governments of these countries for a customs union was signed in London during the war in September 1944. After the war, the Benelux Secretariat was set up in Brussels with joint government councils to prepare for the proposed union. There was already a customs union between Belgium (q v.) and Luxembourg (q.v.), dating from 1921 and valid for fifty years. This group now concluded a customs union with the Netherlands (q.v), which came into force on 1 September 1947, with effect from 1 January 1948, for a provisional period of two years.

The agreement established a common tariff against third parties. Customs between the three countries were abolished, but the customs frontier remained in existence for the time being, since each country continues to impose excise duties and certain taxes supplementary to the common tariff, and exchange controls and quota systems also continue to operate. This was declared necessary for the protection of the various industries in the countries concerned. Belgium and Holland used to be thought of as complementary in the economic field. Belgium was held to be an industrial and Holland an agricultural and commercial country. In fact, however, the economic structure of both countries had become rather similar in recent years, both now being mixed agricultural and industrial, and this created problems of mutual competition within a union. Moreover, prices and wages had developed to different levels in the three countries So provision was made for a period of transition. Meanwhile a temporary agricultural agreement maintained a certain agricultural autonomy for each country and a price policy based on existing wages and costs of production. In industry, no new major factory was to be built without consultation and agreement between the three countries. Definite plans for the co-ordination of all the resources of the Benelux countries had yet to be worked out. It was hoped to reach the second stage, providing for the full operation of the customs union, on 1 January 1949, when taxation was to be harmonized in the three countries, and excise and other duties were to be abolished. Finally, as the last stage the complete economic fusion of the three countries was envisaged. The Union would have 17,000,000 inhabitants.

A conference of the three Benelux countries held on 13 March 1949 announced provisional economic union as from 1 July 1949 with considerable facilitation of trade and passenger traffic between the participants. It was resolved further to continue co-ordination of production, distribution, commercial and monetary policies, investment and taxation, and progressively to decontrol trade between the member states. Belgium and Luxembourg will grant a loan to Holland. After the establishment of equilibrium in their mutual balances of payments, the three governments will proclaim full economic union as from 1 July 1950, when they expect conditions for it to exist. Economic union, it was added, would be possible only if Marshall aid continued and the aims of the European Organization for Economic Co-operation (see *European Recovery Programme*) were attained. The three countries are to co-ordinate their agricultural production prior to union. Meanwhile the protocol of 9 May 1947, providing for protection of Belgian and Luxembourg farmers from Dutch competition, remains in force.

The Benelux countries appeared as a team at the international trade conference in Geneva and the Marshall Plan conference in Paris in 1947, and a Council for Trade Agreements operates in Brussels with a view to ensuring further joint representation at conferences and a co-ordinated trade policy A minister is responsible to his parliament in each country for the affairs of Benelux. The question of political unity has been carefully avoided, though it looms in the background. One by-product of the Benelux policy was an agreement on the unification of Dutch and Flemish orthography. (See *Flemings.*) The Benelux countries also joined the Western Union (q.v.) and the North Atlantic Treaty (q.v.) as a team Benelux has been acclaimed as a nucleus of proposed larger political or economic groupings in western Europe, but the internal difficulties which beset its further development have not passed unobserved. (See *Fritalux.*)

BENEŠ, Dr. Edward, President of Czechoslovakia, born 25 May 1884, at Kozlany near Pilsen, Bohemia, the son of a small-

holder, received university education in France and became a teacher at a Czech commercial college in Prague. In World War I he joined the anti-Austrian movement of T. G. Masaryk (q.v.), whom he followed into the Allied camp in 1915. He became Masaryk's first collaborator and returned with him in 1918 as Czech foreign minister. This office he held until 1935, when he was elected President as successor to Masaryk. Beneš's policy was based on collaboration with France, on the 'Little Entente' with Yugoslavia and Roumania, after 1935 also on an alliance with the Soviet Union. After the Munich Agreement (q.v.) which terminated this period, he resigned on 5 October 1938, and went to England, for a time also to America. On the outbreak of World War II in 1939 Beneš took the lead of the Czechoslovak national movement abroad and was recognized anew as President by the Allies in 1940 and 1941. He had always been regarded as an upholder of democracy and the chief protagonist of a Western orientation in Czech policies. In the later stage of the war, however, he steered his country into the Russian orbit, one of the reasons being early Russian consent to the expulsion of the 3,000,000 Sudeten-Germans (q.v.), which he had made his policy. Beneš was re-elected President of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1946. He acquiesced unwillingly in the communist *coup d'état* of February 1948 and resigned on 7 June. He died on 30 September 1948.

BENTHAM, Jeremy (1748–1832), British social philosopher. A lawyer, he turned early to the philosophy of law, society, and politics, and to psychology. His thought was abstract and rationalist, construing precepts from axiomatic first principles, though in theory he advocated the experimental method in social studies.

In his early work, *A Fragment on Government*, he criticized the theories that society was based on a social contract or bargain, that men had natural rights and that the British polity was a mixed government in which power was divided between King, Lords and Commons. He argued that legal power was by its nature independent of legal limitations—this theory of sovereignty (q.v.) was developed by John Austin—and that what it should do was to be decided on the principle of utility, which set as the end of action the 'greatest happiness of the greatest number'. This principle was expounded in *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation.* Pleasure and pain constitute both a standard of value and the goal of human action. The legislator can provide a society with a legal system by assigning rewards and penalties (pleasure and pain) to these activities which aid or hinder the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Bentham did not explain satisfactorily the basis of his qualification 'the greatest number' nor why each person is to count for one and nobody for more than one—two qualifications which seem really to rest on some natural right to equality of treatment. Bentham defended capitalism, and said that poverty was 'the original condition of mankind'; but socialists have invoked his principle of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, though interpreting it in their own way.

Bentham's influence on British nineteenth-century thought and legislation was great. He was the founder of the school of utilitarianism and his teaching, with that of his followers, was a chief cause of the liberal reforms of criminal and civil law, of political and economic institutions. Bentham himself was at first a Tory, but on finding that the rulers of his day were not eager to accept his reasoned advocacy of practical reforms, he turned to Parliamentary reform in the hope of obtaining rulers favourable to his proposals. Yet despite this early toryism he was essentially a philosopher of liberalism—especially the nineteenth-century liberalism of the middle-class leaders of the new capitalist society, who desired a share in the government, an efficient administration, and freedom of manufacture and trade. (See *Mill.*) The pragmatic, utilitarian tendency of modern political thought has been traced to him.

BERLIN CRISIS. (See *Germany.*)

BERMUDA. (See *British West Indies.*)

BESSARABIA, east European area between the Rivers Pruth and Dniester and the Black Sea, 17,150 sq. m., population in 1925 according to Rumanian sources, 2,900,000, of whom 1,900,000 Rumanians, 380,000 Russians and Ukrainians (according to Russian sources 1,600,000 Rumanians, 350,000 Russians, 315,000 Ukrainians), 270,000 Jews, the rest consisting of

small German, Bulgarian, and Tatar settlements. After periods of Roman, Gothic, and Mongolian rule the province was conquered in the seventh century A.D. by the Thracian Besses, from whose legendary prince, Bess-Arab, the name of the country derived. From 1367 to 1812 Bessarabia formed the eastern half of the Principality of Moldavia, with which it came under Turkish suzerainty. After the Russo-Turkish War of 1812 it was ceded to Russia. Considerable groups of Russians and other non-Rumanians were settled in the province. After the Crimean War (1856) three southern districts of Bessarabia were returned to Moldavia. In 1878 the Rumanian State, formed meanwhile through the union of the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, had to cede them back to Russia in return for the Dobrudja territory in the south.

The Rumanian-speaking inhabitants of Bessarabia continued calling themselves Moldavians, and Rumania never gave up her aspirations to the territory. During the Russian revolution of 1917, while Rumania was at war with Germany and Austria, Bessarabian peasants held a congress at Kishineff, the capital of Bessarabia, which elected a Diet under the name of *Sfatul Tsarii* (Council of State). One-third of the seats went to non-Rumanian minorities. On 21 November 1917 the Diet proclaimed Bessarabia autonomous. The area became the Autonomous Democratic Moldavian Republic within the framework of the Russian Federal Republic, which had just been set up. On 24 January 1918, the Diet proclaimed full independence. In view of the severe disorder prevailing in the country, the Diet asked simultaneously for the despatch of Rumanian and Russian troops. Only the Rumanians responded, the Russians being far away, and Rumanian forces occupied Bessarabia in January 1918. They were generally welcomed, but there were also protests against the occupation.

Russia objected strongly, and on 9 March 1918 Rumania undertook in an agreement with the Soviet Government to withdraw her forces. However, before this was carried out, the Bessarabian Diet proclaimed union with Rumania on 27 March 1918, on condition of provincial autonomy. The vote was 86 : 3, with 36 abstentions. The Diet consisted of 103 Rumanians, 13 Ukrainians, 7 Russians, and 15 other minority delegates. On 27 November 1918, when the first World War had ended and Rumania was one of the victorious Allied Powers, the Union was declared unconditional by the Rumanian Government, and the Diet was dissolved. The Soviet Government thereupon broke off relations with Rumania. (They were resumed only years later.)

The Peace Treaty of Bucharest, concluded on 7 May 1918, between Germany and Rumania, had given the latter a free hand concerning the re-acquisition of Bessarabia. The treaty was abrogated by the armistice of 11 November 1918, but the Allied Supreme Council recognized the annexation of Bessarabia by Rumania on 3 March 1920, subject to ratification by Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan. Britain and France ratified the recognition in 1923 and 1924 respectively, Italy as late as 1927. Japan never ratified it so that from a formal point of view the annexation did not become valid. The Soviet Union consistently refused to recognize the annexation, and never abandoned its claims to Bessarabia. It continued to describe the Rumanian inhabitants of Bessarabia as 'Moldavians', of the same nationality as the citizens of the small Autonomous Moldavian Republic which had been formed out of Rumanian-Moldavian settlements beyond the Dniester on Soviet territory, presumably in order to symbolize the continuity of the earlier Autonomous Moldavian Republic and to provide a nucleus for its renewal after the hoped-for re-acquisition of Bessarabia. The re-acquisition was accomplished during World War II. On 4 July 1940, Russia suddenly presented Rumania with an ultimatum and enforced the cession of Bessarabia together with some neighbouring districts. Bessarabia was united with the Moldavian Soviet Republic, which was raised from the status of an autonomous sub-republic of the Soviet Ukraine to that of a full Federal Republic of the Soviet Union. A few Bessarabian districts with a prevailingly Ukrainian population came to the Soviet Ukraine. When Rumania joined Germany in the war against the Soviet Union in June 1941, it reconquered Bessarabia; moreover it annexed the small Moldavian Soviet Republic beyond the Dniester and the area of Odessa, calling all these territories the province of Transdnistria. In 1944 Russia reconquered

all the territories mentioned, and reintegrated Bessarabia into the Moldavian Soviet Republic.

Bessarabia is a fertile, largely agricultural area of strategic importance in the Black Sea Basin There have been changes in the composition of the population during and after the recent war owing to emigration of Rumanians, immigration of Russians and Ukrainians, mass-murder of Jews under German-Rumanian rule 1941–4, and withdrawal of German settlers to Germany in 1940.

BEVAN, Aneurin, British miner and labour politician, born 1897. Having become a leader of the left wing of his party during World War II, he was appointed Minister of Health in 1945. Before taking office he was associated with the left-wing socialist weekly *Tribune*. His wife is also active in socialist politics under her maiden name of Jenny Lee

BEVERIDGE, Lord (William Henry Beveridge), British public servant, politician and economist, born 1879. Before World War I he helped to establish Labour Exchanges. During World War II he prepared in 1942 a scheme for rationing fuel—conservative opposition caused its rejection by the government. As Chairman of the Committee on Social Insurance and Allied Services, he produced in 1943 a report providing for a comprehensive social insurance scheme (the Beveridge Plan) which was acclaimed by the nation, accepted by the main parties, and became the basis of the National Insurance Act of 1946. One of the assumptions of this plan was full employment (q.v.), in *Full Employment in a Free Society* (1944) he urged a policy of public works and national development to maintain full employment He joined the Liberal Party and was an M.P. from 1944 to July 1945. Knighted 1919, he was created a baron in 1946.

BEVIN, Ernest, British labour leader, born 1884. He left school at ten to work first on a farm, then as an errand boy, newspaper vendor, soft-drink seller, and tram-driver. He was active in the transport workers' union, became a union official and, in 1922, General Secretary of the powerful Transport and General Workers' Union. His work for the dockers in the strikes and inquiries of the 1920's earned him the title of 'the dockers' K.C.'. In May 1940 he was appointed Minister of Labour in Churchill's war coalition government and, not being an M.P. already, was given the seat for Central Wandsworth at a by-election. He mobilized British labour for war and maintained peace in industry, partly by improving the conciliation machinery, partly by increasing the share of workers in factory government. The young men directed to the coal mines under his scheme were known as 'Bevin boys'. He became interested in foreign policy, and when the Labour Party came to power in 1945 he was appointed Foreign Secretary.

BHUTÁN, state in the Himalaya Mountains north of India, area 18,000 sq. m., population 300,000, capital Punakha. Until 1907 Bhután was ruled by the Dharm Rajah, the spiritual head (the Bhutanese are Buddhists), and the Deb Rajah, the temporal head; since then by an hereditary Maharajah—the present ruler is Maharajah Jig-me Wang-chuk. From 1865 to 1947 Bhután received a subsidy from Britain, in return for which she submitted to British guidance in the conduct of her external relations In 1947, when British India was given self-government and divided into the Dominions of India and Pakistan, the governments of Bhután and India concluded an interim agreement for the replacement of British control by Indian.

BICAMERAL LEGISLATURE, a legislature with two chambers, e.g. in Great Britain the House of Lords and the House of Commons. Such legislatures usually have one house (the 'lower' but most often the more important) directly representative of the people, and another chosen on a different basis, e.g. the House of Lords consists of peers and bishops, the Senates of Australia and the U.S.A. give equal representation to the constituent states, the Senate of Eire represents vocational interests, the Council of the Republic in France is elected by local government councils, the Council of Nationalities in the U.S.S.R. represents the different nationalities. The purpose of this other ('upper' or 'second', usually secondary) chamber is to provide expert knowledge, or representation of interests unlikely to be adequately represented in the first chamber, or a second

opinion less dependent on the transient political emotions which, it is claimed, often makes the first house not truly representative of the electorate. Most legislatures are bicameral, but some states have a unicameral legislature, i.e. one with a single chamber.

BIDAULT, Georges, French Catholic politician, born 1899. Before World War II he was co-editor of the Catholic paper *L'Aube*. He supported the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War. In World War II he was a leader of the French resistance movement, and became President of the National Council of Resistance in 1943. He was one of the founders of the Mouvement Républicain Populaire (M.R.P.), the moderate Catholic Party. From 1943 to July 1948 he controlled the foreign policy of France, either as Foreign Minister (1943 to June 1946, January 1947 to July 1948) or as Prime Minister (June to December 1946). He was a vigorous advocate of western European co-operation and union, but his acceptance of the Anglo-American policy of rebuilding Germany and the military expenditure required by his policy of co-operating with Britain and the U.S. in the diplomatic struggle with the U.S.S.R. caused his fall in July 1948. He became Prime Minister again in October 1949.

BIG FIVE, a term denoting Britain, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., China and France—the chief United Nations. The 'Big Two' are the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., the 'Big Three' are those two countries and Britain; the 'Big Four' are those three countries and —for Europe—France, and—for Asia—China. (In England the term 'Big Five' is used also for Barclays, Lloyds, the Midland, the National Provincial and the Westminster Banks.)

BILATERAL, two-sided, a term used of agreements concluded between only two parties, as distinct from multilateral agreements which are between several parties.

BILL OF RIGHTS. 1. A bill passed by the English Parliament in 1688; it re-states essential civic liberties.

2. A customary name for the first ten amendments to the constitution of the U.S.A.; they also guarantee essential liberties.

3. A declaration of human rights drafted by a committee of the United Nations. (See *Rights of Man.*)

4. Generally, any charter of fundamental human rights.

BIPARTISAN, in the U.S.A. a term applied to the foreign policy of General Marshall (q.v.) because it was approved by both the Democrats and the Republicans.

BIZONIA, term for the combined British and American zones of occupation in Germany (q.v.).

BLIMP, Colonel, a character created by the British cartoonist, David Low. Blimp is an elderly British gentleman voicing antiquated and ultra-conservative views in a rather unintelligent manner.

BLOCKADE, the prevention of sea traffic to and from an enemy country by the posting of warships. An ancient instrument of warfare, the blockade became especially important in the Napoleonic Wars and the two World Wars. According to international law a blockade is valid only if sufficient naval forces are available to make it effective. It may be applied only against enemy shores, not neutral shores, and consequently a blockaded country could obtain imports via neutral countries. For these reasons the Allied sea powers did not declare a formal blockade against Germany in the two World Wars, but applied the laws of *contraband* and of *reprisals* instead. Germany did the same in respect of the Allies.

The law of contraband permits the seizure of supplies going to the enemy even when consigned to neutral ports. It also permits the search of neutral vessels. Contraband may be seized on board neutral ships if there is any reason for suspecting that the cargo is ultimately destined for the enemy, even if this is not evident from the consignment. The ship can be seized as well, if the contraband constitutes one-half of the total cargo or if any fraud is discovered. The London Declaration of 1909, signed by representatives of all countries but never ratified, distinguished between absolute contraband (arms and ammunition) and relative contraband (goods which are normally used for peaceful purposes, but which can also be used for war). A list of relative contraband was compiled, but never became valid. In the two World Wars

the list as applied by the belligerents was extended to cover practically all goods, including foodstuffs.

While a blockade places a ban on both the entrance and the egress of ships, the law of contraband permits only the stopping of ingoing cargoes. The law of reprisals is relied upon to stop the enemy's exports. It was invoked in the last wars by both sides, a breach of international law justifying the application of reprisals. The Allies felt justified in applying reprisals because of Germany's submarine and mine warfare, while Germany declared its action justified as a reprisal to the *de facto* blockade practised by the Allies without the observation of its formal rules. The actual position to-day is that in war there is total blockade regardless of earlier rules of international law, and surface vessels, submarines, aircraft and mines are used to maintain it.

BLUM, Léon, French socialist leader, born in 1884, the son of well-to-do Jewish parents. A lawyer, he turned to writing and was a well-known author and critic. In 1898 he became a socialist and with Jaurès and Briand founded the paper *L'Humanité* (which was taken over by the Communists in 1919). In 1914 he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies and after the war became chairman of the Socialist Party. He opposed French post-war policy. After prolonged opposition to the idea of socialist participation in a coalition government, he accepted the Premiership of the Popular Front (q.v.) ministry of June 1936, thus becoming the first socialist premier of France. He stopped the move towards fascism and introduced many social reforms, including the institution of a forty-hour working week, nationalization of armament industries and the Bank of France. His refusal of aid to the Spanish Popular Front government, when General Franco revolted, lost him some support from the Left. In June 1937 he was defeated but was vice-premier in the next government and was premier again for twenty-six days in 1938. When France fell in 1940 he was imprisoned by the Pétain government and with other republican leaders brought to trial at Riom in 1942. He was freed by the Allies in 1945 from the German prison camp to which he had been transferred. Once more he became leader of the socialists, was elected to the Assembly in 1945 and in December 1946 became premier in a minority socialist ministry which lasted until January 1947. He remains one of the leading socialists of Europe. In recent years he has criticized communism because of its abrogation of human rights, and has stressed the supremacy of ethical principles over materialism and opportunism.

BOLIVIA, South American republic; area 507,000 sq. m., population 3,723,000, the nominal capital is Sucre (30,000), but the seat of government is La Paz (300,000). About 50 per cent of the people are Indians (most of whom speak their own languages, especially Quechua and Aymara), 28 per cent mestizos (half-breeds) and 22 per cent whites. Bolivia is rich in mineral and other natural resources, but is rather undeveloped. Mining is the chief industry (one-sixth of the world's tin is produced, together with silver, other metals and oil). The mines are owned partly by a Bolivian, Patino, and partly by American corporations. Most of the people live in very poor conditions, which are a cause of the continual political unrest. Illiteracy exceeds 60 per cent.

The constitution of 1938 provides for a President, popularly elected for four years and not re-eligible, and a Congress of two chambers—a Senate of 27, elected for six years, one-third retiring every two years, and a Chamber of Deputies of 120, elected for four years, half retiring every two years. In fact, however, the republic is dominated by the Patino tin interests and the army; political life has been a series of *pronunciamentos*. In 1936 General Toro made himself president but in 1937 was overthrown by Colonel Busch, who in 1938 had elected a Congress which consisted almost entirely of members of his United Socialist Party, which was fascist rather than socialist. There was some social legislation but the government was essentially a military dictatorship. Busch died in 1939, either by suicide or assassination. He was succeeded by Generals Quintanilla and Penaranda; the latter aligned Bolivia with the U.S.A. and declared war on Japan, but just before the end of his term he was overthrown by a group of young army officers, who had in 1941 created a *Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario*. In the elections of 1944 the M.N.R. leader, Major

Villaroel, became President and the party gained a majority in Congress. In July 1946 a series of labour disputes led to a revolution, in which workers and soldiers lynched Villaroel. Dr. Guillen, President of the Supreme Court, was chosen provisional President and restored law and order. In the elections of January 1947 the *Unión Republicana Socialista*, forming a 'Democratic Coalition' with the remnants of the United Socialists and some similar factions, secured the election of their candidate, Enrique Hertzog, to the Presidency and obtained a majority in Congress. Despite its name the coalition was rather right-wing. The opposition comprised the *Partido de la Izquierda Revolucionaria* (P.I.R.—Party of the Revolutionary Left), believed to be communist, and the conservative liberals; these two parties combined for the 1947 election The Conservative Party, backed by landowning and mining interests, formerly ruled Bolivia, but is now weak.

The Congressional election of 1 May 1949 resulted in a small majority for the govern- On May 8 President Hertzog transferred his powers to Vice-President Urriola-Goitia on account of ill-health. Following labour unrest in the tin-mining region, a force of exiled M.N R. adherents raided Bolivia from Argentina. Bolivia thereupon outlawed the M.N.R. and Argentina expelled its exiled leader, Paz Estensero. The Bolivian government also banned the Communist and Workers' Revolutionary Socialist parties.

In August 1949, the M.N.R. rose against the government, but was put down in a short civil war. In October 1949, President Hertzog resigned finally, and was succeeded by Urriola-Goitia.

Bolivia's relations with its neighbours have not been friendly. Chile (q.v.) conquered her nitrate coastal lands in 1883. With Paraguay (q.v.) she has had several wars over the Gran Chaco region, a jungle of 100,000 sq. m. The last war (1932–5) was ended by arbitration by the U.S.A. and five South American republics; 30,000 sq. m. went to Bolivia and 70,000 sq. m. to Paraguay.

BOLSHEVISM, an alternative name for communism (q.v.). The name is derived from a conference of Russian socialists held in London in July 1903 with a view to laying down the constitution and policy of their party, then still known as the Russian Social-Democratic Party. There were 58 delegates present. The left, radical wing was led by Lenin (q.v.), the right, moderate wing by Martoff. When a vote was taken concerning the organization of the central party committee, Lenin's faction, advocating great powers for the central committee, obtained 19 votes, while the moderates, recommending a greater amount of control of the committee by the rank and file of the party, secured 17 votes with 3 abstaining. A number of the delegates had previously left. From this ballot onwards the Lenin faction was referred to as *bolshinstvo* (Russian for majority) and the Martoff faction as *menshinstvo* (minority); their followers became known as the *bolsheviki* and *mensheviki* respectively. Thus a chance vote created names of historical importance. In fact, the proportion of votes was the reverse in various ballots taken after this particular one, and it was doubtful to what extent the warring factions actually represented the majority or minority of the Russian labour movement. However, the Martoff faction refused to accept the majority vote, and the split in the party continued till the Russian revolution of 1917. Only after half a year of revolution did the bolsheviks really obtain a majority of the Russian workers' votes as expressed in Soviet elections; shortly after this they carried out the October Revolution. Outside Russia the name of bolshevism acquired a derogatory ring, while in Soviet Russia it became a title of honour. The Communist Party, which was formed out of the bolshevik faction of the Russian Social-Democrats, still bears the old nickname as a bracketed suffix, styling itself 'Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)'. Even when an abbreviation is used, the portentous B is included: C.P.S.U. (B).

BONAPARTISM. (*a*) In the more narrow sense, support for the claim of the Bonaparte family to the French imperial throne. The present pretender is Prince Louis Jérôme Victor Napoleon, born 23 January 1914, in Brussels, Belgium. He is a descendant of Prince Jérôme, the brother of Napoleon I and one-time King of Westphalia, whose offspring were admitted to the succession by Napoleon III. Bonapartism proper can hardly be called a serious political factor in France.

(*b*) In the wider sense, any political system in the fashion of Napoleon I or Napoleon III, or any tendency to set up such a system, also in countries other than France. This would cover any popular military dictatorship, or even any popular dictatorship of a single individual. Some variant of Bonapartism is held by many students of history to appear as a regular phenomenon after revolutions, at a certain point a military dictatorship crystallizes out of the revolutionary turmoil, reintroducing authoritarian methods and an amount of conservatism, but preserving the essential achievements of the revolution and a certain popular attitude. Marxian socialists ascribe to Bonapartism the function of protecting the propertied classes against the working class; they think it has its opportunity when equilibrium exists between the classes so that none can govern alone. From this aspect it has been attempted to classify the dictatorships of Hitler and Mussolini as a modern form of Bonapartism. From the legitimate absolute monarchy (see *Absolutism*) the bonapartist systems differ by a certain pseudo-democratism, the theoretical acceptance of the sovereignty of the people and the constant invocation of the popular will, the confirmation of which is often sought in manipulated plebiscites. (See *Caesarism.*)

BORNEO, island in the East Indies, 290,000 sq. m., population about 3,050,000. The greater part of the island (208,000 sq. m., population 2,200,000) is Dutch (see *Indonesia, Netherlands*), but the northern coastlands are British. They are divided into the protected state of Brunei (2,000 sq. m., population 48,000) and the colonies of North Borneo (29,000 sq. m., population 270,000) and Sarawak (50,000 sq. m., population 500,000). The population consists mainly of natives of Borneo and of Malaya, but there are large numbers of Chinese immigrants, in whose hands is much of the trade.

The government of British Borneo was reorganized after the territories had been cleared of the Japanese who had occupied them in World War II. Brunei remained a native state under its Sultan, who in most matters is controlled by the British resident, but North Borneo and Sarawak, which had also been protected states, were converted into colonies. North Borneo had been administered since 1886 by the British North Borneo Company. In 1946 the company's rights were transferred to the Crown and the administration was vested in a governor aided by an Advisory Council nominated by him. At the same time the island of Labuan (population 9,000), which had been attached to the Straits Settlements, was united to North Borneo. Before 1946 Sarawak had been ruled by the 'White Rajahs', the Brooke dynasty founded in 1841 by Sir James Brooke, who obtained the territory from the Sultan of Brunei. In 1946 Rajah Sir Charles Brooke ceded Sarawak to the Crown, despite the opposition of his brother and nephew and of a majority of the native members of his Council of State.

BOURBONS, the members of the Bourbon dynasties formerly reigning in France, Spain and Naples. The older line of the French Bourbons, which had been overthrown by the French Revolution and restored in 1815, was deposed again in 1830, when it was superseded by the younger line of Bourbon-Orléans, under Louis-Philippe. He in turn was deposed in 1848. The French royalists were split into the Legitimists, who adhered to the older line, and the Orléanists, until the older line became extinct in 1883. From that time onwards, most French royalists have recognized the head of the Bourbon-Orléans line as pretender to the French throne. The present pretender is Henry, Count of Paris, known to royalists as 'Henry VI', born July 1908, the son of the Duke of Guise, 'John VIII', who died in 1940. The pretender has nine children.

The Spanish Bourbons are descended from the older French line and were deposed in 1931. The present Spanish pretender is Don Juan, Count of Barcelona, second son of King Alfonso XIII (died 1941). Prince Xavier de Bourbon-Parma is a rival claimant. (See *Carlists.*) The Neapolitan Bourbons, a branch of the Spanish family, ruled Naples and Sicily from 1738 to 1860, when their kingdom became part of Italy.

The term 'Bourbons' is applied also to extreme conservatives and reactionaries. This use is a reference to the fact that after their restoration in 1815 many members of the family acted as though the French Revolution had not occurred.

BOURGEOISIE, French word for the middle class, adopted in its French form

by socialist (Marxist) terminology for the description of the urban possessing classes as a whole. They are held to comprise capitalists, manufacturers, merchants, bankers, generally all independent producers, traders, and employers, also directors and managers, and members of the professions with a corresponding income and social status, in contrast to the *proletariat*, the working class without any property, which lives on selling its labour. *Bourgeois* parties are, in this terminology, all political parties other than socialist or communist labour parties. The *bourgeoisie* is subdivided into the big and the petty *bourgeoisie*. The former comprises the big capitalists, financiers and leading industrialists, while the latter consists of artisans, shopkeepers, barkeepers and similar groups, according to more recent views, also white-collar workers and the lower middle-class intelligentsia. Certain philosophies and beliefs are held by the Marxian theory to be peculiar to the classes and sub-classes mentioned, and a pattern of behaviour described as the 'petty-bourgeois' one played a great part in communist propaganda in the years between the wars. The Marxian theory explains that the *bourgeois* class, promoted by the rise of industry and science, overthrew the obsolete feudal system and made itself the ruling class. Its rise was accompanied by the spreading of liberal ideas, which were the vehicle for the abolition of feudal restrictions on trade and for the expansion of capitalist economy. According to this theory it is the historical fate of the *bourgeoisie* to be overthrown in its turn by the proletariat; while defending itself against its would-be successor, the class abandons its liberal views and embraces authoritarian systems as a means of maintaining its rule. The petty *bourgeoisie* is expected gradually to become impoverished owing to the competition of large-scale production and to sink into the proletariat, while the big *bourgeoisie* becomes reduced to a small number of powerful 'monopoly capitalists' owing to the gradual elimination of all but the biggest by mutual competition. (See *Marxism, Monopoly capitalism*)

BRAIN TRUST, in the United States the nickname for a group of economists and business men who were unofficial advisers to President F. D. Roosevelt (q.v.) during the first years of his presidency and are believed to have greatly influenced his 'New Deal' policy (q.v.). The term has since been applied to other groups of experts believed to be influencing government. In Britain the term was adopted in the form of 'brains trust' and means a group of experts assembled to answer questions from the public, especially the British Broadcasting Corporation's brains trust.

BRAZIL, United States of, largest South American republic, 3,275,000 sq. m. (almost one-half of South America; Brazil is larger than the continental United States and almost as large as all Europe), population 46,200,000. The federal capital is Rio de Janeiro. The Brazilian population consists of approximately 51 per cent whites, 14 per cent negroes, 22 per cent mulattoes, 11 per cent mestizos, and 2 per cent Indians. There is no colour bar, but higher grades of whiteness are socially appreciated, and negroes form the poorest class of the people. Negroes are especially numerous in Bahia. There are 3,000,000 inhabitants of Italian extraction in Sao Paulo, about 1,000,000 of German origin in the southern states, and also 200,000 Japanese, but Japanese immigration is now restricted to 3,000 a year. The country, very rich in agricultural resources, rubber, timber, and minerals, is largely undeveloped. Manufacturing industry has increased in importance and now accounts for half the country's production.

Brazil belonged to Portugal from 1500 to 1822, Portuguese is the national language. In 1822 it became an empire under a scion of the Portuguese dynasty of Bragança. The second emperor, Dom Pedro II, was deposed by a revolution in 1889, and Brazil has been a republic since. The 1891 constitution, which was in force until 1930, was federal and modelled on that of the United States. Brazilian politics have for a long time been marked by the struggle between the central power and the twenty states, and by the antagonism between the states themselves. The jealously guarded autonomy of the states is enhanced by the great distances and poor communication. The differences between the states are great—in character of population, economic structure, culture, and, indeed, the dialects spoken. It is not very long ago that internal customs barriers between them were abolished.

Until 1930 Brazil was dominated by the Paulistas, the industrialists and coffee planters of Sao Paulo, together with the iron-mining state of Minas Geraes. In 1930 Dr. Getulio Vargas, a man of the agricultural Rio Grande do Sul, having failed as a presidential candidate, seized power by a *coup d'état*, abolished the constitution and set up a dictatorship Sao Paulo rose against him in civil war in 1932, but he maintained his position. In 1934 he called a constituent assembly composed of his adherents, which passed a new clerico-fascist constitution. In 1935 he used an alleged communist revolt to suppress potential adversaries; the communist leader, Luis Carlos Prestes, was later sentenced to no fewer than thirty-seven years' imprisonment. (He was amnestied in 1945.) Subsequently Vargas gave support to German Nazism and Italian fascism, and a domestic imitation of it known as integralism. At the end of 1937, shortly before the presidential election, Vargas carried out another *coup* and proclaimed another constitution, entirely totalitarian, which extended his term of office indefinitely and gave him absolute power. It provided for a chamber of corporations which was at an unspecified later date to be superseded by an indirectly elected parliament. This system was called *Estado Novo* (the new state) on the Portuguese model, and indeed 'new Brazilian democracy'. In 1938 Vargas, always strongly pro-American, began to turn away from foreign fascisms under pressure from the United States. He stopped the activities of foreign organizations and suppressed the integralists. He intensified Brazilian nationalism and made Portuguese the obligatory language of instruction in all schools; he also sent security forces to the German-inhabited southern regions. Economically, the country made progress under the Vargas administration. In 1942 Brazil joined the United States and the other Allies by a declaration of war on Germany, Italy, and Japan, and also took some military and naval part in the war.

After the war, however, Vargas decided to take a back seat. In May 1945 he announced his intention to retire, and in October the same year he was deposed by a strangely tame revolution. He had been in office for fifteen years. Important posts remained in the hands of his closest friends and collaborators, including General Dutra and Dr. Aranha. General Eurico Caspar Dutra, who had been Minister of War under Vargas and at one time had been said to be pro-German and pro-integralist, was made provisional President of Brazil with the support of a party calling itself social-democratic and of a new Brazilian Labour Party, the head of which is Vargas. A constituent assembly was elected in December 1945. It met in February 1946 and decided that the 1937 (fascist) constitution should remain in force until a new constitution should have been created; then elections should be held. However, when the new constitution had been promulgated, on 17 September 1946, the constituent assembly reorganized itself as the Senate (42 members) and Chamber of Deputies (280 members) for the current four-year term.

The 1946 constitution restores some features of the old pre-Vargas constitution. It provides for a senate and a chamber of deputies, popularly elected for four years by compulsory male and female vote for literate persons. (Sixty-six per cent of Brazil's population are illiterate.) 7,600,000 voters have been registered. The President is elected for five years, and may not succeed himself. General Dutra was elected President by the constituent assembly for the first five-year term, as from 31 January 1946. The constitution bans 'subversive doctrines', parties opposed to democracy or fundamental human rights (including private property), race or class prejudice and war propaganda. The most important parties are the Social-Democrats, led by President Dutra and Vice-President Dr. Ramos; the Brazilian Labour Party, led by Dr. Getulio Vargas; the conservative National Democrats, led by Mangabeira and Almeida; and the Communists, led again by Luis Carlos Prestes who was released from prison in 1945. The Communists were banned in 1948, but continue underground. Minor parties include the conservative Republicans and Agrarians.

Brazil's most important export is coffee; the fluctuations of the price of coffee have been responsible for many a Brazilian revolution. One-half of the foreign trade is with the United States; the second largest partner is Britain, while Germany normally comes third. Industrialization is progressing and increases the importance of labour problems. In accordance with current

Latin-American political practice, the parties leading in the post-Vargas régime took the names of labour parties, although they are not comparable to European parties of similar names. In foreign policy, Brazil is traditionally friendly with the United States, indeed more so than any other Latin-American country. This is partly ascribed to its particularly Portuguese character which separates it from the Spanish-speaking countries, and partly to a traditional fear of Argentina, though relations have much improved in recent years. Cultural relations are fostered with kindred Portugal, with which Brazil in 1943 made an agreement on the 'defence and extension of the Portuguese language'.

BRETONS, the Celtic inhabitants of Brittany in western France, estimated at 1,200,000, of whom 500,000 speak only Breton, the rest both French and Breton. The Bretons are not Celtic aborigines of France, but came to Brittany from Cornwall in the sixth century, being hard-pressed by the Anglo-Saxons. Their language is akin to Welsh, Gaelic, and Irish. In the years between the two world wars there existed a Breton movement for autonomy in France. During the German occupation of France in World War II, it developed into a separatist movement. After the war its leaders fled to Ireland France does not permit the use of the Breton language in schools and public offices. The Bretons call the region Breiz.

BRETTON WOODS AGREEMENT, an international agreement on the stabilization of currencies and on international loans, concluded 8 July 1944, by a United Nations conference on currency and finance held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire. U.S.A. Forty-four nations were represented, The agreement provides for an International Monetary Fund and an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

The Monetary Fund was fixed first at $10,000,000,000, later at $8,800,000,000 (then £2,181,000,000). The United States agreed to contribute $2,750,000,000, Great Britain's quota was $1,300,000,000, Russia's $1,200,000,000, China's $550,000,000, and France's $450,000,000. The rest was to be paid by the other participants. Non-members might join later. Each participant is to pay his contribution partly in gold, partly in his own currency. The proportion payable in gold is 25 per cent of each quota, but must not exceed 10 per cent of the participant's gold reserve. The gold quotas are to be in the custody of the five members paying the highest contributions. The other amounts are to be deposited with the respective member-states' own central banks.

The Monetary Fund is to be concerned with the stability of rates of exchange and with the free flow of international payments. Members undertake to abstain from any restrictions on mutual payments, as soon as they are satisfied that they can maintain international payments without currency control. War debts and war damages are not dealt with by the Fund. It may grant short-term loans in foreign currency to members. All currencies are expressed in gold or in dollars according to the existing parity. Members must not alter the gold parity of their currency, unless there is a fundamental disproportion in their balance of payments. If the alteration exceeds 10 per cent, it is subject to approval by the Fund. Disregard of this provision will entail expulsion from membership. If the five chief members agree, the Fund may decide on a general alteration of parities. The currency of a country which exports much but imports little may be declared to be scarce, and members may then restrict their purchases in that country by discriminating against imports from it until its balance of payments is in equilibrium.

The *Bank* has an authorized capital of $9,100,000,000 (then £2,255,000,000), of which the United States agreed to contribute $3,175,000,000, Britain $1,300,000,000, Russia $1,200,000,000, China $600,000,000, and France $525,000,000. The capital includes large amounts which the Bank may draw upon only in local currencies. The Bank is to aid the reconstruction and development of members' territories, promote private foreign investment, contribute to the long-range balanced growth of trade by promoting international investment and development, and make loans to private corporations if they cannot obtain credit elsewhere, if their governments guarantee the loans and if the Bank's experts approve the projects.

The ratification of the Agreement met with difficulties. Some states saw in it a guarantee for American financial supremacy, especially as the link with gold im-

proves the position of the United States as the world's greatest holder of gold. The link with gold was itself a deterrent to many, who feared that it might cause them to adopt the restrictionist financial policies of gold standard days. In the end, however, forty-five states joined each organization. Although a participant in the Conference, the Soviet Union did not ratify the Agreement.

BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA. (See *Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland,* and *Southern Rhodesia.*)

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH. (See *British Empire.*)

BRITISH COUNCIL, an agency established by the British government in 1934 to promote a wider knowledge of Britain and its culture abroad and to foster cultural relations with other countries.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA consists of:

Kenya, a Crown Colony and Protectorate, area 225,000 sq. m., population 4,047,000 of whom 34,000 are Europeans, 67,000 Asiatics, 21,000 Arabs, and 3,921,000 Africans, capital Nairobi. There are a governor, an Executive Council of officials and a Legislative Council of 11 Europeans, 1 Arab and 5 Indians, all elected, 1 nominated Arab, 4 nominated Africans and 15 officials. The extension of self-government is retarded by the racial problem. Britain is unwilling to give power either to the Europeans, lest they misgovern the Africans, or to the native population, lest the white minority be suppressed.

Uganda, a protectorate consisting of native kingdoms enjoying autonomy and areas governed by chiefs in the system of indirect rule (q.v.), area 94,000 sq. m., population 3,931,000 of whom 3,000 are Europeans, 27,000 Asiatics, and 3,901,000 Africans, capital Entebbe. The Legislative Council contains 3 Africans.

Tanganyika, a former German colony mandated to Britain by the League and now ruled under United Nations Trusteeship, area 360,000 sq. m., population 5,545,000 of whom 15,000 are Europeans, 50,000 Asiatics, and 5,480,000 Africans, capital Dar-es-Salaam. The Legislative Council contains 15 officials and 14 nominated unofficials—7 Europeans, 4 Africans 3 Indians. The Sukamaland Federation, a council of chiefs with extensive powers was formed in 1946.

Zanzibar, a sultanate under British protection, area (islands of Zanzibar and Pemba) 1,000 sq. m., population 250,000 of whom 200,000 are Africans, 34,000 Arabs, and 16,000 Indians.

Until 1945 the affairs of these territories had been co-ordinated by the Conference of East African Governors. In 1945 Britain proposed the formation of a High Commission of the three Governors (the Conference had been attended by the governors of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland as well) and a Legislative Assembly at Nairobi, containing 12 officials and 24 non-officials selected from the Legislative Councils. The Europeans criticized these proposals because in the Assembly there would be equality of racial representation. The composition of the Assembly was therefore revised so that there would be 7 officials of the central government, together with 1 official, 2 Europeans, 1 Indian and 1 African from each of the three territories (Zanzibar is not included). Despite criticisms from the Africans and Indians this scheme came into effect in January 1948. The new central government deals with defence, customs and excise, posts and communications, and other common matters. The inclusion of Tanganyika was later criticized by the Trusteeship Commission.

British East Africa is an important source of agricultural products and minerals. The chief exports are cotton, coffee, tobacco, tea, sugar, cloves, tin, diamonds and gold. Since 1945 the British government has engaged in the large-scale production of groundnuts (q.v.).

BRITISH EMPIRE, now known as the *British Commonwealth of Nations* or, for short, as the *British Commonwealth,* the total of British states and possessions in the world. The term *British Commonwealth and Empire,* coined by Winston Churchill, has also recently been used, *Commonwealth* referring to the self-governing member-states and *Empire* to the dependent colonies. The area of the British Empire as a whole is 13,290,000 sq. m., or one-fifth of the earth, and the population 565,000,000 or one-quarter of mankind. The Empire consists of the following parts: (1) the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (q.v.); (2) the sovereign and inde-

pendent Dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon (all q.v.); (3) South Rhodesia, not a Dominion but in certain respects treated like one; (4) the Colonial or Dependent Empire, consisting of the crown colonies, protectorates and mandated territories.

The British Commonwealth is a unique political formation. It is neither a state nor a federation, it has no written constitution, no central government or parliament, no common defence forces and no common executive power at all. It is a product of history and development, grown, not designed, and the relationship between its members is still in evolution. The self-governing Dominions were set up by acts of the United Kingdom Parliament in London, but have acquired sovereign status in the course of time. Until 1926 the Westminster Parliament was regarded as the source of all legislation in the Empire. It was, in theory at least, entitled to withdraw or alter the Dominions' constitutions which it had created, and it could use the royal prerogative in the dominions as an instrument of British supremacy, the King being the head of the Empire but at the time bound to act only on the advice of United Kingdom ministers responsible to Parliament. In point of fact no attempts to interfere with Dominion government or legislation had been made for several decades, but now formal law was brought into line with actual practice. After their great contributions in World War I, the Dominions urged the recognition of their equality and the abolition of the mother great contributions in World War I, however, the Dominions urged recognition of their equality and abolition of the mother country's supremacy. This was achieved at the Imperial Conference of 1926, which accepted the Balfour Memorandum, defining Great Britain and the Dominions as 'autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations'. The report added, however: 'The principles of equality and similarity, appropriate to status, do not universally extend to function.'

In the following years the policy of the Dominions aimed at the elimination of this clause and the formal abolition of the supreme jurisdiction of the Westminster Parliament. Sovereign functions were assumed step by step through practical measures within their own jurisdiction, while London's supremacy lapsed with the adoption of the Statute of Westminster (q.v.), prepared by the Imperial Conference of 1930, and enacted by the British Parliament in 1931. The Statute endorses the definitions of the Balfour Memorandum, but empowers the Dominions to abolish or amend any acts of the United Kingdom Parliament applying to them. No law of the London Parliament is henceforth to extend to a Dominion unless that Dominion has consented to it. The Colonial Laws Validity Act, providing for ultimate control of legislation from London, may not be applied to Dominions. Yet amendments to the Canadian constitution still require enactment by the Parliament of Westminster, Canada having herself insisted on this procedure under pressure from the French-Canadians who feared the privileges of Quebec might be endangered in case of full constitutional autonomy, since the French-Canadians are in a minority in the Dominion as a whole. (In 1949 the British Parliament empowered the Canadian Parliament to amend the constitution with regard to those matters assigned to the Federation.) The Statute also safeguards the Australian constitution; this provision was similarly inserted at the request of the Australians. Another vestige of apparent Dominion subordination to Britain survives in the function of the British Privy Council (q.v.) as the supreme court for all the Empire, including the Dominions. But the Council's Judicial Committee, which exercises this function, includes a judge from the Dominion concerned when hearing any case involving a Dominion. Moreover, the Dominions are free to abolish the right of appeal to the Privy Council—Eire did so before she withdrew from the Commonwealth and Canada has done so; the Constitution of Australia limits the right of appeal in that Dominion.

The Dominions incorporated the Statute of Westminster in their own legislation and proceeded to constitutional and administrative measures expressing their sovereign

status. To-day they are independent states, governed solely by their own governments and parliaments. Each Dominion is a separate member of the United Nations. In all Dominions, the system of government is democratic and parliamentary on the English pattern. The King may act in the affairs of a Dominion only on the advice of responsible ministers of that Dominion. The governments of the member-states are regarded as equal, and are styled 'His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom', 'His Majesty's Government in Canada', etc., respectively. The King is as directly King of Canada, Australia, South Africa, etc., as he is King of the United Kingdom. The custom of royal visits to the Dominions is developing. In each Dominion, the crown is represented by a Governor-General who exercises the royal functions, except when the King is in the Dominion. The Governors-General were until recently appointed by the King at the suggestion of the United Kingdom Government; now the Dominion governments themselves have the sole right of proposing candidates. The custom of appointing only Englishmen as Governors-General is lapsing. South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, and Pakistan now have Governors-General chosen from among their own citizens.

India (q.v.) was accorded Dominion status in 1947, being divided into the two Dominions of India (Hindustan) and Pakistan (Moslem India). On that occasion the transition from Empire to Commonwealth was enhanced by changing the name of the Dominions Office in London into Commonwealth Relations Office, and the title of the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs into Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. He is assisted by a Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations dealing especially with relations with India, Pakistan and Ceylon. The very name of Dominion may be replaced by Commonwealth State.

The Dominions reserve the right to decide on war and peace. They no longer enter a war of the mother country automatically as in earlier times, but convention requires a separate declaration of war by each Dominion, approved by its own parliament. The same applies to the conclusion of peace. A Dominion may even remain neutral. The Dominions entered World War II by their own decisions a few days after Britain had entered it. Only Eire stayed neutral; it regarded itself not as a Dominion, but as only 'externally associated' with the Commonwealth. The neutrality of a Dominion corresponds to the doctrine of the 'divisible crown', which has been propounded by groups in South Africa and elsewhere, and reduces the Commonwealth connection to a mere personal union such as that which existed between Britain and Hanover under the first Georges. The King might simultaneously be at war as King of Great Britain and at peace as King of a Dominion. In so far as he was still King of Ireland, this was what happened in World War II. It is argued against this view that there could be no question of a Commonwealth or Empire if this became the universal practice, and that the Commonwealth relation rests just on the fact that the Dominions make no use of their theoretical right to stay neutral, and the crown remains 'undivided' for all practical purposes. Indeed the neutrality of Eire heralded its secession from the Commonwealth, which was formalized by the Irish Act of 17 November 1948 (see *Eire*), although certain special relations with Commonwealth countries continued, including Imperial Preference (q.v.), and mutual treatment of resident nationals as citizens. The continuance of Commonwealth relations by republics, no longer linked to the British crown, initiated a new phase in Commonwealth policies. The Commonwealth Conference held in London in April 1949 agreed on a declaration, dated 27 April 1949, in which it took notice of India's intention to become a sovereign independent republic, and of India's desire 'to continue her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations and her acceptance of the King as the symbol of the free association of its independent member nations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth.' The declaration goes on to say: 'The Governments of the other countries of the Commonwealth, the basis of whose membership of the Commonwealth is not hereby changed, accept and recognize India's continuing membership in accordance with the terms of this declaration. Accordingly, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan, and Ceylon hereby declare that they remain united as free and equal members of the Commonwealth of Nations, freely co-operating in

the pursuit of peace, liberty, and progress.' Republican plans on a similar basis were also discussed in South Africa and Pakistan. Officially the London Declaration was hailed as strengthening the Commonwealth association, but there were also those who saw in it a serious loosening of this association. South Africa's General Smuts called it risky and 'a leap in the dark'.

The British dislike of abstract formulae and hard-and-fast paragraphs in constitutional questions (Britain herself has no written constitution in the usual sense) is reflected in the nebulous constitution of the Commonwealth, but so is the spirit of the British liberties. The crown has, until now, been regarded as the linchpin of the Commonwealth. The only other common institution is Imperial Conference, informal and taking place at irregular intervals. It consists of a meeting of all the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth in London. (Southern Rhodesia, which is almost as autonomous as a Dominion, also takes part.) The Conference has no legislative or executive powers and serves only for an exchange of views between the heads of the governments of the member-states. It has, however, laid down, intra-imperial constitutional policies in 1926 and 1931 and the conference of 1937 defined imperial foreign policy. Conferences of Commonwealth Prime Ministers or their representatives, described as Commonwealth Conferences, were held in 1948 and 1949 in London. Proposals to set up a joint Imperial Government or Parliament, or similar governing bodies for the Empire as a whole, have so far met with little response. An Imperial War Cabinet existed in World War I, but not in World War II. All Dominions are represented in London by High Commissioners, while the United Kingdom maintains High Commissioners in all the Dominion capitals. The Dominions have begun to exchange High Commissioners also among themselves. They also maintain their own legations in a growing number of foreign capitals. In questions of international policy the London Government keeps in close touch and consultation with the Dominion governments.

A common British subjecthood exists but the tendency is to subdivide it into local nationalities of the member-states. Formerly a British subject had the same status throughout the Empire. With their progressive emancipation, several Dominions introduced additional nationalities of their own, which left the citizen of the Dominion a British subject but gave him a special national status which did not automatically extend to every British subject arriving in the Dominion. Canada indeed differentiated between three classes of citizens, and Eire created a distinct new citizenship. With certain exceptions in respect of Eire, all British subjects continued none the less to receive equal treatment in all parts of the Empire, and Great Britain too treated all Dominion citizens as British citizens. This state of affairs continues; though some Dominions reserve special treatment of United Kingdom citizens, these are in practice placed on an equal footing with Dominion nationals. However, the British Nationality Act of 1948 (q v.) stipulated that nationals of the mother country and its colonies shall henceforth have a special status of 'citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies', and it was suggested that Dominion citizenships should in future be affixed in a similar manner to the universal title of 'British subject', also in those Dominions which had not yet established a formal nationality of their own. The British Act also provided that citizens of Eire should cease to be British subjects, except those resident in Great Britain. The latter had since 1939 been required to register like aliens, but otherwise had the rights and duties of citizens, including liability for military service. The Indian Prime Minister, Nehru, announced in 1949 that there would be no common citizenship between India and the Commonwealth. After the London Conference the South African Prime Minister, Malan, declared that there was no longer a common citizenship of Commonwealth countries, and South Africa adopted a law requiring Commonwealth citizens to live in South Africa for five years before they could be naturalized, like aliens. But the actual equality of Commonwealth citizens in South Africa continues.

The cohesion of the British Commonwealth and its power of defence have not so far been seriously affected by its loose organization. Commonwealth cohesion rests to a large extent on *imponderabilia*, on spiritual factors, on the British traditions of the English-speaking population

and the community of outlook. (The imperial feeling of the French-Canadians and the South African Boers is cooler, indeed, cool, as is that of the peoples of the new Asian Dominions also) No less important are the common interests of an economic and military nature which bind the Commonwealth together, but if it were not for the non-material factors mentioned before, America might well take England's place in this respect. Indeed relations between the Dominions and the United States have become closer in recent years, though without the emergence of any serious tendency to secession from the Commonwealth.

The Dominions are economically linked with the mother country by preferential tariffs. (See *Imperial Preference*) Despite their vast spaces and small populations Canada, Australia and South Africa have been restricting immigration since World War I. The British peoples do not want large scale non-British immigration, would-be British immigrants have not been very numerous and have not been welcomed by non-British residents, moreover, organized labour has not wanted the competition of immigrants. After World War II, as after the previous war, plans have been made for large scale emigration from Britain to the Dominions. But Britain can ill afford to lose her younger and more enterprising citizens, so 'community emigration' has been suggested—whole communities, young and old people alike, would migrate. As yet, however, all the migration has been of individuals The redistribution of the British people among Britain and the non-Asiatic Dominions has been envisaged—the population of the United Kingdom would be reduced to about 35,000,000 and 15,000,000 would thus go to the Dominions. The migration of defence industries from vulnerable Britain has also been suggested. Yet such mass migration is scarcely probable.

The Dependent Empire is under the jurisdiction of the United Kingdom, save for Dominion mandates which are controlled by the Dominion. There are many forms of government within this Empire, and within each territory the relations between the Governor responsible to the British government, and the assembly representative of local opinion are continually developing. There are eight types of territory: (1) colonies with an elected Assembly and a nominated legislative council, e.g. Jamaica, part of whose government is selected from the Assembly; (2) colonies with a partly elected legislative council in which government nominees are in a minority, e.g. Gold Coast; (3) colonies and protectorates with a partly elected legislative council in which government nominees are in a majority, e.g. Sierra Leone, (4) colonies and protectorates with a wholly maintained legislative council, e g. Gambia; (5) colonies and protectorates without a legislative council, e.g. North Borneo; (6) mandates, e.g. Tanganyika; (7) autonomous states under native rulers, e.g. the Malay States; (8) condominia – the Sudan and New Hebrides.

Most of the dependent Empire is in the Tropics and therefore has a climate unsuitable to British settlement, save in limited areas, and inimical also to full development by the native inhabitants, at least until the health services available to them are improved. Until recently development has been left mainly to private enterprise, but in the last decade the British government has decided to promote extensive development, economic and social. In 1948 it convened in London an African Conference, attended by members of the Legislative Councils of all the British colonies in Africa. It discussed the economic, social and political development of these territories. (See *Colonial Development Acts, Groundnuts*) Among some native peoples, however, there is a tendency for this development to be regarded as exploitation, and in the West Indies, West Africa and Malaya British rule has been criticized from the standpoint of socialism, nationalism, or both. The grant of Dominion status to India, Pakistan and Ceylon, and of independence to Burma has encouraged nationalism in the colonies. In recent years, successive British ministries have increased the share of colonial peoples in the government of their territories. Among the obstacles to the grant of self-government are mentioned the social and economic backwardness of most colonies and the presence in many territories of very different peoples (thus in East Africa there are Africans and large minorities of Britons, Arabs and Indians; in Malaya there are Malays, Chinese and Indians). The communal problem—the problem of the plural society (q.v.) has an economic as well as a social aspect; often the minority is unduly important economic-

ally, thus in Malaya trade is largely in the hands of the Chinese. The extension of colonial self-government remains, however, official policy.

The Empire and Europe. The increasing association of Britain with western Europe (see *Western Union*) is likely to affect the evolution of the Empire. Although before World War II there was a tendency for the Dominions to be critical of British engagements in Europe, since it, they have seemed to favour co-operation between Britain and western Europe. Canada has indeed become a principal partner in the North Atlantic Treaty (q v.), which includes the countries of western Europe. As for the colonial empire, it is argued that many of the colonies could be more effectively developed if their development was linked with that of neighbouring French, Belgian, and Portuguese colonies; already Britain, France and Portugal have conferred on native welfare in West Africa, an Anglo-French Council has been formed for the Togo mandates, and the Caribbean and South Seas Commissions (both q v.) have been established.

Functional co-operation with other colonial powers should be distinguished from the transfer of the colonies to international control, or at least supervision. Such supervision or control was envisaged before and during the war by many British socialists. That it is envisaged by the governments of many countries has been shown in the General Assembly of the United Nations, where a number of states without colonial responsibilities have tried to obtain control by means of Article 73 (e) of the United Nations Charter. By that article colonial powers undertake to transmit to the Secretary-General information on economic, social, and educational matters in their non-self-governing territories other than the areas they hold under trusteeship, which are regulated by other Articles. Led by the Soviet group of states, a number of countries have tried to have this obligation to supply information extended to political and constitutional matters. This attempt, which might have led to attempts to exercise political control, has been resisted by the colonial powers, although they have informally supplied full information to the Library of the United Nations.

Distribution of the Empire throughout the world.

Europe. United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Channel Islands, Isle of Man, Northern Ireland, Gibraltar, Malta.

Asia. Aden, Borneo (Brunei, Labuan, North Borneo, Sarawak), Ceylon, Cyprus, Hong Kong, India, Malaya (Federation of Malaya, Singapore), Pakistan.

Africa. British East Africa (Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Zanzibar), British Somaliland, British South Africa (Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland), British West Africa (Cameroons, Gambia, Gold Coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Togoland), Mauritius, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, St Helena with Ascension Island and Tristan da Cunha, Seychelles, Sudan, Union of South Africa with South-West Africa

America. British West Indies and neighbouring territories (Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, British Guiana, British Honduras, Jamaica, Leeward Islands, Trinidad and Tobago, Windward Islands), Canada, Falkland Islands

Australasia and Oceania. Australia with New Guinea and Papua, British Pacific Islands (Fiji, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn Island, Solomon Islands, Tonga or Friendly Islands), Nauru, New Hebrides, New Zealand with Western Samoa

BRITISH GUIANA. (See *British West Indies*)

BRITISH HONDURAS. (See *British West Indies.*)

BRITISH LEGION, in Britain an association of ex-servicemen of both world wars, founded by Earl Haig in 1921. The activities of the Legion consist mainly in welfare and relief work in favour of ex-servicemen and their families.

BRITISH NATIONALITY ACT, in the British Empire (q.v.) an Act redefining British citizenship. Until the Act was passed in 1948 all citizens of Britain, the Dominions and the Colonies were British subjects; as such they had certain rights and duties in every territory subject to the British crown. Eire and Canada, however, defined a new citizenship, that of each of those countries, which was not automatically the status of any British subject arriving there. It was therefore decided in 1947 to reverse the existing system, whereby local citizenships were mere administrative subdivisions of British subject-hood and to prepare the way for a new system in which British subjects would be the sum of all those persons with local citizenships. The Act provides that a person recognized as a British subject anywhere in the Empire shall be so recognized everywhere; and that a new status, of 'citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies', should be estab-

lished as the third of the new local citizenships. It also provides that Eirean citizens cease to be British subjects, except those who are resident in Britain; and that a British woman marrying a foreigner shall no longer automatically lose her British nationality—but a foreign woman marrying a British subject shall no longer automatically become a British subject. Similar acts were passed by the Dominions

BRITISH PACIFIC ISLANDS, a number of groups of islands in the Pacific Ocean, administered by the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, who is also Governor of Fiji. The chief groups are:

1. **Fiji**, 7,000 sq. m., population 260,000, of whom 118,000 are Fijians, 120,000 Indians, 5,000 Europeans, and the rest of various races. The people enjoy a large measure of self-government under district and provincial councils.

2. **Tonga** (or **Friendly**) **Islands**, 250 sq. m., population 43,000 Tonga was an independent kingdom until 1899, when it became a British protectorate. Government is by the monarch, at present Queen Salote Tubou, and a legislative assembly of 7 nobles, 7 elected representatives of the people, 7 ministers, and the Speaker.

3 **New Hebrides** (q.v.), an Anglo-French condominium.

4. **Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony**, several groups of islands, population, 36,000, mostly Polynesians.

5. **British Solomon Islands Protectorate,** 12,400 sq. m., population 100,000, mostly Melanesians. (See *South Seas Commission.*)

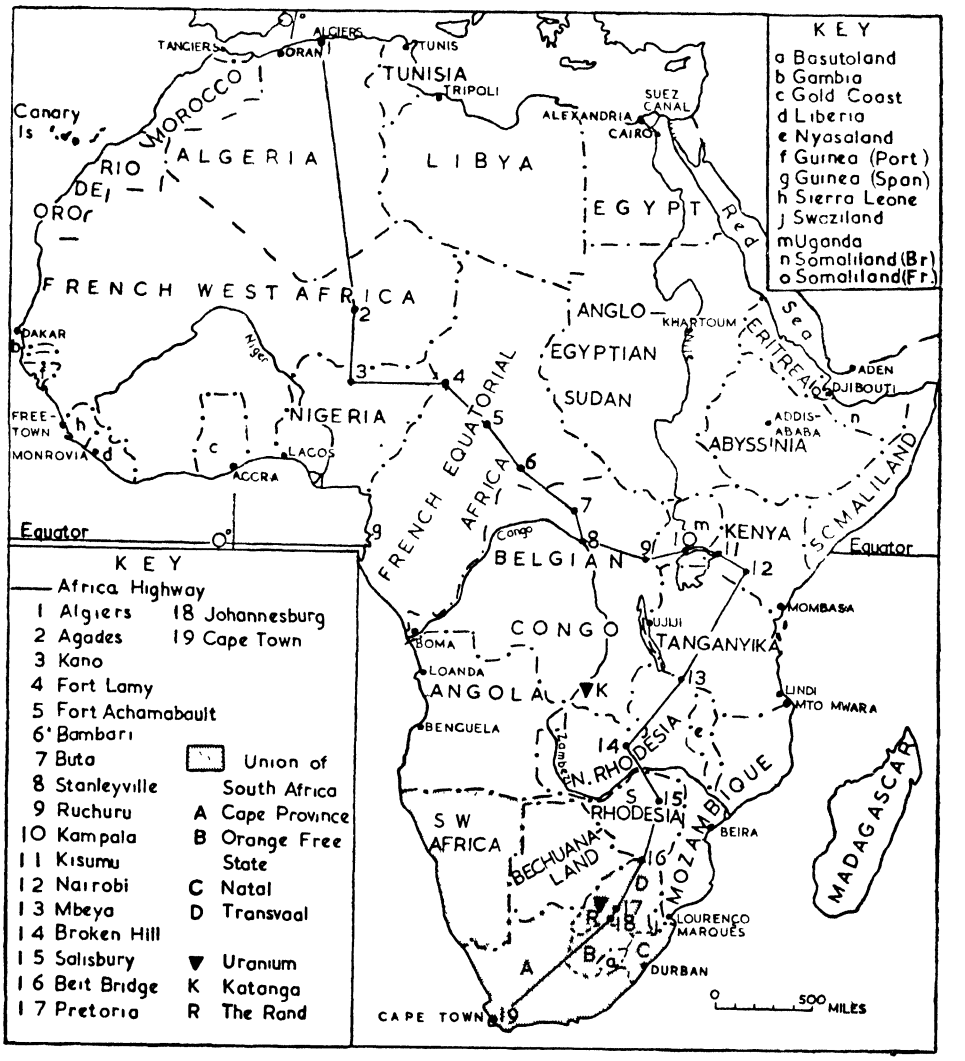
BRITISH SOMALILAND, a British protectorate in the north-east horn of Africa, 68,000 sq. m., population about 700,000, mostly nomadic tribesmen. The territory came under British protection because of its strategic position opposite Aden, and is administered by a Military Governor.

BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA, three protectorates in southern Africa, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland. The territories are controlled by the British government through its High Commissioner to the Union of South Africa, and administered by British officials and tribal chiefs and councils. Large numbers of the Africans go to work in mining and agriculture in the Union, and the government of the Union has claimed that these territories should be transferred to it.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA, four British territories on the west coast of Africa: Gambia (4,100 sq. m., population 244,000), Sierra Leone (30,000 sq. m., population 2,000,000), the Gold Coast (79,000 sq. m., population 2,600,000), and Nigeria (340,000 sq. m., population 22,000,000). Since 1919 Britain has administered for the League of Nations and the United Nations parts of the former German colonies of Togoland and the Cameroons, which were both divided between Britain and France. The population of the region is almost wholly African, the European and Asiatic settlers being a very small minority. The chief products are groundnuts (q.v.), palm oil and kernels, and cocoa; in addition, Sierra Leone produces iron ore, the Gold Coast manganese and Nigeria tin.

Each British possession consists of a coastal colony and an inland protectorate. It is ruled by a governor responsible to the British government, and aided by an executive council and a legislature. Successive British governments have aimed at steadily developing self-government. Until recent years reliance was placed chiefly on 'indirect rule'—the government of the natives by their chiefs and by tribal councils. These institutions were criticized by the small, but increasing, class of educated Africans, who wanted democratic institutions of the European type. Moreover, the impact of Western civilization especially the growth of urban industry and plantation agriculture, has weakened the tribe as a political and social unit. Partly as a result of this, considerable developments have taken place since World War II. In Sierra Leone an advisory assembly elected by the district councils (which represent different interests such as commerce and the trade unions) was established for the protectorate in 1946. In the same year the legislative council of the Gold Coast was reconstructed so as to have a majority of elected Africans, the first assembly in British Africa with such a composition. In 1947 Nigeria was given a legislative council, 24 of whose 45 members are nominated by the House of Chiefs, and the three regional assemblies (which have native majorities). Constitutional reform for both Nigeria and the Gold Coast was under discussion in 1949.

The return of ex-servicemen and the reduction of military expenditure in West Africa, which was an important base in World War II, has caused unemployment. Extensive agricultural development is being promoted (see *Groundnuts*), but to some Africans this has seemed mere exploitation. The returning ex-servicemen have contrasted their peace-time conditions of living with the better conditions they enjoyed in the forces, and have developed national and political consciousness through contact with other peoples. In February and March 1948 there were riots in several places in the Gold Coast. The agitation was led by the Gold Coast Convention, a nationalist organization whose secretary, Kwame Nrumah, is a communist and identified with the West African National Secretariat, a body aiming at the union of West African colonies in preparation for the establishment of a Union of West African Soviet Socialist Republics. The Inquiry Commission sent by the British Government recommended speedier social improvement and economic development. It assumed that Britain should remain in the Gold Coast until the majority of the people, of whom only 10 per cent are now literate, are sufficiently literate and politic-



Map IV. Africa

ally experienced for self-government. In the meantime central and local government should be reorganized to allow for increased African participation. There is a similar nationalist movement in Nigeria, led by Azikewe ('Zik'), whose policy is 'Africa for the Africans'. Zik is a member of the Ibo people, who are developing more rapidly than the other Nigerians. Among the Yoruba people, who fear Ibo domination, a more moderate movement has been founded by Sir Adeyemo Alakija, in order to educate the Yorubas and develop their institutions.

BRITISH WEST INDIES, six groups of islands in the Caribbean Sea: Bahamas, Barbados, Jamaica and neighbouring islands, Leeward Islands, Windward Islands, Trinidad and Tobago. In the same region are British Honduras in Central America and British Guiana in South America. To the north-west of the region is Bermuda, a group of islands off the coast of the United States. The economy of these territories is based on the export of fruit, sugar, molasses and rum; in addition, Trinidad produces petroleum, British Guiana bauxite, and British Honduras timber.

Each territory is a crown colony, ruled by a governor who is responsible to the British government and aided by an executive council and a legislature. The extent of popular participation in government has been increased in recent years. This process has gone farthest in Jamaica, where half the executive council is nominated by the elected House of Representatives, elected by adult suffrage. In that House the Labour Party has a majority (17 seats out of 32), and its leader, Alexander Bustamante, is Minister of Labour and head of the elected side of the government. In opposition is Norman Manley's People's National Party, a dissident Labour group with 13 representatives. Labour parties exist in certain of the other colonies also.

Since 1944 the British Government has been urging the colonies to co-operate and to work for federation, which, it is believed, would be the first step towards the establishment of a Dominion of the West Indies. In 1947 a Conference held in Jamaica recognized the desirability both of federation and of increasing self-government. It was decided to form a Closer Association Committee, to examine methods of co-operation, and a Central Body of Primary Producers, to aid agriculture. In 1947 also, federation upon a smaller scale was agreed upon by the Leeward and Windward Islands (which are themselves federations of individual islands), which decided to form a Caribbean Federation.

The West Indies have been called 'Britain's forgotten islands', because of the little that was done by Britain to aid them in the inter-war years. Reliance on the export industries has meant that the economic depression and World War II have badly affected the islands. The growing coloured population, which consists mainly of the descendants of negro slaves imported from Africa, together with Indian settlers, has suffered from poverty, malnutrition, disease and ignorance. The report of the 1938 Moyne Commission (published 1945) persuaded the British Government to promote social and economic development in the region, which has been allotted more money under the Colonial Development Acts (q v.) than any other group of colonies. In 1947 labour unrest was caused in several of the colonies by unemployment due to the return of ex-servicemen. (See also *Caribbean Commission, United States Possessions.* For Guatemala's claim to British Honduras see *Guatemala.*)

BRUSSELS, Treaty of, a treaty between Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg (all q.v.), signed at Brussels, 12 March 1948. It provides for the co-ordination of economic policies, co-operation in the attainment of higher standards of living, promotion of 'a better understanding of the principles which form the basis of their common civilization', mutual aid in the event of an attack on the European territories of any of the signatories, observance of the Charter of the United Nations (q.v.), creation of a Consultative Council, peaceful settlement of disputes between them, accession of other states to the treaty which is to remain in force for fifty years. The treaty is in pursuance of the policy of Western Union (q.v.).

BUDGET, the annual estimate of public revenue and expenditure for the coming financial year. To control public finance has always been a principal aim of repre-

sentative assemblies desiring to control the government, and a properly formulated budget is essential for this control. In all democratic countries the budget must be published immediately on presentation. In most countries the budget is prepared by the finance minister, assisted or controlled by parliamentary committees.

In Great Britain (q v.) the estimates of the departments of state are presented to the House of Commons, sitting in Committee of Supply, before Easter; in practice not the Estimates but the policies on which they are based are discussed and detailed examination of the Estimates themselves is left to a small Select Committee. After Easter the Chancellor of the Exchequer presents his taxation proposals to the House sitting in Committee of Ways and Means which debates policy, for not until later will the M.P.s have been able to reach opinions on the detailed proposals, which are then debated in the House. Sometimes a second budget has to be presented in the autumn. Only the government can propose increases of expenditure and taxation. Control of finance is reserved to the House of Commons alone—by long-established convention the Lords do not propose increases in expenditure or taxation and the Parliament Act of 1911 (q.v.) deprived them of the power to delay the enactment of a finance bill for more than a month. The Committee on Public Accounts, another small select committee of the Commons, and the Comptroller and Auditor-General, an official responsible to the House and not to the government, examine the accounts of the departments to ensure that there has been no waste or malpractice. To disclose the budget proposals before they have been submitted to Parliament is a grave offence—because he had made an accidental and vague disclosure, Dalton (q.v.) resigned the Chancellorship of the Exchequer in November 1947.

In the United States (q.v.) the Budget is presented each January to Congress. It is prepared by the Secretary of the Treasury, but is presented by the President, not in person but by a written message. Each House of Congress may increase, reduce, or delete items at its discretion.

BUFFER STATE, a small state between two larger states which is established or maintained (1) to prevent a disputed or strategically important territory from coming under the domination of either; (2) to forestall clashes between them by eliminating a common frontier.

BULGARIA, a republic in the east of the Balkan Peninsula, 42,600 sq. m., population 6,500,000, capital Sofia. Bulgaria was a kingdom until 1946. Successful in the first Balkan War against Turkey in 1912, Bulgaria lost nearly all its gains in Macedonia (q.v.) and Thrace to Serbia and Greece in the second Balkan War in 1913, also the Southern Dobrudja (q.v.) to Rumania. To regain these territories remained the main object of subsequent Bulgarian policy. In World War I Bulgaria sided with Germany for that reason, but collapsed, after initial success, in 1918. The Peace Treaty of Neuilly (1919) restored the 1913 frontier minus a Macedonian border strip which went to Yugoslavia (formerly Serbia), and a narrow exit to the Aegean Sea, which Bulgaria had kept in 1913 and which now went to Greece.

A 'green dictatorship' of the radical pro-Soviet peasant party under Stambuliski followed in Bulgaria, until it was overthrown by a military *coup d'état* in 1923, when Stambuliski was shot. An era of unrest and bomb plots was interrupted by a period of orderly parliamentary government under the democrat Lyapcheff from 1926 to 1930, when the world slump caused fresh trouble in the country which was dependent on agricultural exports. Communists and exiled Macedonians, living in Bulgaria, were mainly responsible for the political disturbances. In 1933 an officer's league known as the *Zveno* (the 'link'), with fascist tendencies, took power under Colonel Velcheff, who dissolved parliament and parties, suspended the constitution and suppressed the Macedonians. In October 1935 King Boris III, who had so far kept in the background, established his own dictatorship, dissolved the *Zveno* league, and had Velcheff sentenced to death. (He was later reprieved.) Elections to the *Sobranye*, the Bulgarian one-chamber parliament, were manipulated by the government, until the parliament elected in 1940 numbered only 20 opposition deputies as against 140 government deputies. The country drifted into Nazi Germany's sphere of influence, and introduced anti-Jewish laws under German pressure.

The other Balkan States (Yugoslavia, Greece, Rumania, Turkey) formed the Balkan Entente against Bulgaria's aspirations in 1934 (see *Balkans*), but permitted Bulgaria to rearm in 1938. In World War II she stayed neutral to begin with. She achieved the peaceful return of the Southern Dobrudja from Rumania in September 1940, enjoying the support of both warring sides and Russia. In March 1941 Bulgaria agreed to German forces using the country as a base for the attack on Yugoslavia and Greece, and was permitted in return to occupy parts of Yugoslav and Greek Macedonia in December 1941. Thereupon Yugoslavia and Greece declared war on Bulgaria, which in turn declared war on Britain and America, though not on the Soviet Union, which was still a very popular country in Bulgaria. As the fortunes of the Axis declined, internal tension mounted in the Balkan kingdom On 28 September 1943, King Boris lost his life in obscure circumstances; an accident was reported He was succeeded by his infant son, Simeon II, under a regency.

In the summer of 1944 the Russians occupied Rumania and appeared at the Bulgarian frontier. The Bulgarian Government asked Britain and America for an armistice on 26 August 1944, but the Soviet Union declared war on Bulgaria on 5 September 1944, so as to have a pretext for the occupation of the country by Russian troops. The Bulgarian Government immediately asked for an armistice from Russia also, and declared war on Germany, so long its ally. Meanwhile a communist-controlled 'Fatherland Front' was formed in Sofia, which removed the government on 9 September 1944, and set up a new one under Georgieff, the leader of the new *Zveno*, which re-emerged as a democratic party. The armistice was granted on 28 October 1944, on the basis of occupation by the Russians. The Fatherland Front was composed of the Communists, the Peasant Party and the Socialists. The new government sent an army to take part in the Russian campaign in Hungary.

Russia soon began to take Bulgaria under her wing and to support Bulgaria's territorial claims, except those directed against Yugoslavia. Bulgaria had to return the occupied territories, but was allowed to keep the Southern Dobrudja. Communist influence grew in the country, and undemocratic methods used by the Communists caused six non-Communist ministers to quit the government in 1945. The Communists set up rival parties, which called themselves the Agrarian National Union and the Social Democratic Party, like the parties which had gone into opposition, but these new parties were under Communist control. Elections held in November 1945 were boycotted by the opposition because of the methods employed The British and American ministers lodged a protest against the methods of the election and demanded a broadening of the government by the admission of other parties. The official Fatherland Front obtained 80 per cent of the vote. A plebiscite held on 8 September 1946 resulted in the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic King Simeon was deposed and the regency abolished. (The three war-time regents had been shot previously.) On 27 October 1946, a new election was held with unchanged methods of intimidation and persecution, which led to new protests by the United States and Great Britain The election resulted in 364 government deputies (including 277 Communists) and 101 opposition deputies being returned. The government front consisted of the Communists, led by Georgi Dimitroff, famous from the Reichstag Fire Trial (q.v.) in Germany in 1933, of the government Agrarians under Oboff (69 deputies); the *Zveno* under Georgieff and Velcheff who had reappeared (8), the government Socialists under Popoff (9), and the Radicals (1). The opposition was composed of the old Agrarian National Union under Petkoff, the old Social Democrats under Lulcheff, and a small Democratic Party. Petkoff, speaking in the name of the opposition, stated after the election that the opposition vote had been reduced from 60 per cent to 25 per cent by illegal manipulation.

The opposition was known to look to the West, while the government front took its cue from Moscow. In June 1947 Petkoff and a number of other members of the opposition were arrested, and the opposition press was banned. In August 1947 Petkoff was tried on a charge of treason and executed regardless of protests from the American and British governments. In November 1947 the Fatherland Front parties were fused into a single 'People's Organization'; provincial, municipal and

village soviets were established; and almost the entire industry was nationalized. A republican constitution on the 'people's democracy' pattern was adopted in December 1947. Bulgaria's admission to the United Nations was vetoed by Britain and the U.S.A. in 1947 because of the methods of government practised in the new republic. They protested against the methods applied at a trial of Bulgarian Protestant pastors, charged with treacherous co-operation with the West, in March 1949.

The **Peace Treaty of Paris,** signed 10 February 1947, confirmed the armistice terms; Bulgaria signed under protest. She kept the 1940 frontiers, including the Southern Dobrudja. Bulgarian claims to Greek territory on the Aegean Sea were backed by Russia, but turned down by the peace conference, as were also Greek counter-claims to an area north of the Rhodope frontier mountains. These territorial aspirations seem to smoulder on, however, on both sides. Bulgaria undertook to pay reparations of $130,000,000, to demilitarize its southern frontier, to limit its standing army to 55,000 men and its air force to 90 aircraft (no bombers). The treaty contains a human rights clause, obliging Bulgaria to safeguard the liberty of the individual. The Russian forces of occupation were withdrawn ninety days after ratification of the treaty.

The arrival of numbers of Russian 'settlers' in Bulgaria, especially the Dobrudja, was reported in 1947. On 1 August 1947 Bulgaria and Yugoslavia signed an alliance providing for mutual aid and an eventual customs union. Yugoslavia renounced $25,000,000 reparations from Bulgaria. Co-operation was provided for dealings with incidents on the Greek frontier. (See *Greece.*) Bulgaria concluded treaties also with Rumania, other Soviet satellites and the Soviet Union itself. Dimitroff's hint of a possible Balkans federation was censured by Russia, and the Tito (q.v.) conflict interrupted the Bulgarian-Yugoslav *rapprochement.*

Dimitroff died in Russia on 1 July 1949, and was succeeded as Prime Minister by Vasil Kolaroff. An election held on 18 December 1949 resulted in a 97·66 per cent vote for the 'Fatherland Front', the last remnants of the opposition having been abolished.

BURCKHARDT, Jacob Christoph, German-Swiss historian and philosopher of history, born 25 May 1818, at Basel, Switzerland, died there 8 August 1897. Burckhardt first studied divinity, then turned to history. His main interest was the history of culture and art, and his ideas on the philosophy and trend of history in general are strongly influenced by his aesthetic outlook. Scattered in many works without ever being brought into a system, these ideas—a pessimist's warning against the optimism of the age of progress—have been of great influence on contemporary political thought in Europe.

Burckhardt's political remarks are found especially in his *Reflections on World History* and *Historical Fragments.* He opposes the conception of history offered by Hegel (q.v.) who taught that history expresses a world plan and is fundamentally rational, and similar optimistic interpretations of history, together with the prognosis of constant progress derived from them. Marxism is an example. Instead of the millennium of progress, Burckhardt sees new historical cataclysms coming. In his view it is impossible to discover any meaning in history; if there is any such meaning, it is hidden from us. A sceptical positivism is the only defensible approach to history. This method will at least permit us to define certain typical phenomena which do not necessarily express laws of history but offer some guidance for the grouping of historical events. Burckhardt rejects the idea that political formations exhibit organic growth according to inherent laws. There are no unequivocal trends of development in history, he says, but there is only a jumble of unco-ordinated and often conflicting impulses of the most variegated nature, be they political, religious, cultural, national or universal. Occasionally all these trends converge for the good, but as a rule they clash with each other in a more or less fortuitous manner, and there is little moral or other meaning in the outcome. History is not steady progress, but an endless series of ups and downs with periodical catastrophe as a normal accessory. Neither is it the good cause that usually wins; more often than not the bad wins.

History is governed by three great 'potencies': state, religion, culture. (There is no mention of economy or biology.) Great crises occur inevitably from time to time in the shape of wars or revolutions. Every nation and civilization eventually

perishes, but another nation and civilization rise instead. The present age is one of cultural decay. Burckhardt opposes any extension of the power of the state, which he regards as dangerous to civilization. He also opposes democracy and universal suffrage, because in his view they tend to widen the sphere of the state. On the other hand he admits that only power can ensure law and order. He is anti-materialist and anti-revolutionary. Revolutions usually pass through three stages: paroxysm, stabilization and increasing return to the authoritarian methods of the former system, finally military despotism and often the restoration of the former régime.

The state is nothing to worship, but just a 'makeshift institution' for the maintenance of security. However, this liberal interpretation of the state does not lead Burckhardt to political liberalism. He views the rise of the masses with distrust and expects it to result in the levelling of culture. Burckhardt has strongly influenced Nietzsche and Spengler. His principal works, *Reflections on World History* and *The Culture of the Renaissance in Italy*, have been published in English. The political catastrophes of the twentieth century which accord with his prognosis, have revived interest in this thinker. Burckhardt insists that history must be taken for what it is worth and that after all reconstruction follows every disaster. Therefore 'man must never bear mankind a grudge or withdraw from it; he must persevere until the end'.

BUREAUCRACY, from French *bureau* and Greek κρατειν, to rule, a semi-ironical term for (1) the rule of a class of high officials; (2) that class itself. The term originated in France during the eighteenth century as a satirical name for officials who had been given titles of nobility (an allusion to aristocracy), and became the name of a system during the Napoleonic period when the units of the centralized administration of France were known as Bureaux. Bureaucracy means rule by officialdom. Its critics believe the bureaucratic system to be slow, mechanical, given to routine and rigid rules, narrow-minded, lacking in initiative and imperious toward the citizen, while its defenders regard it as the embodiment of purity and unselfishness, continuity and order, service and devotion.

Not only civil servants are spoken of as bureaucrats. The term is nowadays also applied to the bureaucracies of large organizations other than the state: the government-sponsored, semi-autonomous economic agencies of the type known in America as 'alphabet agency' (q.v.), the political parties, trade unions, industrial associations, huge banks and industrial corporations, etc. There has been much discussion on the influence of bureaucracy on government. Ministers are more often than not non-experts and change rather frequently; this is believed to enhance the influence of the high officials, who are permanently in the department and are experts. Generally speaking, the assumption of ever more numerous and complex tasks by the modern state is held to increase the power of the bureaucracy. This development is thought to reach its peak in planning institutions, and this is one of the main objections raised against planning and socialism. Defenders of a free economy fear that planning will result in the omnipotence of the bureaucracy and the elimination of freedom. An important sociological phenomenon is seen in the domination of mass organizations, political and industrial, by their bureaucracies. (See *Michels*.)

Trotsky (q v.) held that a 'dictatorship of the bureaucracy' had developed in Soviet Russia instead of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. This theory has been widened by various writers to a vision of a universal dictatorship of the bureaucracy as the future form of society. The bureaucracy, in its widest denotation, has been described as the emergent new ruling class inevitably destined to take over from the decaying *bourgeoisie* (q.v.). This is held to sound the death-knell for democracy, because the form of government appropriate to bureaucracy is believed by these theorists to be a dictatorial system of the fascist or communist type. The American, James Burnham (q.v.), has propounded a special variant of this doctrine, the theory of the 'managerial class' and the 'managerial revolution'. Whatever may be thought of these theories, all of which are recognizable as late mutations of Marxism (q.v.), it is certain that the position of bureaucracy in modern society presents an important problem.

BURKE, Edmund, British politician and political thinker, of Irish origin, born 12

January 1729, in Dublin, died 9 July 1797, at Beaconsfield, England, is regarded as one of the foremost theorists of British conservatism. In 1766 he was sent to Parliament for the Whigs (q.v.), the more liberal faction of the English aristocracy governing England after the 'Glorious Revolution'. His doctrines reflect the position of a party which has attained power by revolution and wishes to maintain itself by preaching conservatism. Burke gave support to the American, Irish, Polish and other struggles for freedom, but rejected the French Revolution and its principles. His *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) and *Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents* (1770) are his most famous books.

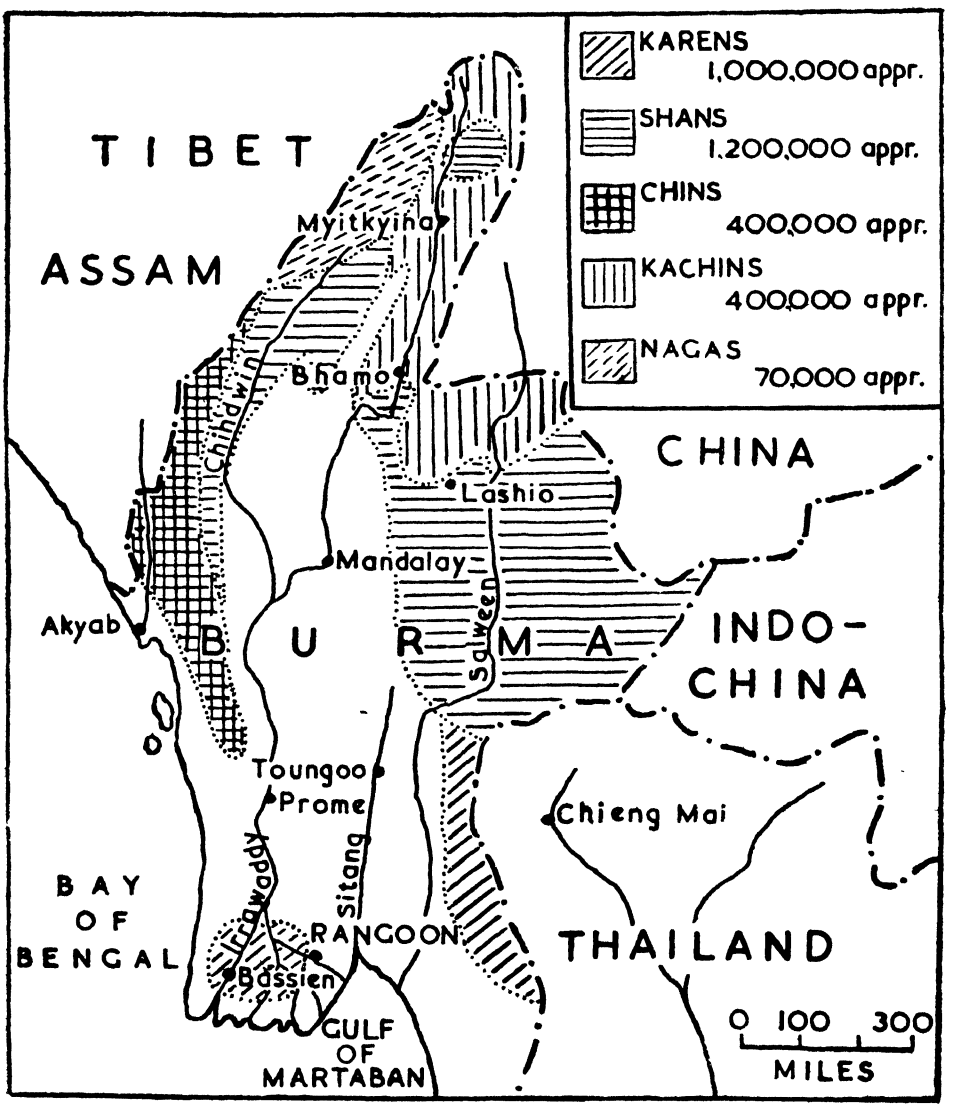
To Burke the state is a product of organic growth, not to be tampered with by doctrinaires. 'A country is not a blank on which anybody may scribble according to his liking.' History and tradition are the highest values. Political institutions are not justified by theories, but by the fact that they have been in existence for a long time and embody the experience of the nation. 'The individual is foolish; the multitude, for the moment, is foolish, when they act without deliberation; but the species is wise, and when given time to it, as a species it always acts right.' In the eyes of Burke, the conduct of politics is an art, based on instinct, a knowledge of human nature, and a flair for reality. It cannot be learned from books. Burke rejects all rational construction in politics, but favours gradual, organic progress. The aristocratic, oligarchic parliamentarism of his faction is his political ideal. He does not favour universal suffrage; only minorities can rule, he thinks, but they ought to do it in such a way that the country will follow them willingly, and to respect the basic civil liberties, especially the right of free speech. Church and religion are foundations of the state.

A nation is a political personality with definite sentiments and habits. Equality is a fiction; distinction of rank is a natural feature of society. In the last analysis society rests on prejudice, which is not to be rejected, because it is linked with deep feelings of love and loyalty. Prejudice has an instinctual basis and supplies the underlying structure of human personality, in comparison to which rational thinking and egoism are of slight effect. 'The state ought not to be considered as nothing better than a partnership in a trade of pepper and coffee . . . it is to be looked upon with other reverence; because it is not a partnership in things subservient only to the gross animal existence of a temporary and perishable nature. It is a partnership in all science, in all art, in every virtue and in all perfection. It becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born. Each contract of each particular state is but a clause in the great primeval contract of eternal society, connecting the visible and the invisible world.' On grounds of principle, Burke advocated the continuation of war against revolutionary France until his death; he propounded the 'principle of intervention' and the 'law of neighbourhood', which in his view justify interference with the internal affairs of another state if the latter has fallen under a reign of anarchy, tyranny or inhumanity. Burke is regarded by many as a typical representative of English political thought. He found admirers especially in Germany during the romantic period and has probably also influenced the state-worship of Hegel (q.v.). But Burke himself was not a totalitarian; although his language is often vague he distinguishes between the government and the manifold institutions and activities of a free people. In this he differs from the German idealists who were influenced by him. (See *Organic Theory of the State*.)

Burke's description of a party as 'a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest upon some particular principle upon which they are agreed' has become the classic definition. He was among the first to recognize that parties are essential to free government—previously they had been regarded as factions hostile to the public good, and this view persists not only among the enemies of free government but occasionally even among its supporters. To Burke is due also the most famous account of the duty of an M.P., whom he regarded not as a mere delegate of his supporters but as the representative of his whole constituency. Nor that alone—Parliament was not a congress of ambassadors of interests but the assembly of the nation for whose welfare it was responsible and its members had the duty of freely exercising their judgment without

subservience to the wishes of their constituents.

BURMA, Asiatic republic, 262,000 sq. m., population about 17,000,000, capital Rangoon. The ancient kingdom of Burma was conquered by the British, starting from India, in stages from 1826 to 1886. It formed a province of India up to 1935, when it was detached from India under the Government of Burma Act and set up as a separate entity within the British Commonwealth, with initial stages of self-government and a declared policy of developing responsible government. The races inhabiting Burma are different from those in India and separation fulfilled a wish of the population. The Burmans proper number about 9,000,000; they are an Indo-Mongoloid people. Mongol in appearance and Buddhists. Their language belongs to the Burman-Tibetan group and is remotely akin to Chinese. Theirs is an ancient culture in which Indian and Chinese elements are blended. Their standard of civilization is higher than that of the surrounding peoples:



Map V. Burma

850,000 children were attending school in 1940, and the position of women is comparatively emancipated.

Burma used to be divided into Burma proper (190,000 sq. m.) and the Shan States. The Shan States surround Burma proper in a semicircle, separating it from the neighbouring countries of India, China, Indo-China and Siam. The coast, however, belongs to Burma proper. The Shan States are inhabited by a number of tribes distinct from the Burmans and not always in sympathy with them. These 'hill peoples' include the Karens (variously estimated at 1,500,000 to 4,000,000), the Shans (about 1,000,000), the Chins (300,000), and Kachins (150,000). The thirty-four Shan States were federated under a Council of Chiefs with a British commissioner, and when the first Burman government was set up at Rangoon under the 1935 Act, it had no jurisdiction over the Shan States, which remained directly under the British Governor.

Under the Burma Act of 1935 the Governor appointed a Burman Government with limited powers; in case of need he was authorized to exercise government by himself. The legislature consisted of a House of Representatives with 132 members, elected on the basis of a limited franchise, and a Senate of 36 members, one-half of whom were appointed by the Governor. The Shan States were not represented. The leader of the Burman national movement, Dr. Ba Maw, became the first Prime Minister. He sympathized with Japan, and when the Burma Road was opened, he went into opposition. (The Burma Road connects south-west China with the coast. It was constructed 1936–8 to enable Anglo-American supplies to reach China in its struggle against Japan.) Ba Maw was succeeded by U Saw, who in October 1941 went to London to demand a promise of Dominion status after the war. The British Government refused and had U Saw arrested on his way back for conspiring with Japan. Shortly afterwards the Japanese occupied Burma, where they met with considerable sympathies. Ba Maw became once more Prime Minister under the Japanese, who also brought with them a Burman National Army under General Aung San, a young nationalist leader who had fled to Japan in 1940. As the war went on, an anti-Japanese trend emerged in the Burman national movement, and partisan armies took up the fight against the Japanese. After the collapse of Japan the British returned. In the last stage of the war Aung San had joined them with his National Army. A British White Paper of May 1945 stated that the 1935 constitution would remain suspended until new elections should become possible. Meanwhile the British Governor was to rule with the assistance of an appointed executive council of ten Burmans.

Yet Burman national consciousness had grown still stronger under the Japanese, and protests against this policy culminated in disorders. Ba Maw was arrested because of his collaboration with the Japanese, but was soon released. U Saw was appointed to the executive council. At a conference between the British Labour Government and Burman leaders, held in London in January 1947, it was agreed that a Burman Constituent Assembly should be elected, Great Britain undertaking to accept any constitution it produced if agreed to by all parties. The executive council was given the status of an interim government. The British Government said it hoped the Burmans would prefer Dominion status to secession from the British Commonwealth, but they would not be coerced. The Burman delegation was led by Aung San. The Constituent Assembly was elected in April 1947 and was composed of 173 A.F.P.F.L. (Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, a left-wing coalition under Aung San), 7 Communists, 4 Anglo-Burmese, 2 independents, and 24 A.F.P.F.L. Karens; the Myochit, Maha Bama (=Great Burma, led by Ba Maw) and Dobama Asiayone Parties boycotted them, as did the Karen National Union.

At the May convention of the A.F.P.F.L. a draft constitution was adopted: Burma was to be a sovereign and independent republic (the Union of Burma) consisting of Ministerial Burma (Burma proper), the Shan, Karenni and Kachin states and the Chin Hills District; the rights of individuals and minorities were to be guaranteed; government was to be by a President elected by a National Assembly consisting of a Chamber of Deputies (adult suffrage; secret ballot) and a Chamber of Nationalities (representative of Ministerial Burma, the states, national areas and national minorities—Ministerial Burma was to be

in a minority); for the Karens a separate state would be impossible—they were to have the rights of a National Minority and a Karen Affairs Council. In July the Assembly met and started to give effect to these proposals. On 19th July seven ministers were murdered by an armed gang—among the victims was Aung San. He was at once succeeded by Thakin Nu, Vice-President of the A.F.P.F.L. Energetic measures were taken to prevent disorder and to arrest the murderers and the instigators of the crime. Among the 800 arrested were U Saw, Ba Maw, and Thakin Ba Sein; in December U Saw and eight others were found guilty of instigating the murders and were executed. Ba Maw was freed.

Aung San's death did not impede the constitutional development of Burma, but it deprived the country of its most competent leader. He had not been a democrat in the western sense of the word—indeed, he had taken as his model the constitution and government of Yugoslavia and had condemned 'the old, time-worn democracy of the Anglo-American'—but he had been vigorous and strong, able to deal with a war-ravaged and politically immature country, most of whose politicians were incapable of honest and efficient government. Both urban and rural workers are discontented with their low standards and since the end of the war large areas have been the prey of armed bands.

In September the constitution was addoted and in October Thakin Nu signed an agreement with Attlee in London providing for British recognition of Burmese independence in January 1948, for co-operation in the defence of Burma, and for repayment by 1972 of Burma's debt (reduced by one-third) to Britain. The Burma Independence Bill implementing this agreement was enacted by the British Parliament in December, after the conservatives had criticized it as a reckless abandonment of responsibilities. In Burma the financial and defence agreements were criticized as perpetuation of British control. On 4 January 1948 Burma became independent, her first President being Sao Schwe Thaik. Representatives were exchanged with several states and in April Burma joined the United Nations.

The achievement of independence has not ended Burma's political troubles. In Central Burma the Red Flag Communists, led by Thakin Than Tun, have established a government and are waging guerrilla warfare. In an attempt to deprive them of support Thakin Nu has tried to form a Marxist 'United Front' but has been opposed in this by some of his supporters. Bo La Yaung and a majority of the People's Volunteer Party (a member of the League) want to negotiate with the communists. On 13 June Thakin Nu announced his new policy: the abolition of capitalists and landlords, state control of foreign trade, the propagation of Marxism by the League, friendship with the U.S.S.R. but continued resistance to the communists. In accordance with a promise made earlier in the year, he resigned on 20 July, but was persuaded to remain in office.

Fighting with communist guerrillas continued early in 1949, and a growing state of anarchy was reported from Burma. A Karenni rising, led by the Karen National Union, broke out in March 1949 and was reported to be supported by the communists. The Karens occupied considerable sections of the country. On April 6, an agreement was reached between the government at Rangoon and the Karens, providing for an autonomous Karenni state within the Burman Union. Fighting, however, continued with varying fortunes. The socialists left the government of Thakin Nu, which remained composed only of independents and frontier area representatives. Various socialist and other organizations took control of important areas, including the oilfields, and the situation became somewhat chaotic. The Burman socialists hailed the communist victories in China. The Karens formed their own national government under Saw Ba U Gyi. The Rangoon government appealed for aid to Britain, India, Pakistan, and Ceylon, and assistance from these Commonwealth countries, not including the despatch of troops, was agreed upon in May 1949. The internal war in Burma continued throughout 1949.

BURNHAM, James, American sociologist and political thinker, born 1905 in Chicago, educated at Princeton and Oxford, member of the Philosophy Department of New York University since 1933. From 1933 to 1940 he was active in the radical labour movement as a communist, then as an exponent of Trotskyism (q.v.), edited *The New International*, the journal of the Trot-

skyites, finally turned away from all shades of Marxism to develop his own political theory.

In his book, *The Managerial Revolution*, (1942), he explains that a new ruling class, the managerial class, has formed or is forming, and will succeed the middle class or *bourgeoisie* (q.v.) in the leadership of society. The managerial class consists of administrators, technicians, the higher governmental and organizational bureaucracies, including those of economic agencies of the state, large companies, labour unions, etc. This class, and not the working class as assumed by Marxism, is to succeed the present ruling class. Socialism will not produce a classless society, but managerial society. Its economic system is a planned economy, its political system is a dictatorship of the fascist or communist type. Even the New Deal in America is managerial. The theory is a variant of the recent doctrine of the dictatorship of the bureaucracy (q.v.). In Britain some critics of socialism have discussed the present Labour government in Burnham's terms (e.g., D. McI. Johnston, *The End of Socialism*, and C. Hollis, *The Rise and Fall of the Ex-Socialist Government*).

A second work, entitled *The Machiavellians* (1943), deals with the theories of a group of political thinkers whom Burnham calls the Machiavellians, viz. Machiavelli himself, Mosca, Sorel, Michels and Pareto (all q.v.). Burnham agrees with the scepticism of these political theorists concerning the possibilities of democracy and the introduction of reason or ethics into politics, but reaches the conclusion that fundamental democratic rights must be none the less defended. While most democratic slogans are unrealistic, he says, the right to opposition is the real core of democracy. It prevents the unbridled dictatorship of the rulers and permits the smooth replacement of bad leadership. Freedom is best served by a system in which manifold social and political forces are balanced.

In *The Struggle for the World* (1947) Burnham discusses international affairs. He considers that the ideal settlement would be the establishment of a world state dedicated to freedom, but that the practical alternatives are very different—communist domination or a relatively free American empire. The United States should enter into union with the British Commonwealth, promote a European federation, and rally the rest of the world against Russia. Boldness may prevent open war, but a state of conflict between America and Russia is already in being.

BUTLER, Richard Austin, British conservative politician, born 1902. He was Under-Secretary for India 1932–7, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour 1937–8, Foreign Under-Secretary 1938–41, President of the Board and then Minister of Education 1941–5 (when he was largely responsible for the Education Act of 1944), and Minister of Labour May–July 1945. He was Chairman of the Conservative Party's Post-War Reconstruction Committee, and was largely responsible for the Industrial and Agricultural Charters. (See *Conservative Party.*) He is regarded as one of the leaders of the social reform and moderate economic control section of the party.

BY-ELECTION, the election of a member of a representative body to fill a vacancy that has arisen through death or resignation during the normal term of the representative body. A by-election is held only in the constituency concerned, while a general election takes place in all constituencies.

BYELORUSSIA. (See *White Russia.*)

C

CABINET, term applied to a country's government, especially its chief ministers. In *Great Britain* the Cabinet consists of the principal ministers, although its exact composition is determined by the Prime Minister (q.v.), on whose advice the other ministers are appointed by the King. The Cabinet has developed from an informal committee of the King's chief advisers to the most powerful body in the British constitution. Not until the Ministers of the Crown Act of 1937 was the Cabinet mentioned in a statute. No minister can claim membership of the Cabinet merely because of the office he holds, although certain ministers—the Lord Chancellor, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the chief Secretaries of State, and the ministers concerned with the main social services and economic functions of government—are usually included, together with a few ministers without heavy departmental duties (such as the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord President of the Council, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster) who are free to deal with special problems or to co-ordinate ministries dealing with related subjects. Besides the cabinet ministers there are 'Ministers of Cabinet rank', whose functions in the government are not important enough for them to be full members of the Cabinet but are more important than those of such ministers as the Paymaster-General, whose office is a minor one except when held by a minister charged with special responsibilities. 'The government' also includes the Under-Secretaries of State, the Parliamentary Secretaries, the Financial Secretaries and persons of similar rank, who are all assistants to ministers, as well as the four Law Officers and certain members of the Royal Household. The Prime Minister and Lord Chancellor each receive a salary of £10,000 a year; other Cabinet Ministers and ministers of Cabinet rank receive £5,000, the Minister of Pensions and the Ministers of State £3,000, the Law Officers between £2,000 and £4,000, and the assistant ministers between £1,500 and £3,000. Parliamentary Private Secretaries, who are appointed by individual ministers to help them, are not paid and do not rank as members of the government.

The extent to which the Prime Minister will control his cabinet is dependent on the personalities of that Minister and his colleagues, but by virtue of his office, to which of course he has usually attained by his ascendancy in the party forming the government, the Prime Minister is in a powerful position. By convention a minister who refuses to accept the Prime Minister's decision must resign and the Prime Minister's own resignation is regarded as the resignation of the whole government. It is true that he must choose colleagues who command the support of Parliament (i.e. in practice, his own party), but he has a wide field of choice both at the time of taking office and during his tenure of it. The Prime Ministers of the 1930s were able to dispense with the services of Churchill and Amery and to survive the resignation of Eden (q.v.), Cranborne (see *Salisbury*), and Duff Cooper; Attlee has been able to dismiss Greenwood (q.v.). The principle of collective responsibility (q.v.) prevails, i.e. the government as a whole is responsible to Parliament for the political actions of each member (unless that member is forced to resign) and each member is responsible for the policy of the government as a whole unless he resigns. Cabinet proceedings are secret. (See *Privy Council.*)

The size of the Cabinet has tended to increase as the state has provided more social services and concerned itself with more of the nation's economy. In the late nineteenth century it varied between 12 and 19, in the inter-war years between 20 and 22. During World War I a small War Cabinet was formed and this precedent was followed by Churchill in 1940, but his Cabinet gradually increased in size until it numbered 16 members. When formed, the

Attlee Cabinet numbered 20 but it has been reduced to 17. A large Cabinet has the disadvantage of being unwieldy, although the committee system developed in recent years has greatly reduced the importance of this disadvantage, but a small policy Cabinet has been less effective than its advocates have hoped because of the impossibility of divorcing policy from administration. To solve this problem it has been suggested that the number of departments, and hence of ministers, should be greatly reduced by re-allocating the functions of government rationally between about a dozen ministries as was recommended by the Haldane Committee of 1918. No radical reorganization of this kind has been attempted—it would temporarily dislocate government—but there have been partial reforms (see *Imperial Defence* for an example).

An important innovation designed to aid the Cabinet in the performance of its tasks was made in 1917, when Lloyd George, then Prime Minister, established the Cabinet Secretariat to prepare the agenda of Cabinet meetings, to record Cabinet decisions and make sure that the departments concerned executed them, and to prepare memoranda on questions to be discussed at Cabinet meetings. From the Cabinet Secretariat, under the Prime Minister, and other bodies, there have developed important research and information services directed by the Lord President of the Council.

In the United States (q.v.) the term 'cabinet' applies to the government as a whole and means the president and the heads of the ten departments who are neither members of Congress nor responsible to it. Decisions are constitutionally those of the President, who often disregards his cabinet's advice in a way unknown to the British Premier.

CAESARISM, a system of government modelled on that of G. Julius Caesar in ancient Rome, or the tendency to set up such a system. Caesarism is a semi-popular form of dictatorship; its bearer is not descended from a legitimate dynasty, in contrast to the absolutism (q.v.) of legitimate monarchs. He assumes government not by heredity or free election, but by forcible seizure of power with the aid of the army, a party or a section of the masses. He relies on these elements also when in power, usually expressing a degree of egalitarian and social feeling; he protects the propertied classes against the poor, but restricts their power and privileges; he maintains that his power is derived from the people whom he claims to represent. Caesarism often preserves external forms of democracy and works with make-believe parliaments, elections and plebiscites. In reality it is a dictatorship. Caesarism emerges especially after revolutionary upheaval and great crises, the leading personalities being successful generals or, more recently, party leaders who have organized Caesarist mass movements. Bonapartism (q.v.) and the totalitarian dictatorships of our age are considered variants of Caesarism. The German political philosopher, Spengler (q.v.), held that Caesarism is the predetermined form of government for the whole period of history which is now beginning, and bound to supersede democracy. He believed that it emerges in all civilizations at a certain stage of development. This view is, however, opposed by other students of history.

CALIPHATE, the office of the Caliph, the head of the (Sunnite) Moslems. The caliphate has been vacant since 1924; the question of its revival is of considerable significance to the Islamic world. The Caliph is not, as is frequently assumed, the spiritual head of the Moslems, but their supposed temporal ruler. He has no pontifical or other religious powers and no authority in questions of doctrine. The latter are decided by learned religious officials known as the Ulemas and Muftis; in the days of the Turkish Sultan-Caliphs there used to be a supreme official of this type, known as the Sheikh el Islam. He might be regarded as the religious head of Islam, but his authority was limited by the fact that he was appointed, and could be deposed, at the Sultan's pleasure. The Turkish Republic abolished both the caliphate and the office of Sheikh el Islam, and set up a Department of Religious Affairs instead.

The Caliph (from Arabic *khalifa*, deputy) is according to the original conception the deputy of the Prophet and therefore the actual ruler of all Moslems, the head of the Islamic universal monarchy. He bears the title *Emir el Mu'minin*, Commander of the Faithful. His task is the internal centraliza-

tion and external defence of Islam. He rules the state and wages war, especially the *Jihad* or Holy War into which theoretically all Moslems have to follow him. His government is by nature absolute. He does not interfere with religious affairs except by the adjustment of details of canonic institutions, such as prayer, marriage, and contracts, but this right is not universally recognized. The caliphate was a political reality only in the days of the early Arab empire and approximately again at the height of Turkish power. Otherwise it remained a more or less theoretical entity which was unable to prevent the numerous wars within the Moslem world. There were indeed rival caliphates, e.g. the caliphate of Cordoba, Spain, which survives in the title of the Sultans of Morocco (q.v.) who also style themselves *Emir el Mu'minin* and appoint their own Sheikh el Islam. After the twelfth century the Arab caliphate declined; it continued a shadowy existence until the beginning of the sixteenth century, the caliphs being taken from the House of the Abbasides. Then Sultan Selim took over the caliphate from the last Abbaside Caliph in Cairo, and the office became hereditary in the House of Osman, being linked with the Turkish sultanate. The Sultan was automatically also Caliph. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries European, particularly Russian, diplomacy gave the caliphate new prestige by recognizing the Sultan, on the basis of a fallacious parallel with the Pope, also as the spiritual head of the Moslems outside Turkey. Sultan Abdul Hamid II used this gratuitous pontificate for the promotion of Turkish imperial policy and pan-Islamic propaganda. In the long run, this failed to stop the decline in the significance of the caliphate; the Sultan-Caliph's call to a Holy War in 1914 met with little or no response.

On 1 November 1922, the Turkish National Assembly at Ankara deposed the last of the Sultans, Mohammed VI, and provided for the caliphate to be filled by a Prince of the House of Osman to be chosen by the Assembly. The Sultan challenged the right of the National Assembly to decide on the caliphate, but abdicated as Caliph and designated the Arab King of Hedjaz and Sherif of Mecca, Hussein ibn Ali of the House of the Hashimites, as his successor. Yet Ankara appointed a different candidate, the Turkish Prince Abdul Mejid. His nominal caliphate was of short duration, for on 3 March 1924 the National Assembly abolished the Turkish caliphate altogether by a stroke of the pen. Two days later King Hussein of Mecca proclaimed himself Caliph; but in the following October he was ousted by Ibn Saud (q.v.) and abdicated both as King and as Caliph. His son Ali, who for a short time nominally succeeded him on the throne, no longer assumed the title of Caliph. The caliphate has been vacant since. For a time the Indian Moslems worked for its restoration, but this plan was frustrated by the disunity of the Islamic world and the jealousy of the Arab kings. A caliphate congress was held in Cairo in 1926 without result; it stated that the rise of nationalism among the Moslem peoples had displaced the *omma*, the religious universalism on which the idea of the caliphate is founded, and that a decision on the caliphate was not appropriate for the time being. There were suggestions to elect a caliph as a purely spiritual head, but they were turned down as contradictory to the essence of the caliphate. King Farouk of Egypt and King Ibn Saud are believed to be possible candidates for the caliphate if it should be revived; the exiled Hashimites of Mecca, to whose house the dynasties of Iraq and Transjordania belong, and the exiled last Turkish Caliph may still raise claims to the caliphate.

The Shiite Moslems regard the Sunnite Caliph as a usurper; according to their doctrine the caliphate is due to the Imam, the re-incarnation of the Prophet in the offspring of his son-in-law, Ali, whose house became extinct about A.D. 900 (the end of the 'visible Imams'), but whose descendant will return one day (the 'invisible Imam'). Some sects regard living persons as Imams; this is the case with the Ismailites, whose Imam is the Aga Khan (q.v.). In contrast to the Caliph, the Imam is also the spiritual head of Islam in the Shiite interpretation.

CANADA, Dominion of, member of the British Commonwealth, 3,695,000 sq. m., population 12,883,000. The federal capital is Ottawa. By the British North America Act of 1867 five Canadian provinces were federated into the Dominion of Canada; in the following years the other existing provinces joined and new ones were created in the Prairies. The federal legislature con-

sists of the King, represented by a Governor-General appointed by the King on the advice of the Canadian government, a Senate and a House of Commons. The Senate has 96 members (8 more may be appointed to resolve deadlocks between the two Houses) appointed for life by the Governor-General to represent the provinces—Quebec 24, Ontario 24, New Brunswick 10, Nova Scotia 10, Prince Edward Island 4, British Columbia 6, Manitoba 6, Alberta 6, Saskatchewan 6, Newfoundland 6. In the House of Commons representation is based on population—Quebec 73, Ontario 83, New Brunswick 10, Nova Scotia 13, Prince Edward Island 4, British Columbia 18, Manitoba 16, Alberta 17, Saskatchewan 20, Yukon 1, and 7 for Newfoundland. Like Britain and the other Dominions, Canada has a parliamentary form of government. The provinces each have a Lieutenant-Governor representative of the King but appointed by the Governor-General, and a unicameral legislature (except in Quebec, where there are two chambers). They enjoy a considerable amount of autonomy, although their powers are limited by the constitution which allocates to the federation all powers not explicitly reserved to the provinces. The federal government can annul provincial legislation but this power of disallowance is rarely exercised nowadays. Until 1949 the constitution could be amended only by the British Parliament, this procedure being due to the French-Canadians' fear that their rights might otherwise be restricted by the local British majority; in practice the British Parliament acted as requested by Canada. In 1949 the British Parliament passed an act empowering the Canadian Parliament to amend the constitution with regard to those matters assigned to the federation, the powers vested exclusively in the provinces being safeguarded. (For the accession of Newfoundland, see *Newfoundland.*)

Of the population, 9,375,000 (82 per cent) are Canadian born, 1,027,000 (8 7 per cent) other British born, 300,000 (2 7 per cent) United States born, while the rest come from other countries. 5,716,000 (50 per cent) are of British origin and 3,483,000 (30 per cent) are French Canadians. Some 500,000 Canadians are of German, 250,000 of Scandinavian, 300,000 of Ukrainian and 212,000 of Dutch origin, to mention only the largest of the minor groups. The French Canadians live in rather compact areas in the province of Quebec and adjoining regions. Through provincial self-government and special privileges dating back to the Quebec Act of 1774, they enjoy extensive national autonomy. They have preserved the language and culture of pre-Revolutionary France and French Canada gives the impression of a French land. There are two French universities in Canada. The French settlement dates from the period of French rule over Canada until 1763. In contrast to the French of the motherland, the French Canadians are distinguished by a high birth rate; it is so much higher than that of Anglo-Saxon Canadians that the French may become numerically equal to the Anglo-Saxon population within half a century unless there is substantial British immigration. Canada's immigration policy has not encouraged non-British immigration in recent years, and the number of immigrants has been small for a long time. Now plans for increased immigration, mainly from Great Britain, have been announced. About 500,000 British citizens are reported to be waiting to go to Canada.

The two most important political parties are the Liberals and the Progressive Conservatives; the Liberals are based on the prairie provinces and French Canada, while the Conservatives have their stronghold in the Anglo-Canadian eastern provinces. The Liberals stand for free trade and oppose government interference with business and federal interference in provincial affairs. They are somewhat cool in the question of Imperial Preference, and emphasize Canadian sovereignty. Except for the years 1926 and 1930–5, they have been in power since 1921. From 1921 to 1948 they were led by W. L. Mackenzie King (q.v.), who resigned in November and was succeeded by L. St. Laurent (q.v.) The Progressive Conservatives emphasize Canada's membership of the Commonwealth, stand for a high-tariff policy with imperial preference, and (despite their name), are more favourable to government economic controls and social reforms modelled on those of President Roosevelt (q.v.) and known as the 'Bennett New Deal' after Bennett, then Prime Minister. Their defeat in 1935 was followed by weakness and disunity, which ended early in 1943, when J. Bracken, Progressive Prime Minister of

Manitoba, was persuaded to become their leader. (The Progressives were dissident Liberals who broke from that party in the 1920s to defend the interests of the Prairie provinces; later they partly merged again with the Liberals.) In September 1948 Bracken resigned and G. Drew (q.v.) Conservative Premier of Ontario, was elected leader.

These two older parties are now being challenged by newer ones. The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (C.C.F.) is a socialist labour party, formed in 1932 by the union of several labour and farmer groups; it is now in power in Saskatchewan, and is led by M. J. Coldwell and F. R. Scott. The Communist Party has been banned, but there is a substitute—the Labour-Progressive Party, led by Tim Buck and Fred Rose, who was a federal M.P. until found guilty of service in the Soviet espionage organization in 1946. The Social Credit (q.v.) Association, led by S. E. Low, has its stronghold in Alberta, where it is now in office, and in 1948 gained some support in Quebec and Ontario; since it is opposed to socialism and since the Conservatives, also opposed to socialism, are weak in Quebec, there has been talk of an electoral alliance between the two parties. But the Social Credit Party has been criticized as quasi-fascist because of its denunciations of both communism and big finance, its anti-semitism, and its formation of unions of electors—organizations which it claims to be above parties. Another party accused of fascism is the Union Nationale, led by Maurice Duplessis. It is a party of the French in Quebec and its policy is one of vigorous nationalism and clericalism—the social and political doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church are being given legislative form and there are dreams of an independent 'Laurentia' in the basin of the St. Lawrence River. It governed Quebec from 1936 to 1939 and has been in power again since 1944 In federal politics French nationalism is represented by the *Bloc Populaire*, and has supporters also in the Liberal Party.

In the federation the Liberals have been in office since 1921 with the exception of six years' opposition in 1926 and 1930–5. The House of Commons elected on 27 June 1949 is composed as follows (in brackets, the parties' representation in the previous House, which was smaller): Liberals 193 (119), Progressive-Conservatives 42 (63), C.C.F. 12 (28), Social Credit 10 (13), Communists 0 (2), others 5 (18). In the Senate there is a large Liberal majority.

In the provinces the Liberals are in power in Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland; in Manitoba and British Columbia there are Liberal-Conservative coalitions to keep the C.C.F. out of office; the Conservatives hold Ontario and New Brunswick, the C.C.F., the Social Credit Association and the Union Nationale rule in Saskatchewan, Alberta and Quebec respectively.

Canada is one of the largest and economically most important states in the world, notwithstanding its thin population. It is one of the world's chief sources of wheat, enormously rich in forests; also ores, metals, oils, and other raw materials are produced in quantities. Canada is the principal source of nickel in the world, and new surveys indicate the existence of huge mineral deposits of various kinds. Of special importance is the uranium ore mined in northern Canada near the Great Bear Lake, one of the only two places so far known in the world (the other is in the Belgian Congo) where the raw material of atomic energy can be mined in really substantial quantities and in a condition permitting of relatively easy processing. (See *Uranium.*) Canada has therefore an important position in international talks on the development and use of atomic energy.

Within the British Commonwealth, Canada is known as the 'Senior Dominion' and has set the pace for the gradual development of sovereignty for the other Dominions. Canada belongs at present to the 'dollar bloc' and economic ties with the United States are strong, but so are those with England. (See *Ottawa Agreement* and *Imperial Preference.*) British Commonwealth feeling is mingled with a consciousness of North Americanism. Also culturally Canada is in a sense intermediate between England and the United States, with American influence very much in evidence. Canada entered World War II on 9 September 1939. It mobilized 900,000 men, of whom only 150,000 were drafted on the basis of conscription as adopted in 1940 (for home service only), while all the rest were volunteers. At the end of the war there were 360,000 Canadian troops in the field. Canada is not a member of the Pan-Ameri-

can Union (see *Pan-Americanism*), which comprises only American republics, but she takes great interest in continental defence. Canadian observers attended the pan-American talks in Brazil in 1947, which led to a general agreement on defence co-ordination. (See *Rio de Janeiro, Treaty of.*) With the United States Canada has an agreement on joint defence, providing for close collaboration. As early as 1940 President Roosevelt declared the defence of Canada a United States' concern. United States and Canadian forces hold joint exercises, and there is a joint defence board. (See *North Atlantic Treaty.*)

CANAL ZONE. (See *Panama.*)

CANTONS, the states of the Swiss Confederation. (See *Switzerland.*) In France, cantons are subdivisions of the *arrondissements*, i.e. non-autonomous small units of local administration. In Belgium also certain small units of local administration are known as cantons, and so are the districts of Luxembourg.

CAPE TO CAIRO LINE, a continuous chain of British possessions in Africa from Cape Town in South Africa to Cairo in Egypt, with a railway connecting those two towns. It was one of the dreams of Cecil Rhodes and other late nineteenth-century imperialists but was never realized, because although in 1919 German East Africa became a British mandate, Egypt, previously a British protectorate, became independent in 1922, and no through railway was built. There is now an air service along this route. (See *Africa Highway* and Map IV.)

CAPITALISM, the economic system founded on free enterprise and private ownership of the means of production and distribution. The term was coined in the first half of the nineteenth century by the socialist critics of the system. A capitalist was originally just a person possessing some capital and investing it in business. Considering the decisive part played by the owners of capital in the existing system, the socialists called the system capitalism and grouped the capital-owners together as the capitalist class. The term has since been widely accepted also outside the socialist or labour movement. Others prefer to speak of the system of free enterprise. In a capitalist society industrial plant, mines, shops, stores, banks, etc., often also the means of public transport, are the private property of individuals or companies formed by individuals, and the owners run them at their discretion. Their main incentive is profit. They are dependent on the market and make their disposition in accordance with their estimate of its next development. There is therefore a speculative element inherent in capitalism. The chances of profit determine the extent to which the economic machinery is set or kept going, expanded or restricted. Capitalism produces for an anonymous market without a concerted plan, the capitalists competing with each other. Anybody may normally start a business, and the risks and rewards are entirely his. Capitalism is marked by periodic ups and downs, known as booms and slumps, or more scientifically as the 'trade cycle' (q.v.). A cycle used to be seven years, but since the disturbances caused by the great wars, the cycle seems to some degree distorted. The profits accruing to the capitalists are largely re-invested. Their function in society is thus the direction of the economic processes and the formation of fresh capital. The capitalist mode of economy is bound up with the existence of a working class or proletariat without any capital or appreciable other possessions of its own, which lives on the sale of its labour power.

Capitalism is opposed by the advocates of economic planning, mainly by the socialists of the various shades. (See *Socialism.*) They stand for a planned economy under central management, for all practical purposes state management, no longer for the profit of individuals but based on consideration of the common good. Public planning necessarily implies a restriction of the freedom of disposition in economic activities, and interference with the rights of private property. Moderate reformers think government control without abolition of private ownership sufficient, while socialists and communists stand for downright nationalization of the means of production and other economic instruments. Socialists describe capitalism as a planless anarchy in which the lack of co-ordination among the various elements of economy necessarily leads to periodic crises. They criticize its tendency to produce from time to time mass unemployment and a situation in which there are

factories and commodities in plenty on the one hand, and people who wish to work and to consume the goods in equal plenty on the other hand, and yet the works are at a standstill, the people are unemployed, and the goods are indeed often destroyed. According to socialist theory (see *Marxism*) the capitalist system is based on the exploitation of the workers and the limitation of purchasing power in favour of capital formation. The worker does not get his full share of what he produces. Also capitalism is said to breed war because of its emphasis on competition and profit. (See *Imperialism.*)

The upholders of capitalism point to its great achievements and maintain that free enterprise and wholesome competition cannot be adequately replaced by the activities of a public bureaucracy. They believe that given free and fair play a balancing mechanism is immanent in capitalism, restoring equilibrium after disturbances and on a long view ensuring harmony between the various elements concerned in economic processes. They argue that the capitalist's private interest is in the last analysis identical with the common interest. They explain further that in any form of economy a part of the product would have to be set aside as fresh capital to provide for renewal and extension of plant, and if the capitalists were no longer to do it the state would have to do it, and again the workers would not get all they produce.

Beyond the purely economic field, it is argued by the advocates of capitalism that it safeguards individual freedom and liberal political institutions, while planning is feared to entail a limitation of freedom. The planners reply that political liberty is not real for people who have no economic security or are indeed unemployed. Socialists also declare capitalism unethical, setting man against man and placing the main emphasis on material relations. Against this, the upholders of capitalism point to the virtues it breeds: the spirit of enterprise and of personal independence, zeal in the pursuit of economic activities, and a matter-of-fact outlook. (See also *Democracy* and *Liberalism.*)

Critics of capitalism see in it a tendency toward the concentration of capital in fewer and fewer hands, the larger enterprises ousting or absorbing the smaller ones in the process of competition, until in the end only a few extremely powerful monopolies are left. The old capitalism of free competition gives way to monopoly capitalism (q v.), in which a small number of trusts, combines, and banks dominate the whole national economy. Socialists of the Marxian school believe that capitalism thereby enters a stationary and indeed restrictionist stage, and becomes incapable of adequately developing the resources of society. Capitalists are thought unable henceforth to adjust themselves to technical and economic changes, with more and greater crises and other disturbances following until planning gets the upper hand as the more efficient system. The centralized semi-planned management of the large combines indeed foreshadows general planning, according to the proponents of this theory. These views are not accepted by the upholders of capitalism. They deny that capitalism is by its very nature stagnant or moribund, and underscore the great development of national resources it has achieved even under the auspices of large-scale enterprise. They believe that the evils of over-concentration can easily be checked by suitable anti-trust legislation. Both sides agree, however, that the full development of such areas as India or China might well give capitalism a new lease of life for a considerable period, remembering how its growth was in the past linked up with the opening of new markets and the development of backward countries.

Capitalism as a system started to grow, after early sixteenth-century beginnings, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, primarily in England, Holland and France. In the nineteenth century it became the general form of economic organization in Europe and America; the evolution of democratic institutions usually took a parallel course with the growth of capitalism and the rise of the middle class bound up with it. Socialist opposition to it became organized about the middle of the nineteenth century and has since been fighting it in Europe, while in America for various reasons no appreciable socialist movement has developed so far. (See *United States.*) Capitalism was for the first time entirely abolished in Russia by the communist revolution of 1917. The relatively small capitalism which had grown in Russia within a still largely feudal and agricultural system was supplanted by large-scale

socialist planning whose achievements, at the price of personal liberty, have been impressive. The great economic crisis of 1930 increased the call for planning, and state interference with economic life, already in an advanced stage in Europe, was further extended in an attempt to stave off the crisis. In America, elements of planning and government interference were introduced on a considerable scale by President Roosevelt's New Deal (q.v.). The general framework of capitalism was not affected, however, and the present tendency in the United States seems to be to revert to an unfettered capitalism on the earlier pattern. In Europe, the tendency for planning and state control has even increased during and after the late war, and key industries have been nationalized in a number of countries. The capitalist framework still exists in western Europe, but it has largely disappeared in the Soviet-controlled half of the continent. The tendency toward nationalization and socialism is viewed with misgivings by America which stands for liberal capitalism on a world scale. The question of capitalism or planning is regarded as the basic problem of the age. It also underlies the world-political antagonism between the United States and the Soviet Union, although it is not the only contributory factor.

CAPITULATIONS, the treaties imposed by European powers on Asiatic and African countries to give nationals of the former residing in the territory of the latter special privileges and immunities (especially courts of their own nationals). As a result of the two world wars almost all capitulations have been renounced.

CARIBBEAN COMMISSION, a joint commission set up by the nations having possessions in the Caribbean, i.e. the United States, Great Britain, France and Holland. The Commission was founded on 9 March 1942 by the American and British Governments to deal with war-time needs, mainly joint defence of the Caribbean against submarines and common use of resources. France and Holland joined in later. In view of its successful work, the Commission has been continued in peace-time with a view to making it into an instrument of joint development of the Caribbean. A West Indies Conference was set up as a consultative body, consisting of delegates of the fifteen territories coming under the Commission. Each territory sends two delegates 'chosen in the manner appropriate to the area', and popular representatives sit side by side with government officials. The three republics of the area (Cuba, Haiti, San Domingo) are not on the



Map VI. The West Indies

Commission, but there are suggestions for their co-operation. The Conferences have brought up many plans and suggestions for the development and welfare of the area, but recently a trend has been noticeable on the part of the Commission to limit the scope of the Conference. It is now held only every other year, and its agenda is being restricted. Suggestions made by the Conference have included a Bill of Rights for the peoples of the area (shelved), a customs union and a Caribbean Planning Commission (rejected). (See *British West Indies*, *French Union*, *Netherlands*, *Puerto Rico*, *United States Possessions*, and Map VI.)

CARINTHIA. (See *Austria* and *Yugoslavia*.)

CARLISTS, Spanish royalists who consider the line of Prince Carlos of Bourbon to be the rightful claimants to the Spanish throne. Prince Carlos (1788–1855) was the brother of King Ferdinand VII, who instituted female succession in Spain in 1830, and declared his daughter, Isabella, to be his heir. Carlos, who had been heir-apparent before this act, regarded the innovation as illegal and found many adherents. On the death of Ferdinand in 1834, there was a civil war, which ended in the defeat of the Carlists. They revived later in the century and are still an important group in certain regions of north-western Spain. In the Spanish Civil War of 1936–9 they fought on Franco's side under the name of *Requetes* and are the most conservative section of Spanish royalists. In 1947 they abstained from voting when Franco submitted his succession law to a plebiscite.

The male line of Don Carlos is extinct, and his only direct descendants are two princesses married to non-princely husbands in Italy and Brazil respectively. The present Carlist claimant is Prince Xavier de Bourbon-Parma, a member of the junior branch of the Spanish Bourbons, to whom Don Carlos's last male heir, Don Jaime, bequeathed his rights on his death in 1937.

CASUS BELLI, Latin: case of war, an act committed by one state against another state of such a kind as to justify war.

CASUS FOEDERIS, Latin: case of the treaty, an event which brings into operation a particular treaty of alliance, enabling one party to the alliance to call on the other(s) to aid it.

CATALONIA, the north-eastern area of Spain (with Barcelona as its regional capital), inhabited by the Catalans who speak a Romanic tongue, different from Castilian Spanish and akin to the old Provençal tongues. The province has 6,000,000 inhabitants and harbours Spain's most important industrial area. The Catalans regard themselves as a nation different from the Spaniards. Their age-old call for autonomy was fulfilled by the republican government of Spain in 1934, when Catalonia was granted far-reaching home rule with a government of its own. In the Spanish Civil War of 1936–9 the Catalans fought on the republican side. In the course of the war, however, sectional tendencies made themselves felt among the Catalan nationalists and especially among the anarchists, traditionally strong in Catalonia. Eventually the republican central government occupied Catalonia by force. After Franco's victory in the civil war, Catalan autonomy was repealed and Spanish centralist rule restored. The Spanish republican shadow government, which was formed again in exile in 1946, had once more a minister for Catalonia. (See *Spain*.)

CATHOLIC ACTION, a movement created in December 1922 by the encyclical *Ubi arcano* of Pope Pius XI. It emphasizes the lay apostolate and encourages Catholics to take action for the promotion of Catholic aims. Catholic Action is less an organization than a programme. It covers any field from religious and moral propaganda along Catholic lines to political action. It usually supports Catholic parties (q v.), yet these must not be confused with it. Unlike those parties, Catholic Action is under direct Church direction and its subdivisions coincide with the bishoprics. The bishops appoint the heads of Catholic Action for their dioceses. Intensification of Catholic life, promotion of Catholic organizations, penetration of public and social life, youth movements, all Catholic club life, welfare work, cultural propaganda, sports, publications, etc., all come under the heading of Catholic Action. This many-sided and world-wide movement is also of political significance. It does not mean one particular action at a given moment or place, but perpetual action on behalf of Catholicism at any time or place. In east European countries, Catholic Action

has recently been subjected to persecution by communist governments, and in some of them bogus Catholic Actions, directed by pro-communist priests, have been organized.

CATHOLIC PARTIES, political parties animated by the principles of the Roman Catholic Church, aiming at its maintenance and promotion, and endeavouring to influence political, cultural and moral legislation in accordance with Catholic principles. Not every party consisting mainly or wholly of Roman Catholics is to be reckoned as a Catholic party; the explicit pursuit of Catholic politics is the essential criterion. Naturally, such parties work in close and visible co-operation with the Catholic Church and look to the Vatican (q.v.) as their highest authority, although no formal subordination exists. In matters other than spiritual the Pope's authority is limited, though Catholic parties usually regard his views, as laid down in encyclicals (q.v.), as political directives. Occasionally the Vatican intervenes directly in the political affairs of individual countries; thus in 1897 Pope Leo XIII urged French Catholics not to persist in opposition to the French republic. Cases of open disobedience to papal directives in political questions, even by Catholic priests, are also on record, however. An instance is that of Father Sertillanges, a French Dominican monk who opposed the Pope's wishes regarding the policy of France during World War I and was later upheld even by ecclesiastic authorities. Catholic priests and monks have often been prominent in the policies of Catholic parties, but recently the Vatican has been discouraging their participation in politics and indeed made it dependent on a special ecclesiastic permission, which is to be granted only where tradition or special circumstances warrant it.

Catholic parties are called by their opponents 'clerical' parties (from Latin *clerus*, clergy). They were formed in the nineteenth century in opposition to liberalism (q.v.), which in Europe was often associated with anti-clericalism and was denounced in sweeping terms by the Roman Church, which was, and frequently still is, essentially sympathetic to authoritarianism (q.v.), although its discipline permits both democratic and authoritarian forms of government. In monarchical countries these parties upheld legitimate kingship, while in republics they favoured restoration. About the turn of the century they were sometimes anti-semitic. Also confronted with the growing competition of socialism, Catholic parties in industrial countries then adopted a Christian-Social programme (q.v.). Their labour wings asserted themselves more strongly, and gradually the complexion of these parties in constitutional countries changed to some extent. To-day, they are usually parties of the moderate right or the centre, except in backward countries with little or no democratic development in which they are indeed reactionary or clerico-fascist (q.v.). As a rule, Catholic parties are to-day mass parties with a popular platform, comprising sections of all classes of people. While an upper-class element, including the aristocracy where it still exists, is usually influential in them, they draw their support mainly from the lower middle classes and the peasantry, and have large labour wings with Christian trade unions. The Catholic parties of Germany and Italy were suppressed by the Nazi and fascist dictatorships, and sections of them were active in the resistance to these systems. In France, one section of Catholic politicians supported Pétain's Vichy régime during World War II, while another section worked in the resistance movement and emerged as the *Mouvement Républicain Populaire* (M.R.P.). Opposition to Nazism brought some important Catholic parties into line with democrats and socialists, and left traces in their ideology. Opposition to the racial principles of Nazism, which are incompatible with the teaching of the Church, led to the repudiation of anti-semitism by these parties.

Nevertheless, the differences between the right and left wings of Catholic parties are at present quite considerable; the right wings uphold the existing order and resemble the earlier form of the parties, while the left wings stand for an advanced social programme sometimes indeed approaching that of the Social-Democrats, and have made the term 'progressive Catholics' current. They refer to the social doctrine of the Church as the basis of their policy. Some Catholic parties call themselves Christian-Social parties again. However, they are opposed to fully fledged socialism, and

communism is their chief enemy. Catholic parties are usually nationalist.

Parties of this type include the M.R.P. (*Mouvement Républicain Populaire*) in France (q.v.), the Christian Democrats in Italy (q.v.) and the Christian Socialists in Belgium (q.v.), at the moment the most important Catholic parties in Europe. The Dutch and Swiss Catholic parties are also important in their countries. Catholic co-operation with the moderate socialists in coalition governments, especially with a view to presenting a common front to communism, is a principal feature of continental west European politics at present, and the Catholic parties in question are believed to have the political support of the United States. In Germany, the Centre Party used to be the great Catholic Party in the days of the empire and the Weimar republic; it was federalist and fairly democratic. After Hitler, it had only one local revival in the Land of Rhineland-Westphalia, where it represents especially Catholic workers and stands for a social programme; in the other German states it was merged with Protestant elements in the Christian-Democratic Party. (See *Germany*.) The latter's Bavarian section, the Christian-Social Union, is in effect a Catholic Party, and holds 52 per cent of the seats in the state diet. In Austria (q.v.), the old Christian-Social Party is now known as the Austrian People's Party, it has a majority in parliament. The proportion of seats in parliament, held in 1949 by Catholic parties, was about 27 per cent in France, 52 per cent in Italy, and 49 per cent in Belgium. Most political parties in Eire (q.v.) are for all practical purposes also Catholic parties. Apart from these parties which are in practice, and to a substantial degree also in theory, constitutional and democratic, there are also Catholic parties of the fascist-authoritarian type, such as Franco's Falange in Spain (q.v.) of which the Church is, however, critical, and Salazar's National Union in Portugal (q.v.), which is more acceptable to the Church: the Catholic-fascist dictatorship ruling Slovakia (q.v.) under Hitler's control, 1939–45 was also of this brand. The Conservative parties of most Latin-American countries are in fact also clerical; but they represent landlordism as well and are not usually considered similar to the Catholic mass parties in Europe from whose structure they differ considerably. In the United States, there is no Catholic party, but the vote of the 23 million American Catholics is of great importance. Britain has no Catholic party, but there is some organized political group activity on the part of the Catholic minority. In eastern Europe, Catholic parties were formerly important in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary (all q.v.). By forcible co-ordination, sometimes also by the promotion of rival Catholic parties, the communists have paralysed these parties, but they continue to be an element of opposition to communist rule. (See *Vatican, Catholic Action.*)

CAUCUS. 1. a private meeting of a party or faction, or of its representatives in a legislature, held to determine the future course of action or the nomination of candidates. 2. A meeting of only the leading members of a party or faction. 3. The leading group in a party. 4. A party organization. The term, which is of unknown origin—possibly American Indian—is rather derogatory.

CENTRAL AMERICA, the five republics of Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Salvador (all q.v.). Between 1823 and 1839 they were united in a federation. The union dissolved in civil war, and many attempts to restore it by force or negotiation have been made, all unsuccessfully. From the political parties of the federation—the clerical and landowning conservatives and the anti-clerical and urban liberals—are derived the parties of the several states. The Liberals and Conservatives respectively of one republic are often aided by their fellows of another. Panama (q.v.), formerly part of Colombia (q.v.) became independent in 1903, and is now accounted a Central American state. The United States has frequently intervened in the affairs of the six countries, partly to protect American economic interests, partly for strategic reasons.

CENTRALISM, government of a country from the centre, without autonomy for parts or regions. Centralism is the opposite of federalism (q.v.). In a centralist country, there are no state or provincial governments, but all power is concentrated in the hands of the central government. France is a typical centralist state, while the United States is a typical specimen of federalism.

Great Britain is in form centralist, but the delegation of powers to popularly elected local authorities mitigates centralism to such an extent that this country is not usually reckoned among the typical instances of centralism.

CENTRE PARTIES, parties which are more conservative than left-wing parties (q.v.) and more progressive than right-wing parties (q.v.). Like 'left-' and 'right-wing', the term 'centre' originated in the French National Assembly of 1789, and is most applicable to parties sitting in the semi-circular chambers usual in non-British parliaments—in the British Parliament, and in most parliaments of the British Commonwealth, each chamber is rectangular, and there is thus no centre, only a left and a right. Liberal parties are usually said to belong to the centre nowadays, although before the rise of socialism they were regarded as left-wing. 'Centre', like 'left-' and 'right-wing', is also applied to groups within a party.

CEYLON, member of the British Commonwealth, an island south of India, area 25,000 sq. m., population 6,659,000, capital Colombo. 4,637,000 of the people are Buddhist Sinhalese, descendants of early north Indian immigrants; 700,000 Hindu Tamils, descendants of south Indian immigrants; 800,000 Indians of various races; 405,000 Moslems known as Moors; 36,000 Burghers, descendants of earlier Dutch and Portuguese settlers and natives. The chief products are tea, rubber, coconut oil, and copra; the economy is mainly a plantation one, largely in the control of British companies.

Taken by Britain in 1796, Ceylon was in 1802 separated from India as a crown colony. The people were early associated with government, and the twentieth century saw the rise of a nationalist movement. The Donoughmore Constitution of 1931 established diarchy (q.v.). The Soulbury Constitution of 1946 granted internal self-government, but reserved defence, external affairs and certain other subjects to the Crown. The Ceylonese pressed for the full Dominion status (q.v.) they had expected, and received it in 1947. By the Ceylon Independence Act, 1947, Ceylon was given Dominion status. From February 1948 government will be by a Governor-General representative of the King and a Cabinet responsible to the Legislature, which consists of a single house of 95 members, of whom 89 are popularly elected and six appointed by the governor on the advice of the Cabinet. The present house, elected September–October 1947, contains: United National Party 42, Lauka Sama Samaja 10, Leninist Party 5, Communists 3, Tamils 7, Indians 6, Labour 1, Independents 21. The U.P. is led by the Prime Minister, D. S. Senayake; it is non-communal but largely Sinhalese, professes moderate socialism but is in fact right-centre (there is, however, no party to the right of it); it is now supported by the Tamil and Indian Congresses. There is very little communal strife and evolution to self-government has been peaceful although retarded by the insistence of the minorities on their rights. The Lauka Sama Samaja and Leninist Parties are both Trotskyite, and are affairs of intellectuals.

With the Independence Act there are three agreements between Britain and Ceylon—on defence, whereby mutual assistance is promised and Britain has bases in Ceylon (which has long been an important part of the imperial defence system); on external relations, whereby Ceylon will adopt and follow the resolutions of past Imperial Conferences and co-operate with the other members of the Commonwealth; and on public officers, whereby the rights of certain former members of the Civil Service who continue to serve the new Dominion are protected. Ceylon's application for membership of the United Nations was vetoed by the Soviet Union.

CHACO, a South American jungle between Bolivia and Paraguay (see both) which have fought several wars over it. In 1935 it was divided—Bolivia receiving 30,000 sq. m. and Paraguay 70,000.

CHAPULTEPEC, Act of, an agreement concluded in 1945 at Chapultepec, Mexico, between the members of the pan-American Union. Suggested by the U.S.A., the Act provides in general terms for joint defence of the American continent. Under it various measures for military and naval co-operation have been undertaken or proposed—e.g. staff talks and unification of training and equipment. Canada is not a party to the Act, but has a separate defence agreement with the U.S. In 1948 the Act was widened into the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro (q.v.). (See *Pan-Americanism.*)

CHANNEL ISLANDS, part of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (q.v.), area 75 sq. m., population 90,000. They are divided into Jersey and Guernsey with Alderney, Sark and some minor islands. They were part of the Duchy of Normandy and have been English since 1066. They are governed in accordance with their own laws and by their own institutions; although they are subject to the authority of the Home Office they are unrepresented in the British Parliament.

Guernsey with its dependencies and Jersey each have a Lieutenant-Governor and an Assembly of the states composed of officials and elected deputies. Sark is partly autonomous, under the Dame of Sark The reform of these institutions was recommended by a committee of the British Privy Council in 1947.

CHAUVINISM, exaggerated nationalism. The word derives from N. Chauvin, who was supposed to be an over-zealous admirer of Napoleon I, but more probably was only a character in a post-Napoleonic comedy. The term was for a long time used only for the most extreme wing of French nationalism, but was then extended to analogous trends in all peoples, and to exaggerated group-loyalties in general, thus racial chauvinism, class chauvinism, etc., are also spoken of.

CHECKS AND BALANCES, term used of constitutions in which the powers of each part—executive, legislature, and judiciary—are checked by the other parts so that the several parts 'keep each other in their proper places', as 'The Federalist' said of the constitution of the U.S.A. (See *Separation of Powers.*)

CHIANG KAI SHEK, Chinese marshal and national leader, born 31 October 1888, at Fenghua, Chekiang. Chiang took part as a young army officer in the Chinese revolutions of 1911, 1912, and 1917, joined the Kuo Min Tang party (q.v.) and was an assistant of the leader of the Chinese revolution, Sun Yat Sen (q.v.) from 1917 to 1922. In 1923 he studied at the military academy in Moscow and in 1924 became Commandant of the Chinese military school of Wampoo near Canton. With their aid he defeated south Chinese rebel generals in 1925. In the same year, Sun Yat Sen died, and Chiang became his successor as leader of the Kuo Min Tang. He assumed the title of commander-in-chief of the national army. For a time he collaborated with the communists. In 1926 he conquered Shanghai. In March 1927 he broke with the communists, many of whom he had massacred in Shanghai. He established his own government in Nanking and opposed the old, pro-communist Kuo Min Tang government. Finally the two factions combined to form a new Kuo Min Tang government headed by Chiang. The communists set up a Soviet government in the areas under their control. The conflict between the Chinese communists and Chiang Kai Shek continues to this day. Chiang Kai Shek is believed to represent the middle-class elements of the Kuo Min Tang which are supported by commercial and financial interests. Personally a democrat, he has often manœuvred between the reactionary and the progressive wing of his party.

In 1928 Chiang Kai Shek defeated the north Chinese dictator, Chang Tso Lin, and united north and south China under the Kuo Min Tang government of Nanking. He became President of the Executive Yuan (Prime Minister) and *de facto* dictator of China. The civil war in China continued, however. Chiang Kai Shek was opposed by the communists and by a left-wing government in Canton. In 1931 he resigned, but was recalled a year later. In 1934 he pushed the communists back to west China. He tried in vain to reach a compromise with the Japanese who had meanwhile invaded China. When the Japanese started full-scale war on China in 1937, Chiang Kai Shek resigned the office of Prime Minister in order to devote himself entirely to the direction of the war; he remained President of the National Government. He defended China against the Japanese until he found allies in the United States and Great Britain when they were attacked by the Japanese in 1941. With their aid he was able to end the war against Japan victoriously in 1945. During the war against Japan there was a temporary reconciliation between the marshal and the communists, but soon after the end of the war the civil war flared up again. After the war, the Kuo Min Tang gave China a new constitution. Under it, Chiang was elected President of China, and he assumed that office in April 1948. After the great communist advance

in the last quarter of 1948, Marshal Chiang Kai Shek handed over the presidency to the Vice-President, General Li Tsung Jen, stating that he was retiring temporarily from politics so as to enable peace to be restored in China. This was on 21 January 1949. Later in 1949 Chiang Kai Shek, who had remained the leader of the Kuo Min Tang, resumed political life, calling for continued resistance to the communists. He established headquarters in Formosa.

Chiang's wife, May Ling Soong Chiang, is his collaborator, and is herself prominent in Chinese politics. Like him, she is a Christian. May Ling Soong Chiang comes from the Soong family, which has played a great part in the Chinese national movement. One of her sisters is the widow of Sun Yat Sen, the other the wife of the former premier, Dr. Kung. Her brother, T. V. Soong, regarded as a conservative, was Prime Minister from 1944 to 1947, when Chiang Kai Shek temporarily succeeded him.

CHIFLEY, Joseph Benedict, Australian labour politician, born 1885. An engine driver and trade union leader, Chifley was Minister of Defence 1931–2 and Minister of Post-War Reconstruction 1942–5; he was Treasurer 1941–9 and Prime Minister 1945–9.

CHILE, 286,000 sq. m., population 5,300,000. The capital is Santiago. Chile was for a long time regarded as the most orderly state in Latin-America. Under the rule of the landed oligarchy, the quiet period lasted until 1924. Since that year Chilean politics have been marked by a quick succession of presidents, *coups*, revolutions, and 'fixed' elections similar to those habitual in other South American countries. The background of the political struggle is formed by growing social antagonism, the middle and working classes striving to break the power of the conservative landowners, and socialist and communist radicalism making itself felt against both the landowning and middle classes. The population of Chile is pure white, except for a remnant of Araucanian Indians living in the south. Only some 10 per cent of the country is arable land, and most of the good land is owned by big *haciendados*. The nitrate and mining industries (copper, iron ore) are of great importance.

The 1925 constitution provides for a Chamber of Deputies of 143 members and a Senate of 45 members. The whole Chamber and one-half of the Senate are newly elected every four years on proportional representation. The President is chosen popularly for six years according to the constitution. Government is centralist, the twenty-five provinces having only a small measure of local self-government.

The Radical, Alessandri, who was President 1920–4, came back after some disorders in 1925, and gradually moved to the right. In 1927 the Conservative General Ibañez became President and ruled dictatorially. He was overthrown in 1931 by a military socialist *Junta*. In 1932 Alessandri became President again at the head of a national coalition, he turned even more conservative and suppressed the radical left. A Popular Front formed of Socialists, Communists, and Radicals, representing a little over 50 per cent of the vote, elected President Aguirre Cerda in his stead in 1938. Cerda died in 1941 and was succeeded by Juan Antonio Rios, elected by the same coalition. President Rios resigned in 1946 on grounds of ill health, in the election of October 1946, the left-wing candidate, Gonzalez Videla, was elected President by 189,000 votes, while the conservative candidate polled 141,000 and the liberal candidate, 128,000 votes. Videla was supported by an *Alianza Democratica* formed by radicals, communists and democrats. The *Alianza* was soon broken up by the secession of the communists, who organized strikes and riots. Against these, the government obtained special powers (expired 1949) and restored order. Chile severed relations with the Soviet Union.

The Radicals (40 deputies) are Chile's historical progressive party and have been the leaders of the popular front since 1935; they are a liberal centre party. The Liberal Party, known as such, however, is actually a moderately conservative party (34 deputies). Its leaders are Alessandri and Rossi. Farther to the right are the Conservatives (36 deputies), the party of the landowners and the Church, formerly led by General Ibañez, now by A. Concha. (The Church is divorced from the state.) On the left are the Communists, officially known as the National Democrats (14 deputies), the Socialists (6 deputies), who are split into a right and a left section (leaders Schnake,

Grove), and the Democratic Group (8 deputies), a left-wing liberal group dating from 1931. There is also an Agrarian Party (3 deputies), and small fascist groups such as the Catholic Chilean Falange (4 deputies), the Popular Socialist Vanguard (ex-Nazi), and the *Alianza Popular Libertadora* (1 deputy), also exist. Retired General Ibañez is now chairman of the last-named party.

Chile claims a large sector of western Antarctica (see *Antarctica*), the possession of which it disputes with Britain.

CHILTERN HUNDREDS and **MANOR OF NORTHSTEAD,** Stewardships of, in Britain two offices of profit under the Crown, the holders of which are debarred from membership of the House of Commons. Acceptance of either of these offices is, therefore, the customary means of resigning from the House, although in fact no salary is now received.

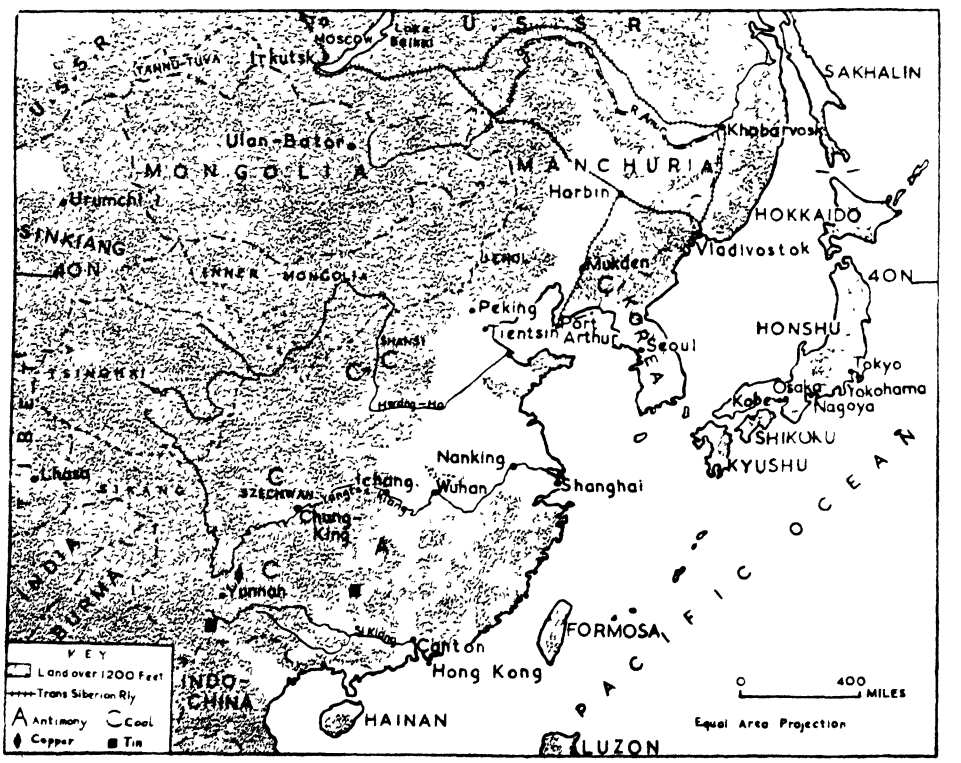
CHINA, Republic of, official name *Chung Hua Min Kuo* ('People's State of the Blooming Land of the Mid'), area 3,400,000 sq. m. (without Tibet but including Manchuria), population about 450,000,000. The capital is Peking. Inner China, sometimes referred to as China proper, covers 2,700,000 sq. m., with 400,000,000 inhabitants. The remainder is made up of the outlying provinces where the Chinese hold has not always been secure in recent years, viz. Manchuria (q.v.), Inner Mongolia (q.v.) and Chinese Turkestan (see *Sinkiang*). In 1945 China also recovered the island of Formosa, which had been taken by Japan in 1895. Tibet (q.v.) is still held to be under Chinese suzerainty, but is in fact independent. Outer Mongolia (q.v.) was finally segregated from China in 1946. About 8,000,000 Chinese live abroad, most of them in Malaya, Siam and Indonesia.

The Chinese revolution of 10 October 1911, which overthrew the Manchu Empire and created a republic, has been followed by an age of internal disorder. The difference between north and south and a variety of social and political problems has resulted in endless civil war. There is a great contrast between the two parts of the country; even the language is different. South China was the cradle of the Chinese revolution. From 1911 onwards it was the centre of the democratic movement under Sun Yat Sen (q.v.), the leader of the Kuo Min Tang Party (q.v.), while in the north the conservative Marshal Yuan Shi Kai became China's first President. A 'second revolution', attempted in 1912 by Sun Yat Sen in the south, failed. In 1915 Yuan Shi Kai proclaimed himself Emperor, but died soon after. The struggle between north and south persisted through the following years, complicated by numerous conflicts between rival generals. In 1923 the Kuo Min Tang was reorganized with the aid of Soviet advisers. Sun Yat Sen died in 1925. His successor, General Chiang Kai Shek (q.v.), ousted the communists, who had become strong in the Kuo Min Tang, by a *coup d'état* in 1927, which culminated in a massacre. He set up a National Government at Nanking, and the Russian advisers were sent home. Chiang Kai Shek conquered the north in 1928 and for the first time since the revolution north and south China were united under one government. Yet a long-drawn civil war, going on to this day, ensued between the National Government and the communists. The latter established a Soviet Government in south Chinese provinces, organized a Red Army, and shared out the land among the peasants. In 1934 Chiang's forces ousted them from their original provinces in the south, but they trekked 5,000 miles to the west (the 'Long March') to establish new Soviet areas in Shensi. Later they also obtained a foothold in north China.

Japan had for a long time been aspiring to control China. The prospect of the 400 million Chinese being organized by modern Japan, the 'Yellow Peril', had been one of Europe's and America's bogeys since the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1931 Japan set out to conquer China. The Japanese occupied Chinese Manchuria in the north and made it into a puppet state under the last Chinese Emperor, Yu Pi, who had been deposed in boyhood and brought up in Japan. Chiang Kai Shek tried to play for time with a view to uniting China and preparing for defence, but Japan started the campaign of conquest against China proper before these preparations were completed. On 7 July 1937, the Marco Polo Bridge clash in Peking gave the signal for full-scale war, which none the less was called the 'China Incident'. Japan conquered large parts of China and set up a puppet government at

Nanking under Wang Ching Wei. The National Government under Chiang withdrew to Chungking in west China. There it held out, supported by supplies from America, England and Russia, until Japan attacked the Anglo-Saxon Powers in 1941 and made them into open allies of China. Only then did China officially declare war on Japan and also on Germany and Italy. A temporary reconciliation took place during the war between Chiang Kai Shek and the communists, and their Red Army co-operated with Chiang's National Army. It was, however, an uneasy alliance, frequently disturbed by incidents. When the Japanese evacuated China after their collapse in 1945, Chiang ordered the communists to stay in their places while his armies occupied the former Japanese-controlled areas. The communists refused and proceeded to the occupation of some of the last-named areas. Negotiations took place, and the Soviet Union made a treaty with Chiang's government recognizing it as the Chinese national government. The talks between Chiang and the communists broke down over the question of seats and posts to be allocated to the communists, and large-scale civil war flared up again. (See below.)

Sun Yat Sen had provided for a 'period of tutelage' for China, during which the Kuo Min Tang was to exercise government and to educate the people to democracy. On 4 October 1928 the Kuo Min Tang congress at Nanking adopted an organic law as a provisional constitution. It provided for the party to act as the legislative and governing body until democracy became possible. The party congress was to be supreme authority. It chose an executive committee, which appointed the national government, a complex machinery consisting of a Council of State and five other councils known as Yuans. The President of the Council of State (Chiang Kai Shek) was entitled President of the National Government and acted as Head of the State The five Yuans were the executive, legislative, judicial, examination and supervisory Yuans. Among these, the Executive Yuan was the equivalent of the government in the European or American sense The



Map VII. China and Japan

members of the Yuans were appointed by the government. In 1941 a 'People's Political Council' was added as an advisory body.

On 15 November 1946 a Chinese Constituent Assembly met at Nanking. It was boycotted by the communists, initially also by the Democratic League, China's third party (see below). It was to consist of 2,050 delegates, but only 1,300 were present, almost exclusively Kuo Min Tang representatives. Of these 1,200 had been elected ten years earlier. In December 1946 three of the six parties forming the Democratic League (Young China, Social-Democrats and Independents) joined the Constituent Assembly, raising the number of delegates to 1,500. The Assembly adopted a new constitution on 25 December 1946. The Kuo Min Tang declared the period of tutelage ended in March 1947. The constitution preserved the pluralistic system. The five Yuans continued, and a great National Assembly was added, to be elected for six years and to 'exercise political powers on behalf of the people'. It was to elect the President and the Vice-President of the Republic, but to meet only twice in its life of six years. The President was to be elected for six years, and re-elected only once. The constitution provided for the 'equitable' distribution of the land, control of capital, the protection of private property but the nationalization of monopolist industries. It contained the usual list of civic liberties, but these might be suspended if 'the liberty of others is threatened by them' or in order 'to avert a crisis, to maintain law and order, and to protect the public interest'. The constitution came into force on 25 December 1947 and early in 1948 Chiang Kai Shek was elected President of the Republic. The Chinese communists declared the constitution invalid.

In spite of the formal termination of the period of tutelage, the dominant position of the Kuo Min Tang remained practically unchanged. An attempt was made to form a third party in the shape of the Democratic League, originally a coalition of six left-wing parties led by intellectuals. The coalition had some 15,000 members, and its platform was liberal-socialist. Attempts by the League to mediate between the Kuo Min Tang and the communists were unsuccessful, and late in 1946 the League split over the question of participation in the constituent assembly. (See the section on the 1946 constitution.) Two of its former components, the Social Democrats led by Carson Chang and Young China led by Tseng Chi, took part in the Kuo Min Tang government, while others joined the communist camp. The League as such was banned in October 1947 and continued as a small underground group with communist sympathies. There are a few minor political groups without influence, but in fact the political monopoly of the Kuo Min Tang continues in Nationalist China. In 1948 the Kuo Min Tang was reported to have 3,000,000 members. The Kuo Min Tang has a conservative wing representing landed and business interests, and a moderately liberal wing composed of intellectuals. Chiang Kai Shek has been manœuvring between both groups, essentially yielding to the conservative section.

Chiang's brother-in-law, T. V. Soong, member of an influential family of bankers and conservative leader, was Prime Minister 1944–7, when Chiang temporarily assumed the premiership himself. Later Chang Chun, a moderate, became Prime Minister of a coalition government including the Social-Democrats and Young China, mentioned before.

On 21 December 1948, Dr. Sun Fo formed a new government including all sections of Kuo Min Tang opinion and some other members, two representatives of Young China being among the latter. Prominent members included Chiang Chun (moderate Kuo Min Tang), Chiang Chi Chung (for peace talks with communists), Chen Li Fu (extreme right), and Wu Te Chen (progressive), the latter as Vice-Premier. On 21 January 1949 Marshal Chiang Kai Shek handed over the presidency to the Vice-President, General Li Tsung Jen, announcing his temporary retirement from politics to enable peace to be created. Peking surrendered to the communists on terms providing for a coalition committee to take power in the city. Later the communists were reported to have set up a 'North China People's Government' and parliament in Peking.

Mao Tse Tung, the communist leader, broadcast eight peace terms on 14 January 1949: the abrogation of 'treacherous' treaties with imperialists; cancellation of the constitution; prosecution of war

criminals; elimination of reactionaries; confiscation of 'bureaucratic capital'; land reform; formation of an all-China State Council free of reactionaries; adoption of the European calendar. General Li Tsung Jen accepted these terms. The executive yuan decided to release political prisoners, restore communications with the north, to dissolve special courts, to readmit Democratic League papers, and to loosen certain other political restrictions. Peace talks started in Peking but no agreement was reached.

On 8 March 1949 the Sun Fo government resigned, and General Ho Ying Chin was appointed premier. Peace negotiations between the Nanking government and the communists broke down, and on 18 April 1949 the communist armies crossed the Yangtse On 24 April they took Nanking, on 27 May Shanghai surrendered to them. The nationalist government went to Canton

The United States stopped all aid to the nationalists, and issued a White Paper explaining that the nationalist administration was corrupt and inefficient, and had persistently refused American advice, and that weapons supplied to it would, owing to corruption or surrender, ultimately find their way to the communists. This policy was, however, criticized by Republican senators.

On 30 May 1949 the nationalist government at Canton resigned, and Marshal Yen Hsi Shan was appointed prime minister. The communist advance continued, and early in October 1949 the communists occupied Canton. The nationalist government went to Chungking, its wartime refuge, and it was reported to have established a base on Formosa also, though this was not welcomed by the population of that island. Chiang Kai Shek re-emerged as Kuo Min Tang leader, though without taking office at the moment. He called for continued resistance to the communists and a Far Eastern Pact for this purpose.

The communists proclaimed the Chinese People's Republic at Peking in October 1949. A Consultative People's Political Council approved an organic law. Four classes are recognized: workers, peasants, a middle class, and 'patriotic capitalists' as distinct from 'bureaucratic' or 'reactionary' capitalists, who are not accepted. A flag was created, showing a large Soviet star on a red background, surrounded by four small stars symbolizing the four classes. It was announced that land and 'bureaucratic' capital was to be nationalized, but that industrial and commercial enterprise, including foreign, would be promoted. Mao Tse Tung became chairman of the Council of Government, apparently the head of state. Chou En Lai became head of the executive yuan (prime minister), while Tsu Deh remained commander-in-chief Peking was declared China's capital again, and the Western calendar was adopted.

The termination of American aid sealed the doom of the nationalist government. It had, by its reactionary policy, alienated popular support, and its troops offered little resistance to the communist armies. Rather was there a scramble to join the communist band-wagon. In November 1949 the communists took Chungking with the aid of a local commander, the Kuo Min Tang government moved to Chengtu, the capital of the neighbouring province of Szechuan, but on 10 December 1949 the local military leaders surrendered to the pursuing communists. Chiang Kai Shek and the nationalist government moved to Taipeh, the capital of the island of Formosa President Li Tsung Jen, reported to be in conflict with Chiang Kai Shek, went to the United States to undergo a surgical operation.

In December 1949 the communists were in control of all continental China except for two western provinces and a fringe in the south, and their advance was continuing. They announced a claim to Tibet (q.v.) and apparently established contact with communist forces in Indo-China (q.v.) and Burma (q.v.). The question of recognition of the Chinese communist government by Britain and the United States was under discussion when these pages went to press. Mao Tse Tung (q.v.) visited Moscow, where he was received with great honours. In the northern outlying provinces (see *Manchuria*, *Mongols*, *Sinkiang*), Soviet influence seemed to assert itself.

The principal communist leaders are Mao Tse Tung (q.v.), Tsu Deh, Chow En Lai, Wang Jo Fei and Liu Shao Chi. Mao Tse Tung is the political leader, and Tsu Deh the Commander-in-Chief. The communists have won considerable popularity in the territories under their control due to the reforms they have effected, mainly the land reform, their effort to spread education

among the people, and their fairly honest orderly and progressive administration. Their 1945 platform committed them to 'democratic capitalist development based on state, private and co-operative enterprise', and a share-out of the land, while fully fledged communism was shelved on account of China's immaturity for it. Land reform is one of China's paramount problems. The traditional pattern of the Chinese countryside has been feudalist; great landowners have been in possession of most of the land, while the mass of the peasantry have lived as mere tenants in abject poverty. Wherever the communists went, they divided the land among the peasants. The Kuo Min Tang, however, remained under the domination of landed and business interests to the last, despite the efforts of its liberal section to gain more influence In some western and southern provinces, semi-independent 'war lords' (local generals) ruled under the title of nationalist governors, but some of them went over to the communists late in 1949.

The decision of the United States to abandon the Chinese nationalist government came as a surprise to the world. China had been regarded as one of the world's danger spots, and it had been universally believed that the United States would rather go to war than permit Russia to control China. The vast potentialities of China as a market had indeed been linked by some theorists with the possibility of survival of capitalism (q.v.) as a system. From the days of Lenin (q.v.) it had been one of the principal aims of international communism to take China out of the 'imperialist' orbit. (See *Imperialism.*) However, the United States decided that China was not worth going to war, and that adding to the 3,000 million dollars spent on subsidies for nationalist China during the last ten years was not a sound proposition for capitalists. How far the ascendancy of the Chinese communists means complete and permanent control from Moscow, remains to be seen.

Internationally China is recognized as a Great Power and one of the 'Big Five'. It has a permanent seat on the Security Council of the United Nations. All foreign capitulations have been abolished. Only two places in China are still foreign colonies: Hong Kong is British, and Macao is Portuguese, but the populations demand reunion with China as does the Chinese government. France has restored to China a strip of land it held on the Bay of Kwang Chow Wan. However, the real international position of China is, for the time being, weak owing to the internal situation of the country, and China has been described as a 'Great Power by courtesy'.

CHRISTIAN-SOCIAL, a name adopted by Catholic parties in some European countries. The first Christian-Social party was the Austrian one, founded toward the end of the last century, when the Catholic parties began to look for a social programme to help them in their fight against socialism. This programme of reform was also referred to as Christian Socialism, although it excluded the core of socialism as understood by socialists—nationalization and planning. (See *Socialism).* The Christian-Social policy is determined by the papal encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadregesimo Anno*, outlining a Christian corporate state with a measure of social protection of labour. (See *Corporate State, Encyclicals*) At present there are Christian-Social parties in Belgium (q.v) and Bavaria. (See *Germany.*) The former Austrian Christian-Social Party is now known as the Austrian People's Party. (See *Austria.*) While essentially conservative, like all Catholic parties (q.v.), the Christian-Social parties and kindred parties such as the M R.P. in France (q.v.) have to-day left wings with an advanced social programme to a great extent approaching that of socialist labour parties. The term 'Christian Socialists' is used also by those non-Catholic Christians who wish to base their socialism not on Marxism (q.v.) but on Christianity. The Christian-Social ideology is the basis of the Christian Trade Union International (see *Trade Unions*), which unites mainly Catholic, but also a few Protestant, trade unions with a total of 3,000,000 members in 1949.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND. (See *England, Church of.*)

CHURCHILL, Winston Leonard Spencer, British statesman, born 1874, son of Lord Randolph Churchill, the Tory Democrat (third son of the seventh Duke of Marlborough). He was educated at Harrow and Sandhurst, entered the army in 1895,

served in various colonial campaigns, and was a war correspondent in the Boer War (1899–1902). In 1900 he became Conservative M.P. for Oldham, but soon joined the Liberals. In the Liberal government of 1906–15 he became Under-Secretary for the Colonies in 1906, President of the Board of Trade in 1908, Home Secretary in 1910, and First Lord of the Admiralty in 1911. In World War I he sponsored the Dardanelles expedition but resigned when it was not given sufficient support, and commanded a regiment in France until he became Minister of Munitions in the Lloyd George coalition (1917). From 1918 to 1921 he was War Secretary, and was Colonial Secretary 1921–2. After hoping to form an anti-socialist coalition, he joined the Conservatives and became Chancellor of the Exchequer 1924–9. He was not, however, popular with the Conservatives and was excluded from the 'National' Governments of 1931–9. He opposed those ministries on their Indian policy, which he thought too rash, on their failure to re-arm and on their appeasement of the dictators. He had welcomed fascism as a bulwark against communism and at first hoped that Hitler would be a man of peaceful reconstruction, but when Germany and Italy turned to aggression he denounced both them and the weak policies of the British government.

When World War II started, Neville Chamberlain made him First Lord of the Admiralty and a member of the War Cabinet. Defeats in Norway and the Low Countries caused many conservatives to oppose the Government and the Liberal and Labour Parties to resume opposition. Chamberlain resigned and Churchill formed an all-party coalition on 11 May 1940.

He personified the national will to struggle through, his speeches rallied the nation and his energy revitalized the government. He was the principal architect of the great international alliance that overthrew the Axis, and he made many journeys abroad to see Roosevelt (q.v.) and Stalin (q.v.). He interpreted the war as a struggle against Germany as such, not as a mere ideological war against nazism. (But in 1949 he stated that responsibility for the policy of 'unconditional surrender' rested on the late President Roosevelt.) At home he was the supreme director of the war effort, economical and political. As the war progressed, public interest in post-war reconstruction increased, and although in March 1943 Churchill sketched a 'Four-Year Plan' for reconstruction, he was criticized for showing inadequate interest in post-war problems. This feeling, and the belief that the Conservative Party was responsible for the economic depression of the inter-war years as well as for the foreign policy which had given the dictators so strong a position, caused the defeat of Churchill and the Conservative Party, of which he had become leader in 1940 on the death of Chamberlain, in the General Election of July 1945. He had hoped that the coalition might be continued until reconstruction had been accomplished, but the Liberal and Labour Parties refused its indefinite continuance and their ministers left the government in May 1945, whereupon Churchill had formed a new 'National' Government.

As Leader of the Opposition since 1945, Churchill has been a critic of the Labour Government's domestic and imperial policies but has supported its foreign policy. He sponsored the United Europe movement (q.v.) and has advocated close co-operation with the U.S.A.

Among his numerous writings are *My Early Life*, *The World Crisis* (a history of World War I), *The Aftermath* (a sequel), *The Second World War* and biographies of Lord Randolph Churchill and Marlborough. (See also *Conservative Party*.)

CITY, The, a term used as a symbol for the London Stock Exchange and British financial interests at large, and also for their political influence. The City, London's innermost part, is the seat of the Stock Exchange and the chief banks. The term is the British counterpart of New York's 'Wall Street'.

CLASS, a group of people in similar economic conditions. A class may be either vertical or horizontal. A vertical class consists of all persons engaged in an occupation, whether they are employers or employed or independent, and thus there are the industrial, agricultural, trading classes; this concept of vocational classes is the basis of corporatism (q.v.). A horizontal class consists of all persons of a similar position in the social hierarchy, and thus there are the upper, middle and lower classes, the employers and the employed,

the capitalists and the workers, the *bourgeoisie* and the proletariat (both q.v.); the concept of horizontal classes occupies an important place in socialism (q.v.). In syndicalism (q.v.) the two concepts are combined—the syndicalist aims at the overthrow of all classes other than the workers, who would then organize themselves vocationally. (On 'bureaucracy' as a class, see Bureaucracy, Burnham; see also *Mosca.*)

CLERICALISM, a policy aiming at the preservation and increase of the influence of the Church, and backed by it. It is ultimately based on a religious outlook. The term, derived from Latin *clerus*, priesthood, is used only by the opponents of religious policies. It is normally applied only with reference to Roman Catholic parties and policies.

CLERICO-FASCISM, term applied by their enemies to régimes such as those of Salazar in Portugal, Dollfuss in Austria, and Franco in Spain (all q.v.). These régimes have been based to some extent on the social doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, which tends to favour a corporate state (q.v.) and an authoritarian government, institutions which are favoured by fascists also.

CLOSED SHOP, term for a factory or other industrial establishment in which by agreement between the employer and a trade union all workers employed there must be members of the union. In Great Britain the attempts of many unions to obtain the closed shop immediately after World War II caused some industrial unrest and labour leaders advised the use of persuasion rather than strikes as a means to this end. In the U.S.A. the closed shop used to be one of the principal aims of trade union policy, but was forbidden by the Taft-Hartley Act (q.v.) of 1947.

CLOSURE (Clôture), the stopping of a parliamentary debate, followed by bringing to a vote the question being debated. In the British House of Commons there are three forms of closure: 1. The ordinary closure—a member may move that the question be now put (i.e. to a vote) during the discussion of a resolution or bill, the Chair can refuse to accept such a motion; 2. The guillotine or closure by compartments—a timetable is constructed for the several stages of a bill's passage through the House; 3. The Kangaroo closure, which is now rarely used—during the passage of a bill a member may claim to move the question, thus ruling out amendments not yet put; the kangaroo power is the Chair's right to select amendments for debate and is much used. The closure was originally designed to deal with obstruction, but it is now used to speed the passage of bills by curtailing debate even when there is no obstruction, great use of the guillotine has been made in the House of Commons since 1945. In the standing orders of the House of Lords there is no provision for closure, but a member can move that the question be now put or that the peer speaking be no longer heard and a vote can then be taken on this motion.

In the U.S.A. debate in the House of Representatives can easily be curtailed, but in the Senate there is almost unlimited freedom of debate and obstructors—filibusters (q.v.)—often try to force their will on the majority by threatening to disrupt the time table by obstructive speaking.

COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY, in countries with parliamentary government (e.g. Britain) the joint responsibility of the government to the Parliament. The government is responsible for the political actions of each member of it (unless he is made to resign), and each member is responsible for the actions of the government (unless he resigns).

COLLECTIVE SECURITY, a slogan of international diplomacy in the twenties and thirties, first heard in Geneva in 1924. The idea was that all countries should jointly guarantee the security of each other. It is the basic principle of the League of Nations Covenant and the United Nations Charter (both q.v.). The attempts at establishing a system of multilateral alliances against Hitler's Germany before World War II were also described as a policy of collective security.

COLLECTIVISM, a name for any theory proposing extensive government control or organization of the country's economy. It thus denotes socialism, communism, corporativism, fascism, and national socialism (all q.v.), and is even applied to less com-

prehensive forms of government intervention in economic affairs, such as those proposed by the Conservative and Liberal Parties in Britain.

COLOMBIA, South American republic, area 440,000 sq. m., population about 9,000,000, capital Bogotá (425,000). Of the population about 20 per cent are white (mostly in the Bogotá and Modellin districts), 5 per cent American Indian, 5 per cent Negro, and 70 per cent Mestizo. Colombia was until the disorders of 1948–9 one of the most democratic and progressive states in Latin-America. A strong class of intellectuals had raised the political and cultural standards.

The constitution provides for a President, popularly elected for four years, a Senate of 57, elected for four years, and a House of Representatives elected for two years. All adult males may vote, and about half usually do so. The Conservatives, supported by the landowners and the Church, ruled from 1889 to 1930, when the Liberals, anticlerical and representative of the middle class and intellectuals, came to power. In the presidential election of May 1946 the Liberals were divided, G. Turbay being the candidate of the right and J. Gaitán of the left. As a result the Conservative, M. O. Perez, was elected though he had received fewer votes than the two Liberals together. The Liberals retained their majority in both Houses of Congress in the 1947 elections. From May 1946 there had been coalition governments, but in March 1948 Gaitán, who had gained control of the whole party, withdrew the Liberal ministers. In April Gaitán was assassinated and a violent rebellion broke out during the pan-American Congress at Bogotá. Perez formed a new coalition government, which restored order. (Government is presidential, not parliamentary.) The Colombian and the U.S. governments accused the communists of fomenting the disorder, and Colombia severed relations with the U.S.S.R., as did Brazil and Chile. In June 1949 a general election was held, the Liberal ministers resigning shortly before it. There were clashes during the election, and the Liberals complained of conservative 'terrorism'. Yet the Liberals gained 100,000 votes, and secured a slight majority. 70 Liberal and 62 Conservative representatives were returned.

The government remained Conservative, and disorders continued. The army, which had been politically neutral for decades, now supported the Conservatives. Many people lost their lives in political fights between Liberals and Conservatives. The Liberals demanded the immediate holding of the presidential election due in September 1950. The government decided to hold it on 17 November 1949, but as it had meanwhile proclaimed martial law, the Liberals boycotted the election and declared it unconstitutional. The Conservative candidate, Laureano Gomez, was elected by 965,000 votes

Panama (q.v.) was part of Colombia until 1903, when Colombia refused to lease to the U.S.A. a zone for a canal. A revolution then started in Panama, whose independence was at once recognized by the U.S.A., which later secured the zone. Colombia did not recognize the new state until 1914, when she received £5,000,000 from the U.S.A. A long-standing frontier dispute with Peru (q.v.) was settled in 1934.

COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE ACTS, in the British Empire two acts of the British Parliament for the development of the colonies. The Act of 1940, introduced by the Chamberlain government, provided for the expenditure of £5,000,000 a year from 1941 to 1951 and the Act of 1945, introduced by the Churchill coalition government, provides for the expenditure of £120,000,000 between 1946 and 1956. Of this the West Indies are to receive £15,500,000, East Africa and Somaliland £16,250,000, West Africa £30,400,000, and the other colonies and common services the rest.

COLOUR BAR, the limitation by whites of social intercourse with non-whites. It is most important in countries where the non-whites form a majority or large minority of the population, e.g. in India during the period of British rule, South Africa (q.v.) and the United States (see *Negro Problem*). In countries such as Britain, where coloured persons are in a tiny minority, the bar is almost non-existent, although some discrimination is practised. The colour bar seems an institution of 'Nordics' (q.v.) rather than of whites in general, since in Latin-America the Spaniards and Portuguese, and in Africa the French, mingle with the non-whites.

COMINFORM (COMMUNIST INFORMATION BUREAU), an organization of the chief European Communist parties, formed at Belgrade in October 1947 by the parties of the U.S.S.R., Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia, to 'co-ordinate the activities of the Communist Parties on the basis of mutual agreement'. Its manifesto attacked the U.S.A. and Britain as imperialist, anti-democratic warmongers, condemned the European Recovery Programme (q v.) as their instrument for dominating Europe, and denounced the right-wing socialists as tools of the imperialists. It was generally regarded as a revival of the Comintern (see *Internationals*), but Stalin told K. Zilliacus, British pro-communist Labour M.P., with reference to strong communist parties that 'it would be quixotic and utopian to attempt to direct such parties from any common centre'.

In June 1948 the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform (On details of the conflict, see *Tito, Yugoslavia.*)

COMINTERN (Communist International). (See *Communism, Internationals*)

COMISCO, short for Committee of the International Socialist Conference which has for the time being taken the place of the former Socialist International. (See *Internationals.*)

COMMONS, House of, the lower house of the British Parliament, and virtually the ruling one since the powers of the House of Lords (q.v.) were limited in 1911 and since the extensions of the franchise have brought into existence an electorate which would probably condemn an extensive exercise of power on the part of a House dominated by the old aristocracy and the new plutocracy. The 1945 House had 640 members (510 from England, 35 from Wales, 71 from Scotland, 12 from Northern Ireland, and 12 from the Universities), elected by plurality vote in 598 single-member constituencies and 15 double-member constituencies, and by proportional representation in 7 university constituencies. The electorate now consists of all adults (except peers, lunatics, prisoners, and judges)—the voting age is twenty-one, which some would like reduced to eighteen. An Act of 1944 established a permanent boundary commission to advise on the redistribution of seats whenever population movements made it necessary—the Representation of the People Act, 1948, effected the first redistribution. The total of members is to be reduced to 625, of whom England is to return 506, Wales 36, Scotland 71, and Northern Ireland 12. Double-member and university seats are to be abolished, as is also the business premises franchise, which gave to the owners of business premises registered in their own name (i.e. not in that of a company of which they were part or whole owners) a second vote in respect of such property. The old radical principle 'one man, one vote' has thus at last been enacted, but not the principle 'one vote, one value', for constituencies still differ greatly in size among themselves—one having only 25,400 voters and another 79,000—the average is about 55,000; moreover, England is much under-represented—if she were represented on the same scale as Scotland she would have about 600 members. Yet even if these anomalies were removed, it is doubtful whether votes would be equal in value. The plurality system, under which in theory the smallest party could obtain a majority of seats, in practice tends to exaggerate popular support for the winning party—thus the Labour Party obtained 61 per cent of the seats in 1945 even though it received only 48 per cent of the votes. No one party as such is favoured—only the winning party, whichever it may be. Both the Conservative and the Labour Parties favour this electoral system, on the ground that it gives the winning party a majority in the Commons adequate to carry without trouble its legislative proposals and to support its policies. The Liberal and other minor parties claim that it is undemocratic to retain an electoral system which inadequately reflects public opinion, and point out that some of the governments which have been strongest in the House have been weak in policy. The Liberals especially maintain that if the lower House were truly representative of the people it would not be necessary to entrust to the unrepresentative House of Lords the task assigned to it by the Conservatives—deciding when a government bill is not really desired by the people. (See *Proportional Representation.*)

By the Parliament Act, 1911 (q.v.), the

normal duration of each House of Commons is five years, although this period can be extended by an Act of Parliament— thus the 1910 House lasted until 1918, and the 1935 one until 1945. Five years is the maximum normal duration—Parliament can be dissolved by the King at any time. That is, the government of the day can advise the King to dissolve Parliament and he will accept its advice save in exceptional circumstances. It is 114 years since a dissolution was refused in Britain, but the royal prerogative of refusal cannot be said to have lapsed and has been exercised even in recent decades by Dominion governors-general when they thought that dissolution would be unjust to the Opposition (Canada 1926) or dangerous to the country (South Africa 1939). Refusal is possible only when there is a potential government either able to maintain itself in the existing House or likely to gain a majority at the elections. Parliament is normally dissolved when the government wants an expression of public opinion on a new policy (1923), or when a new government with an inadequate support in the existing House has come to power (1905), or when the government thinks that a dissolution at the very end of the permitted five years would occur at an unpropitious time (1935)

Each newly elected House chooses from its members a chairman—the Speaker (q v.), so called because he speaks on behalf of the whole House. Although first elected on party lines, once elected the speaker is impartial, he does not speak in debates.

The Leader of the House of Commons is the member of the government charged with the general supervision of the business of the House, especially with the arrangement of the timetable of debates on general motions and on the various stages of a Bill's progress through the House; the details are settled by the Chief Whip acting under his control (see *Whip*). Until recently the Prime Minister (unless a peer) has usually acted as Leader, but the task is nowadays delegated to another senior member of the ministry.

The House functions in three ways as a House under the chairmanship of the Speaker for debates on general policy and the principles of legislation, as a Committee of the whole House under the chairmanship of the Chairman of Ways and Means for financial debates and debates on the details of bills, and through Standing Committees of limited membership to consider the details of such bills as are not committed to the whole House. It also appoints select committees, some permanent, some temporary. (Accounts of some of them and explanations of other parliamentary terms will be found elsewhere in this volume.)

The voting figures for the General Election of 1945[1], the membership of the House immediatel yafter the election, and its membership in 1949 after several changes of allegiance on the part of constituencies and members, are tabled here.

Party[2]	*Votes in* 1945	*Seats in* 1945	*Seats in* 1949
Labour Party[3]	11,092,000	393	393
Independent Labour Party	47,000	3	—
Communist Party	103,000	2	2
Common Wealth	111,000	1	—
Irish Nationalists	148,000	2	2
Welsh Nationalists	15,000	—	—
Scottish Nationalists	31,000	—	
Liberal Party	2,245,000	12	11
Liberal National Party	760,000	13	13
Nationals	151,000	1	1
Conservative Party	8,673,000	189	192
Ulster Unionists	394,000	10	10
Independents	327,000	14	16

[1] For information about the 1950 General Election see page 469

[2] Articles on all these parties will be found elsewhere in this volume

[3] Including 24 members elected as Labour and Co-operative (See *Co-operative Party*.)

COMMON WEALTH, in Britain a minor social-democratic party. It was formed in 1942 by the fusion of Forward March, a socialistic movement led by Sir Richard Acland, then a Liberal M.P., and the 1941 Committee, a similar body led by J. B. Priestley, the socialist writer. It won three seats at by-elections during the war, when the defeated Conservative candidates were not being opposed by the Labour Party. When the Labour Party went into opposition and fought the Conservatives in the 1945 election, Common Wealth was proved to be not the rising new movement it had appeared—its twenty-five candidates polled 111,000 votes between them and only one was elected. He, Acland (who had been

defeated), and many other members, later left the party.

COMMUNISM. (*a*) **General term:** a system of common property and common work, with equal participation of all members in the products and in administration. Several variants of communism have been proposed since Plato (q.v.) advocated the first system of this kind for the ruling class of his *Republic*; numerous secular and religious teachers have urged the adoption of communist systems for whole societies. So far, few societies larger than the family seem to have practised communism successfully; among them have been religious communities, e.g. monasteries. Some anthropologists believe communism to have been the earliest form of human society, but others hold that early societies were co-operative rather than communist.

In the nineteenth century communism was at first identified with socialism (q v.), and the terms were practically synonymous. In 1847, Marx and Engels (both q.v.) issued the *Communist Manifesto* (q.v.), to this day the credo of Marxian parties even if they call themselves socialist and not communist. Between 1848 and 1918, the term 'communist' was little used and labour parties called themselves usually socialist or social democratic. In 1918, Lenin's radical movement calling itself communist broke away from the socialist movement Attempts have repeatedly been made to distinguish between 'socialist' and 'communist', but no specific definitions have been generally accepted for the two so far. Following hints by Marx and Lenin, 'socialist' is applied to systems in which the principal means of production are public property and used in accordance with a plan based not on profit but common welfare, while money must be paid by the individual for goods, and he receives wages for his labour. 'Communist' would mean a system of thorough-going common property (and presumably a higher degree of communalization of life), in which goods would be available to all without payment and everybody would give his labour without getting specific wages for it. This distinction is epitomized in the slogan 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work' for socialism, and 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs' for communism. The Soviet Union, according to Communists, is now in the stage of 'socialism' which is to be followed by full 'communism' at a later date. Meanwhile it calls itself Union of *Socialist* (not Communist) Soviet Republics.

(*b*) **Political movement:** According to the party platform, communism is a movement for the overthrow of the capitalist system (see *Capitalism*) through a proletarian revolution on the lines described by Marx, Engels, and Lenin (all q v). A dictatorship of the proletariat, originally conceived on the basis of the Soviet or council system (see *Soviet*), is to create a socialist society. Then the power of the state is to wither away gradually and give way to a free communist society imagined on anarchist lines. (See *Anarchism.*) Modern communism is an offspring of the left wing of the international socialist movement. It first became organized as the radical faction of the Russian Social-Democrat Party, led by Lenin. It stood for an orthodox Marxism (q v.), centralist party direction, and revolutionary tactics. The radicals and the moderates, known respectively as the bolsheviks and the mensheviks (see *Bolshevism, Mensheviks*) split in 1903, and the bolsheviks became the communists in the Russian revolution of 1917. The radicals opposed the social-democrats' policy of giving support to the war in World War I (1914–18), this was the immediate cause of the split in the international labour movement. When the moderate social-democrats in Russia declined to support a radical revolutionary programme and favoured a Constituent Assembly, and also the continuation of the war, the bolsheviks seized power on 7 November 1917 and organized a Soviet republic in which government was vested in a congress of workers' councils or Soviets. They ended the war by the Peace of Brest-Litovsk, maintained their power in a civil war of four years, shared the land out to the peasants, and nationalized industry. With a view to distinguishing themselves from the social-democrats, they assumed the name of communists. Their organization was based on the so-called cell system in workshops and streets.

Similar splits occurred in all countries with Marxian labour movements; everywhere their left wings broke off as communist parties, which combined in 1919 in the Communist or Third International in Moscow. (See *Internationals.*) Communism

was based on the doctrine of Lenin (q.v.), was militant and anti-pacifist, proclaimed world revolution as its aim, and denounced imperialism (q.v.). It turned vehemently against social democracy, the democratic wing of the labour movement, and insisted that only forceful revolution and proletarian dictatorship, not democracy and the ballot, could lead to the attainment of socialist ends. Communists described democracy as the veiled dictatorship of capitalism; they said the social-democrats were traitors to socialism, opportunists, and agents of the capitalist class. The Russian revolution and the Soviet Union were declared the standard pattern of world revolution and the workers' state. Social democracy, on the other hand, rejected communism on account of its dictatorial principles. The cleavage between the two sections of the labour movement deepened. Communism spread widely in Continental Europe and in China, but not in Britain and America. Its evolution has remained closely bound up with the history of its motherland, the Soviet Union. So far seven periods can be distinguished.

The first period (1917–23) was marked by the Russian revolution and the civil war under the direction of Lenin, coupled with efforts to effect a world revolution. A communist revolution in Hungary (1919) and several communist uprisings in Germany (1919–21) failed, and Russia remained the only communist state. Radical 'war communism' was followed by the N.E.P., the 'New Economic Policy' which for a time permitted a degree of capitalist activities in order to restore Russia's shattered economy. It was in these circumstances that Lenin died in January 1924.

The second period (1924–7) was filled by the struggle for the succession of Lenin. This was linked with the question whether a world revolution should remain the paramount aim or whether it ought to take a back seat for the development of Russia, now known as the Soviet Union, as a socialist state for itself. The struggle was essentially one between Stalin (q.v.) and Trotsky (q.v.) who had both been Lenin's lieutenants. Stalin's policy of 'socialism in one country' prevailed over Trotsky's policy of fomenting revolution abroad. Trotsky was exiled in 1927, and Stalin became the leader of Russia and of communism. Analogous internal disputes occurred in the communist parties of other countries, all resulting in a reorganization along Stalinist lines.

The third period (1927–35) was dominated by the reconstruction of Soviet Russia. The first Five-Year Plan transformed the backward agricultural country into a modern industrial Power. The second Five-Year Plan continued this development. World revolution remained the theoretical aim and formed the core of the official programme of the Communist International adopted in 1928, but in practice communism concentrated on Russian development and the avoidance of disturbances by foreign Powers. The tactic of international communist parties was adjusted to this purpose; they went on proclaiming revolution but practically confined themselves to electoral campaigns, abstaining from attempts at insurrection, except in China. The communist struggle during this period was principally directed against the social-democrats who were in accordance with Stalin's words described as 'social-fascists' and 'enemy No. 1'. Attempts at forming a united front with the social-democrats against the rising tide of German Nazism were repudiated as 'opportunism'. This policy was continued until the victory of Nazism in Germany, which was followed by the suppression of the largest communist party outside Russia. The tactic described before was still continued for a time, but the defeat suffered in Germany made the rulers in Moscow review it, and together with Hitler's incipient threat to the Soviet Union this experience led to a new period in communist policy.

This fourth period (1935–8) was marked by the popular front policy. Adopted by the Communist International in 1935, it started from the united front previously rejected, and widened it to a popular front of all democratic parties for defence against fascism. The defence of middle-class democracy on the basis of capitalism became the main plank of the communist platform. Communist parties declared themselves patriotic and democratic; revolution was postponed; and the Soviet system was abandoned for parliamentarianism. Even in Russia the Soviet constitution was replaced by one nominally parliamentary (1936). The demand for the immediate adoption of socialism was dropped, and limited reforms within the capitalist system took its place. In the countries considered

potential allies of Russia against Germany, the communists voted for the military budget the rejection of which had previously been one of their principal tenets. Before 1933 the adoption of a popular front policy might have saved democracy in Germany and might have prevented all that happened afterwards; now it was too late. Popular front governments were set up only in France and Spain. The Spanish popular front, insufficiently supported by its associates abroad, perished in the civil war against fascist General Franco (1936–9), while the French popular front declined after some initial successes. It came to an end in 1938. The requirements of Russian foreign policy became the sole determinant of the policy of international communist parties. Inside Russia opposition to Stalin's policy was crushed by a great party purge including the 'Moscow Trials'.

The fifth period (1939–41) was overshadowed by the Stalin-Hitler Pact of August 1939, which was followed by the outbreak of World War II and the fourth partition of Poland. Previous attempts at creating an effective Anglo-French-Russian alliance against Hitler had failed. The Soviet Union stayed neutral in the war to begin with, gave diplomatic support to Hitler, and communist parties in Allied countries were ordered to oppose the war as 'imperialist'. Anti-war activities by the French communists played a part in the French collapse in 1940. All this changed suddenly with Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941.

The sixth period (1941–6) brought first a recession into the background of all ideological questions in favour of a nationalism scarcely compatible with the old internationalist party programme. Russia waged its war against Germany under patriotic, not communist, slogans and incited also the communist parties of the Allied and German-occupied countries to extreme nationalism. The Communist International was officially dissolved in 1943. Pan-Slavism (q.v.) was resurrected. A military trait in communism was enhanced. Items of the communist programme dealing with class-war and revolution were shelved completely, and the American Communist Party went to the length of dissolving itself in 1944 and predicting a long period of flourishing capitalism existing peacefully by the side of communist Russia. After the war the communists in Russian-occupied Slav countries embarked on a policy mixed of radical socialist measures and nationalism, and while the word 'democracy' was used even more often, the actual system adopted was equivalent to a communist dictatorship. The Soviet system was not introduced, and the countries in question were given nominally parliamentary constitutions. 'National Fronts' were formed of communists and more or less communist-co-ordinated other parties, and sometimes such parties were especially formed for the purpose. The opposition was gradually eliminated. The countries so reorganized became known as 'popular democracies', and more or less socialist constitutions were adopted between 1946 and 1949. In Hungary and Rumania a similar policy was put into effect, the nationalist side being overshadowed by the treatment of these countries as vanquished enemies. A similar pattern of policy became visible in Soviet-occupied eastern Germany, though even more modified by Russian and other Slav territorial and industrial policy toward Germany. In France, Belgium and Italy the communists participated in the government until the spring of 1947.

About that time a seventh period (1947–?) began, in obvious connection with the growing antagonism between the Soviet Union and the Western world. The party line took another turn to the left and reverted to some of the earlier radical slogans. On 6 October 1947 the formation of an international communist 'information bureau' in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, was announced after an international communist conference held in Warsaw, Poland. The initial members were the communist parties of the Soviet Union, Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, France and Italy. This was generally regarded as the re-establishment of the Communist International. The platform adopted in Warsaw came closer to the older theory of the inevitable conflict between the capitalist and the socialist halves of the world. It spoke of a struggle between the imperialist and the anti-imperialist camps taking place in an atmosphere of a sharpening crisis of capitalism, denounced what it described as United States imperialism supported by England and France, and called for a united front against imperialists and

nationalists. (There was no mention of the nationalist policies of Slav communist-controlled countries.) The socialist leaders were once more denounced as 'traitors', and domestic Russian propaganda spoke again of the 'liberation of the workers from capitalist serfdom'. At the same time, leaders of the democratic opposition in the satellite countries were executed.

The new International was soon nicknamed Cominform, as the old Communist International had been abbreviated Comintern. In June 1948 the Cominform expelled the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (q.v.), whose leader, Tito (q.v.), had shown himself disobedient to Moscow. The Yugoslav communists were accused of nationalism, anti-collectivism in agriculture, effacement of the party in the 'National Front', and dictatorial bureaucratism. Tito's communists replied by persecuting the party members loyal to Moscow and by repudiating the charges made by the Cominform; they re-affirmed their loyalty to the Soviet Union and communism. Yet the conflict between the Soviet group and Yugoslavia became more acute in 1949. Communist parties elsewhere were repeatedly purged of leaders suspected of disobedience to Moscow.

In 1949, the Chinese communists under Mao Tse Tung (q.v.) conquered practically all China (q.v.).

Communism was the first totalitarian system in Europe. Viewed historically, it began the repudiation of liberal-democratic concepts and rights, which was afterwards continued by other totalitarian systems. Its ultimate aim, a just international society of equals with common property and fraternal relations, is ethical; yet the unethical methods adopted for the achievement of this end have evoked much opposition. The split between communism and democratic socialism, which holds these methods incompatible with the socialist purpose, continues. The basic attitude of communism to religion remains negative, notwithstanding moderation in communist policy toward the Churches after 1935. The question has been raised how far the ultimate communist aim still exists. Many students of recent communist policies have suggested that in point of fact a new bureaucratic-military class state has developed in Russia, nationalist and expansionist on the old lines, and that Russian power-politics have superseded communist evangelism, which is maintained only for the purpose of gaining supporters abroad. These observers hold that communism will surely nationalize industry and break up big estates wherever it comes, as has been recently happening in Soviet-controlled eastern Europe, but that the social transformation of the world it envisages has now become in a peculiar way linked with Russian national ascendancy and the aspirations of a new ruling class. Communism is believed by this section of opinion to be developing into a 'managerial' society (see *Burnham, Bureaucracy*), in which nationalization and planning form the foundation for the rule of a new upper class of officials, administrators, and soldiers. There is no doubt that the communist parties of all countries except Tito's Yugoslavia, continue to take orders from Moscow, whether or not the Communist International exists formally, and that they always act in line with Russian foreign policy. The devotion and discipline of their members is great. One of their characteristics is the capacity for sudden *volte-faces* in policy on instructions from Moscow. However, there are those who insist that the modifications and zigzags of Russian and communist policies are only tactical moves in the service of the old, unaltered purpose of world revolution. As regards doctrine, communism now attempts to blend the old strict Marxism with Russian and other nationalism. The Marxist-Leninist tenets are still taught as an integrating formula, but their practical application varies in accordance with the requirements of Soviet diplomacy.

The support which communism receives is difficult to estimate. Figures for the strength of communist parties exist but are unreliable, partly because the party is joined by opportunists who would join any party which well rewarded its supporters (from time to time the party is purged of such members). In the autumn of 1947 communist parties were reported in sixty-six countries and the membership figures for the chief parties were as follows: U.S.S.R., 6,000,000, Germany, 2,200,000, Italy, 2,000,000; China 2,000,000; Yugoslavia, 1,700,000; Czechoslovakia, 1,600,000; Bulgaria, 630,000; Poland, 75,000; U.S.A., 70,000, Japan, 70,000; India, 60,000; Holland, 60,000; Belgium 60,000; Indonesia, 50,000; Chile 50,000; Great Britain, 43,000;

Finland, 40,000; Cuba, 40,000; Argentina, 30,000; Peru, 30,000; Canada, 25,000; Venezuela, 20,000; Mexico, 8,000. These figures are, of course, greatly exceeded by the numbers of votes which the communists receive in elections. It is noteworthy that wherever free elections have been held in Continental Europe since the end of World War II the support given to the communists has declined from its maximum in 1945–60.

Communism receives support not only from those who are convinced of its truth as a theory of society but also from those who, careless of the ultimate aims of the methods of the communists, are living in bad conditions for which other parties offer no speedy remedy. It is this which accounts for its support in backward countries being proportionately greater than in those countries which are economically the most capitalist and therefore, according to Marxism, the most ripe for revolution. In China and southern Asia the communists offer in general power to the unemployed intelligentsia, better conditions to the growing class of industrial workers and, more important, land reform to the peasants and plantation workers. To all classes alike they offer release from the inefficiency and corruption, real or alleged, of the present indigenous régimes or freedom from European rule where Britain, France and Holland remain in control.

COMMUNIST INFORMATION BUREAU. (See *Cominform, Communism.*)

COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, a pamphlet written in 1847 by Karl Marx (q.v.) and Frederick Engels (q.v.) in Brussels for the International League of Communists then existing in London. The Manifesto is a popular exposition of the principles of Marxism (q.v.). It begins: 'A spectre is haunting Europe: the spectre of communism.' All history, it says, is a history of class war. The contemporary class war is being waged between the *bourgeoisie* or middle class and the proletariat or working class. The proletariat will win: 'The *bourgeoisie* produces above all its own gravedigger. Its downfall and the triumph of the proletariat are equally inevitable.' After this the class war will end since the proletariat will not form a new ruling class after its victory. The proletarian movement is 'the movement for the emancipation of the overwhelming majority in the interest of the overwhelming majority'. The past rise of the middle class, the connection between the organization of production, culture, and politics are expounded, and an early revolution is predicted. The proletariat is considered the principal factor in future history. A programme is outlined for the expected revolution; it is a mixture of socialist and radical-democratic demands within the setting of the 1840s, although it argues against the other socialist trends. It declares that the workers have no country and have 'nothing to lose but their chains', ending in the famous call: 'Workers of all countries, unite!'

The *Communist Manifesto* was one of the most influential publications in the history of politics. It became the basis of the policy of most socialist and communist parties in Europe (except the British Labour Party), was printed in some fifty languages, and has had a total circulation reached by few other works in world literature.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, was formed in 1920. It has about 40,000 members, and in 1945 polled 102,780 votes and obtained two seats in Parliament. Among its leaders are Harry Pollitt, R. Palme Dutt and William Gallacher. It has a daily newspaper, *The Daily Worker.*

COMTE, Auguste, French social philosopher, founder of sociology and positivism, born 19 January 1798, at Montpellier, died 5 September 1857, in Paris, was the secretary and friend of St. Simon (q.v.), from whom he adopted the idea of reorganizing human society on a scientific basis. His ideas were rooted in his age's belief in progress. In his *Cours de philosophie positive* (1830–42) Comte taught that knowledge and culture develop in three stages: the theological, the metaphysical and the positive. On reaching the positive stage, man abandons the quest for the absolute and contents himself with the scientific correlation of facts. The sciences are connected under an 'encyclopaedic law' in the following order of increasing complexity: mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology, sociology. The science of society is the consummation of all knowledge. It appears in the ultimate stage of cultural development to find the laws of social life and begin the reorganization of the world on the lines of these unfailing

laws. In this respect Comte was a forerunner of 'scientific socialism', though he came from a royalist family and was a conservative. In his *Traité de Sociologie* (1851–4) he turned religious, mystical and utopian, much to the dismay of his followers. (He spent several years in a mental institution.) Now he saw the foundation of a new society in a new religion. He wanted to substitute a 'sociocratic' religion for all existing creeds, based on the worship of the 'Great Being' with a quasi-catholic ritual and 'positive saints' (eminent servants of humanity).

Comte's positivism is still influential in various schools of thought He was the first modern thinker to recommend the empirical investigation of social and political facts on scientific lines, and established the science of sociology. He influenced many other political theorists, notably Marx, J. S. Mill, and Herbert Spencer (qq.v.).

CONCENTRATION CAMP, an institution for the detention of political opponents, unwanted sections of the population and other prisoners. The name originated in the South African War (1899–1902), when the British, attempting to defeat the Boer guerrillas, interned the rural Boer population in concentration camps, which were actually mere enclosures from which the prisoners in them were unable to go and were thus prevented from aiding the Boer troops. The measure was much criticized, both in England and abroad. The German Nazis established concentration camps after their advent to power in 1933, and detained in them first their political adversaries, then all persons who showed any sign of opposition to the government or ventured a critical remark, and eventually the Jews. During the war of 1939–45 the concentration camps were further filled with masses of foreigners deported from occupied countries. Detention in Nazi concentration camps was imposed without trial or sentence, and was for an indefinite duration. The camp guards were supplied first by the SA (Nazi stormtroopers), then by the SS (the Nazi black guard); their monstrous atrocities have become notorious. The concentration camps became permanent institutions for mass murder, torture, and almost unbelievable bestialities carried on as routine by brutal SS crews. The Nazi gov rnment (rightly) expected an intimidating effect on the population from this system. Gas chambers and other devices for mass killing were attached to some concentration camps during the war, together with huge crematoria for burning the bodies. In addition to a variety of methods of immediate murder, prisoners were systematically starved or worked to death. In addition horrible medical experiments were performed on prisoners in camps. At a later stage common criminals were brought into the camps in numbers, partly for spying on political prisoners, partly for discrediting the latter in the eyes of the population by making the camps appear as places of detention for criminals. According to preliminary estimates some 500,000 Germans (not counting Jews) and 1,500,000 foreigners passed through the Nazi concentration camps, taking no account of the extermination camps in Poland. The number of people who were killed or died in the camps, again not reckoning extermination camps, is estimated at some 100,000 Germans and 500,000 foreigners.

After the occupation of Germany by the Allies in 1945 the surviving prisoners were set free; some of the camps were used as internment camps for Nazis. The example of the Nazi concentration camps was imitated in some other countries. This includes the Austrian internment camps under the Dollfuss government, the Spanish concentration camps for republicans under Franco, the French internment camps for Spanish and German refugees under the Vichy government, the Czech camps for Sudeten-Germans and the Polish camps for east Germans after the war, and camps for opponents of communist rule in eastern Europe's 'popular democracies'. The methods practised in these camps were or are in various gradations modelled on the German Nazi example. In the Soviet Union the concentration camps are called labour camps, and American observers estimated the number of persons detained there at eight to ten millions in 1949.

CONCENTRATION, Theory of, in Marxism (q.v.) the theory that the larger and stronger capitalists gradually oust or absorb the smaller and weaker ones, until all the capital is concentrated in the hands of a few powerful combines. (See also *Monopoly Capitalism.*)

CONCLAVE, a secluded assembly of the Cardinals of the Roman Catholic Church

for the election of a new pope. Conclaves are always held in Rome. They must be convoked within three weeks of the death of a pope. All the cardinals of the world are summoned to Rome for the conclave. Once the conclave has begun the cardinals are cut off from any communication with the outside world; indeed the gates of the building in which the conclave sits are walled up. Each cardinal may bring with him into the conclave a secretary and an attendant. There are as a rule about 300 persons in a conclave. The conclave must not end before it has elected a pope. Frequently conclaves have lasted for weeks. The conclave can act if at least one-half of the cardinals are present. The cardinals are pledged to lifelong secrecy as to the proceedings of the conclave. The Pope must be elected by a two-thirds majority. If the ballot does not yield such a majority for any candidate the voting papers are wrapped in wet straw and burnt. This produces black smoke which escapes through the chimney and indicates to the crowd waiting outside that no pope has yet been elected. The ballot is repeated until the required majority is obtained for a candidate Then the voting papers are burnt without straw so as to produce white smoke. This is the traditional signal of the election of a pope. The oldest cardinal-deacon steps out on the balcony and tells the people: '*Habemus papam.*' (We have a pope.)

CONCORDAT, from Latin *pactum concordatum*, agreed pact, an agreement between the Pope and a government on the relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the state. It specifies the mutual rights and obligations, the status of the Catholic clergy and religious orders, state contributions to the Church, the protection of Church property, Church taxes, government influence on the appointment of bishops, Catholic influence on schools, etc. A concordat is tantamount to an international diplomatic treaty. If a concordat is not attainable, it is sometimes replaced by a *modus vivendi*, an informal agreement with similar purposes.

CONCURRENT POWER, in federalism (q.v.) the power of both the federal and the regional parliaments to legislate on the same subject.

CONDOMINIUM, Latin for joint rule, the joint government of a territory by two or more nations. Examples of condominium are the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (q.v.), the Phoenix Islands (Anglo-American), and the New Hebrides (Anglo-French). The Allied Control Council for Germany set up in 1945 was also meant to be a sort of temporary condominium, but it scarcely exercised this function in practice, apart from minor tasks. The Allied High Commission in Western Germany comes near to being a condominium.

CONFEDERATION. (See *Federalism*)

CONFESSIONAL CHURCH, that section of the German Evangelical (Lutheran) Church which, led by Pastor Niemoeller, resisted the attempt of the Nazi government to co-ordinate the Church with Nazism. After World War II it became the unitary Lutheran Church in Germany.

CONGRESS. (1) The name of the legislature in many of the American republics, including the United States (q.v.) where the Congress consists of a Senate (q.v.) and a House of Representatives (q.v.).

(2) The name of a nationalist movement in India (q.v.).

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (C.I.O.), one of the two great North American federations of trade unions, the other being the American Federation of Labour—abbreviated A.F.L. (q.v.). The C.I.O. was formed in 1935 by the secession of some great unions from the A.F.L. on the ground that the latter's policy of confining itself to skilled labour was out of date and a cause of the weakness of trade unionism in America. The seceding unions claimed that craft unionism is suitable for industries wherein craft divisions are clear and skill predominates. They believed that new mass-production industries, such as those producing motor-cars, radios, rayon goods, had created masses of unskilled and semi-skilled workers who were not craftsmen but machine-minders. For these workers the A.F.L. was not making a place. The A.F.L. refused to reform, whereupon eight of its chief unions left it and under the leadership of John L. Lewis (of the United Mineworkers) formed in November 1935 the Committee for Industrial Organization, which adopted its present name in 1938. These unions, which included miners, textile, clothing, oil,

metallurgical, printing, steel, glass and other workers, were expelled from the A.F.L. in 1936.

The C.I.O. concentrated on the mass-production industries and accepted all workers, regardless of skill and status. By 1938 it had more than 4,000,000 members, more than the A.F.L. In 1939 some of its larger unions returned to the A.F.L., which was rejoined by Lewis and his Mineworkers in 1943 (but the latter seceded again in 1947), and which has since remained the larger federation (7,800,000 members in 1948, when the C.I.O. had about 6,000,000).

The organization of the C.I.O. resembles that of the A.F.L. It is a federation of about forty unions, some international (American-Canadian). In domestic politics it is less conservative than the A.F.L. Like it, it supports the Democratic Party, but its former leader, the late Sydney Hillman, was one of the sponsors of the small American Labour Party. When that party, believed to be under communist influence, supported the presidential candidature of Henry Wallace (q.v.) in 1948 the C.I.O. ordered those of its unions which were members of the party to leave it. In the World Labour movement, the C.I.O. joined the World Fede ation of Trade Unions established after World War II, while the A.F.L. held aloof from this body. The C.I.O., however, seceded from the W.F.T.U. together with the British T.U.C., late in 1948, in protest against communist domination, and co-operated in the foundation of a new democratic trade union international, which was joined by the A.F.L. also (see *Trade Unions*).

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS, persons who on religious or moral grounds refuse military service, or at least service as combatants—some refuse to participate in any activity helpful to the war effort. In Britain and the U.S.A. conscientious objection is recognized and objectors who are accounted 'sincere' by tribunals are exempted from combatant service; political objection is not recognized.

CONSERVATIVE PARTIES, the parties standing for the preservation of the existing order and institutions, in opposition to the progressive parties (q.v.) which wish to change them. Conservative parties usually reject any abstract doctrine in politics; they start from reality as they see it and do not think human nature or politics can be fundamentally changed within any measurable space of time by the invocation of ideal or dogma. A certain pessimism concerning the nature of man underlies conservative political philosophy, which therefore upholds authority and constraint. It favours tradition and sentiment as against pure reason and construction.

The term 'conservative' is in a way question-begging, since it is necessary to inquire of any given conservative party what it is it wishes to conserve. On the continent of Europe conservative parties have either wished to protect capitalism against socialism or monarchical institutions against republicanism. Religious motives have also been important. Thus Catholic parties (q.v.) have been especially concerned to protect the Roman Church and the institutions of religious education, the family and private property. The social basis of conservative parties usually lies in the propertied classes, whose interests they uphold, landowning aristocracies and other landowners, especially the big ones, are pillars of conservatism everywhere, and part of the middle classes which used to be progressive or liberal in the past, have also turned conservative in the face of the aspirations of the working classes. This applies especially to the richer strata. However, large sections of the middle classes continue to adhere to progressive views, and on the other hand, considerable sections of the non-propertied classes also are attached to conservative parties on religious and other grounds. Catholic parties, for instance, must be classed with the conservative parties, but their mass basis is largely among the poorer sections of the population. In agricultural countries the peasantry are inclined to be conservative if they own their land, and radical if they rent it. Not all parties which are in essence conservative call themselves by that name; only the British, Canadian, some Scandinavian and most Latin-American conservatives do so to-day. 'Conservative' is largely synonymous with 'right-wing', and nationalist parties (except in oppressed countries) are usually conservative. Some conservative parties claim to favour gradual progress and reform. The two large Canadian and American parties both contain conservative as well as progressive elements.

The degree of conservatism varies a great deal from country to country, and 'conservative' is not necessarily synonymous with 'reactionary' (see *Reaction*). (For the *British Conservative Party*, see next article.)

CONSERVATIVE PARTY, in Great Britain, one of the two great political parties, the other being the Labour Party (q.v.). It is also known as the Unionist Party, a title adopted in 1906 when the Conservative and Liberal Unionist Parties, both in favour of the legislative union between Britain and Ireland, coalesced. It is the successor of the Tory Party of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and is still popularly known by that name. It is a party of the right, in favour of the existing social and economic system—or, rather, of a reformed version of the 1939 one—and is opposed to socialism. Unlike many European conservative parties, it is wholly loyal to democratic parliamentary government, although a certain section has sympathized with fascist and other authoritarian régimes abroad. The party has always been associated with the landed interest (i.e. the landowners) and since the last quarter of the nineteenth century has been supported also by the financial and commercial interests which had previously been associated with the Whig and Liberal Parties (q.v.). Although widely regarded as the political agency of the propertied classes, it has been strongly supported by large sections of the lower middle and the working classes, partly because of its policies, partly because its leaders have been members of the classes hitherto regarded as the natural rulers of the country.

Its policy is directed at the maintenance of the Empire, at the development of home agriculture and industry, and at the safeguarding of private property. Since the days of Disraeli and Lord Randolph Churchill in the nineteenth century, there has been a tradition of social reform (see *Tory Democracy*), and the party now summarizes its policy in the slogan a 'property-owning democracy'. Its 'Industrial Charter' of 1947 envisages 'a system of free enterprise which is on terms with authority, and which reconciles the need for central direction with the encouragement of individual effort'. This is partly a reversal of the policy of the inter-war years, when the party engaged in protecting existing industries—both manufacturing and agricultural—with little regard for the need to ensure efficiency and enterprise. The 'Agricultural Charter' (1948) advocates the continuance of the pre-war encouragement of all branches of British agriculture and the retention of the marketing boards (q.v.). The party is officially committed to general planning, but the interpretation of its commitment is a subject of dispute. On one side are the opponents of planning, such as Sir Waldron Smithers, on the other are collectivists such as Robert Boothby. Some former planners such as Peter Thorneycroft and Lord Hinchingbrooke, seem now to be advocating an economy which is subject mainly to general financial planning alone and not to extensive governmental intervention. (See *Tory Reform Committee, Design for Freedom.*) The majority of the party seems to support the central policy of Churchill, Eden, Salisbury, Butler and Elliott (see separate entries), which was defined in the manifesto 'The Right Road for Britain' (1949).

The external policy of the party is traditionally nationalist and imperialist and the party's general support of the American Loan and the European Recovery Programme has been criticized by some conservatives as involving an abandonment of Imperial Preference (q.v.). Conservatives have given support to the foreign policy of the Labour government and to Churchill's United Europe movement (q.v.).

In organization the party is a federation of constituency Conservative and Unionist Associations, which have a large measure of autonomy; there is a Young Conservative organization with the wide age-range of 15 to 30. Resolutions of the annual conference are not binding on the leader of the party, now Churchill, although he naturally takes note of them when formulating policy. Lord Woolton (q.v.) is Chairman of the party.

In 1949 there were 202 Conservatives in the House of Commons (q.v.); of these 10 are Ulster Unionists, the Conservatives of Northern Ireland (q.v.). The party is supported by 1 National M.P. and the 13 National Liberal (q.v.) members. In the House of Lords (q.v.) it has a large majority led by the Marquess of Salisbury (q.v.).

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, an assembly of representatives of the people meeting to draft a constitution after the overthrow

of a régime or the establishment of a new state.

CONTRABAND, from Latin *contra bannum*—against the ban, goods the delivery of which to a belligerent may be prevented by another belligerent, the term is also used as a name for 'forbidden goods' at large. The law of contraband is a part of international law and in the two World Wars was the basis for the blockade (q.v.).

CONVENTION. (1) An extraordinary assembly of representatives of the people convoked to consider fundamental constitutional changes—a recent example was that of Newfoundland, in 1946. In Britain the Convention was the assembly of surviving members of the Parliaments of Charles II, summoned in 1688 by the Prince of Orange (later William III) to advise on the solution of the problems caused by the flight of James II.

(2) A meeting of delegates of an American party for the nomination of candidates for office, the adoption of policy, and the transaction of other business. The most important conventions are those which are held in the summer of every fourth year to choose the candidate for the presidential election of the following November. It is marked by exuberant demonstrations and keen bargaining for support by the several candidates for the party candidature.

(3) An international agreement concluded not between heads of states but between their governments.

CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT, the movement for conducting economic activities through co-operative associations rather than through ordinary capitalistic business enterprise. The co-operative idea is essentially a socialist one (see *Socialism*), though the movement has become adapted to working in a capitalistic environment and large sections of it, especially in the rural part, repudiate socialism as a national system. The movement is of great importance in Europe, but is weak in most extra-European countries. It may be divided into the urban and rural co-operative movements as to its operating areas, and into consumers', producers' and trading co-operatives as to its specific purposes. In urban areas consumers' co-operatives predominate, while the rural movement specializes in purchasing and marketing associations, in the co-operative use of machinery and dairy plant, and in co-operative food-processing, etc., thus extending into the field of production. Banking and lending associations on a co-operative basis are an essential feature of continental rural life, and similar financial co-operatives also exist in the urban areas. Socially, the co-operative movement may be divided into the section serving working-class interests, the section serving farming interests, and an urban section catering for the lower middle classes, including small traders and producers of all sorts.

The association of the members of a co-operative is closer and more personal than that of shareholders in a joint-stock company. In respect of each other they renounce the profit motive and substitute fraternal co-operation for it. The true co-operative is a business conducted not for profitable selling to outsiders but for serving its members. With the outside world its relations are of necessity more capitalistic but the co-operative movement throughout the world has been striving to build a network of co-operativism between its individual constituents so that co-operatives should produce for and trade with other co-operatives, all observing the principles of the movement.

A consumers' co-operative runs a shop or chain of shops; it buys at wholesale prices and sells at current prices, sometimes only to members, but returns its profits, after due provision for reserves and depreciation and after deductions for educational and other services, as a tax-free dividend to the members, in proportion to the value of the purchases made by them during the year, purchasers who are not members receive no dividend. A producers' co-operative owns a factory or workshop as the joint property of the members, who in the pure form operate it personally as a group, while in less pure forms only ownership is on co-operative lines, the plant being operated by hired (non-member) labour. Farmers' purchasing co-operatives buy cheaply for their members, while their marketing co-operatives—important organizations in many countries—aim at ensuring better returns for the farmers' produce. Rural co-operatives also endeavour to raise the standard of production. All trading co-operatives aim at eliminating the middleman's profit, and

are therefore opposed by traders. Lending co-operatives provide credit facilities for poorer members who would find difficulty in getting bank loans, charge reduced rates of interest, and distribute profits among members. Building co-operatives take several forms: in England they are co-operative versions of the commercial building societies which make loans to members on the security of the houses being bought; in France there are co-operative societies of building workers who undertake building contracts, in Germany, members buy shares in the co-operative which has houses built for them by contractors, and members live in these houses for nominal rents or for nothing, in several countries groups of people have joined in co-operatives to build their own homes, by their own or hired labour. In many countries, such co-operatives are subsidized by the government.

Co-operativism was the original form of modern socialism (q.v.), and its founders hoped gradually to substitute co-operative enterprise for capitalism throughout the national economy. The model settlements established by the early 'Utopian' socialists were co-operatives. Co-operativism as an instrument of socialist policy was strong in England between 1827 and 1834, when it succumbed to government opposition and other difficulties (see *Owen*). Modern co-operativism no longer aims primarily (or at all) at the establishment of a socialist system, but at securing advantages for its members within the given economic order. The first organization of the new type was created by some workmen at Rochdale in 1844. These 'Rochdale pioneers' associated to run a store, the profits of which were to be returned to the members at the end of the year. There had been forerunners whose policy had been to sell at cost price, but that system had failed. The Rochdale system, more business-like, worked well and spread quickly through Europe. Other co-operatives followed and most European states adopted special legislation favouring co-operatives by reduced taxation and other privileges. The English co-operatives formed the C.W.S., the Co-operative Wholesale Society, at Manchester in 1863. It has since grown into one of the world's largest trading organizations; it has founded factories and plantations of its own to supply member societies with all sorts of products, and it employs over 50,000 people. The Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society was founded in 1868; it remains distinct from the English body, although it collaborates with it.

Consumers' co-operatives in other European countries are organized on similar lines. About one-third of the population of England is linked with co-operatives, and the proportion is, or used to be, comparable in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Scandinavia, and not much smaller in France and the Low Countries. In Germany the Nazis suppressed co-operatives associated with the labour movement and deprived the others of their original character. Co-operativism is now being rebuilt in Germany. That country is the home of the rural lending societies designed by the co-operativist Raiffeisen, and the urban lending associations proposed by another nineteenth-century reformer, Schultze-Delitzsch. Rural co-operativism is likewise strong on the Continent, especially in Scandinavia, where it dominates the agricultural export trade, and is particularly strong in Denmark. In eastern Europe, peasants' co-operatives and their federations were important before the end of World War II, but since then they, like all other co-operatives there, have been integrated in the state-controlled national economies, even if nominally retaining their co-operative form. Nominal co-operativism is also the dominant feature of agriculture in the Soviet Union (q.v.), where farmers are organized in collective units known as *kolkhoz* (q.v.), which have the structure of a co-operative but are in fact under the direction of the state. In Russia almost everybody is a co-operator, as a member of either a *kolkhoz* or a consumers' co-operative. The consumers' co-operatives handle about half the country's trade and have 25,000,000 members. They are united in the central federation *Centrosoyuz*. Compulsory organizations of the kind found in Russia and eastern Europe are not recognized as true co-operatives by western co-operatives, who contend that free association and decision are essential for real co-operation. Asiatic countries, especially India and Japan, know primitive forms of rural co-operativism.

In the United States co-operativism is of little significance, 'rugged individualism' and capitalistic principles not providing a favourable environment. Even so, there are

about 800,000 co-operators running consumers' and other co-operatives. American co-operativism is supported mainly by immigrant groups, especially Scandinavians, Finns and Germans. Its centre is in the small towns of the Middle West. Canada's co-operative movement is of moderate size, and is partly associated with the Commonwealth Co-operative Federation, the Labour Party of Canada (see *Canada*). The Canadian wheat pools, developed after World War I, were in essence co-operatives, and sold wheat through a joint agency, Canadian Co-operative Wheat Producers Ltd. In Australia and New Zealand agricultural marketing co-operatives are of great importance.

Politically, consumers' co-operatives are usually socialist, and form an important part of the socialist labour movement, but there are also non-socialist co-operatives, especially in Continental Europe. Rural co-operatives are usually associated with peasant parties and definitely anti-socialist. In Britain the co-operatives founded a political party of their own, the Co-operative Party (q.v.), which is associated with, but not affiliated to, the Labour Party (q.v.). Co-operatives and their powerful federations exercise great influence in the economy of many European countries. National federations exist for the two main branches of the movement, consumers' and farmers' co-operatives, with great trading and banking institutions, and sometimes there is a joint federation of all the co-operatives of both sectors. Furthermore, all are federated in the International Co-operative Alliance (founded in 1895), the 'Co-operative International', whose seat is in London, and which founded the International Co-operative Trading Agency in 1937. The federations aim at developing mutual trade between co-operatives on a national and international scale, and 'co-operative socialism' on these lines remains their ideal, although in practice they concentrate on co-operative business in the given system rather than on political evangelism. Numerous forms of co-operativism have evolved, and some are not very different from capitalist enterprise; indeed, capitalist producers and traders often associate in co-operatives for the purpose of buying and marketing, and on the Continent banks and other business enterprises sometimes choose the co-operative form in order to secure taxation privileges. Yet in general an ethical character remains associated with the co-operative form of enterprise: co-operatives often support educational and other cultural activities among their members, and they are usually expected to be particularly fair to their employees when using hired labour.

The co-operative idea has been applied successfully to distribution, banking, and agriculture, and also to certain auxiliary production services, but it has failed totally in the field of industrial production. With few exceptions, producers' co-operatives such as those founded by workmen who wished to emancipate themselves from their employers, have been unable to compete with capitalist enterprise. The factories run by co-operative federations are successful, but they are not real producers' co-operatives—they are operated by hired labour for co-operative owners. Moreover, producing for an organized and assured market makes their position easier. The idea of the organized market is, indeed, the principal contribution of co-operativism to modern economic thought and links it to socialism, although the co-operative movement, despite this link and its other strong ties with socialism, rejects state socialism in those spheres of economic activity in which it has been successful. In this way it is akin to movements advocating non-state group socialism, such as syndicalism and guild socialism, and also to corporatism (see separate entries).

CO-OPERATIVE PARTY, in Britain, a political party formed in 1917 to advance the interests of the co-operative movement (q.v.) and to propose that certain enterprises, mainly retail selling, especially of food, be transferred to co-operatives. The party is closely associated with the Labour Party (q.v.) but is not affiliated to it. At elections an agreed number of candidates stand as Labour and Co-operative candidates with the support of both parties; in most constituencies, however, the Co-operative Party supports the Labour candidate. The party has one minister in the present Labour Cabinet—A. V. Alexander (q.v.), and 24 M.P.s in the House of Commons.

Not all co-operative societies support the party, and it is certain that even in those societies which do there are many Liberal and Conservative members who oppose it. In December 1946 there were 1,129 Co-

operative Societies with a total membership of 9,574,000; of these, 665 societies, with a membership of 7,842,000, were affiliated to the party.

CO-PROSPERITY SPHERE, Japanese term for eastern and south-eastern Asia (from the Russian Pacific coast to Timor and from Burma to New Guinea) which was to be controlled and developed by Japan. Save for the Russian territory and parts of China and New Guinea, the whole area was occupied during World War II, but was freed from Japanese control in 1944–5. (See World Map.)

CORDON SANITAIRE, term applied to the chain of states established on the borders of France in 1815 (to guard against a recurrence of revolution and aggression) and Russia in 1918 (to protect Europe from communism).

CORPORATE STATE, a state organized politically on the basis of vocational corporations instead of territorial units. A corporate parliament does not consist of representatives of territorial constituencies but of delegates of professional corporations who are sent to parliament according to a quota system. The advocates of the corporate system believe that it would bring about a more matter-of-fact approach to government and would eliminate party politics. They hold that relations among members of the same profession are livelier and more real than relations among mere inhabitants of the same area who, especially in the larger centres, hardly know each other; also they argue that professional fellowship is a stronger and more natural tie between men than political or territorial association. They regard the present relationship between the individual and the state as an atomization of society and wish to insert intermediate organizations of a professional or guild character on the medieval pattern.

It is indeed the fear of mechanization of human relations and absolutism of the state which underlies the more serious corporate theories. However, in practice only absolutist and centralist systems of a totalitarian nature have seized upon the corporate idea, e.g. fascist Italy, Franco's Spain, and Salazar's Portugal. (See separate entries.) Nazi Germany also toyed with corporate plans. In all these instances the corporate idea was used merely as a mask for a dictatorship. The corporations became compulsory associations supervised by the state or the ruling party, with delegates neither being freely chosen nor having a chance to debate and vote freely. A genuine democratic corporate system with free corporations, freely elected representatives, and genuine powers has not been tried out so far.

The critics of the corporate principle point out that given free speech and free elections the emergence of political dissension could not be prevented in a corporate parliament. Therefore its supposed principal advantage is illusory. The system, it is further point out, is based on indirect elections, rules out proportional representation, and would not give a fair deal to minorities. The corporate bureaucracy would obtain enormous power. Finally, the critics of the proposition emphasize the fact that the corporate state is propagated almost exclusively by enemies of democracy whose real intention is only to eliminate parliament and popular control of the government.

The corporate idea meets with much sympathy in Catholic quarters and is indeed commended in the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*. Catholic ideas of the corporate state have been expounded by Professor Othmar Spann of Vienna, Austria, in his book *Der Staendestaat*. Socialist groups have adopted the corporate principle on a basis of planning and co-operativism, e.g. syndicalism (q.v.) and English guild socialism (q.v.). The idea of an economic parliament which has from time to time been suggested in various countries is also an offspring of corporate principles. The Senate of Eire (q.v.) is in part an elected corporate chamber.

CORRIDOR, Polish, a strip of formerly German territory assigned to Poland by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 as an outlet to the sea. It cut across Germany and separated East Prussia from the rest of Germany. In Germany this caused indignation and aspirations to the reacquisition of the Corridor. Poland settled a Polish population in the Corridor and built the port of Gdynia on the coast. The Corridor became the immediate cause of World War II. (See *Hitler*) During the war it was retaken by the Germans. After the war it reverted to

Poland, which also annexed East Prussia (jointly with Russia) and large German territories east of the Oder-Neisse line. Poland now occupies a long stretch of coastline and the Corridor as such has ceased to exist.

COSTA RICA, Central American republic 23,000 sq. m., population 700,000, all white, except 15,000 West Indian negroes working on the plantations of the United Fruit Co., an American corporation. Until 1948 Costa Rica used to be considered Latin-America's model state; it was a working democracy without revolutions and *pronunciamentos*. Social contrasts are smaller than elsewhere in Latin-America, there are few large estates and the small farmer predominates. Bananas, coffee, and cane sugar are the principal products. Education and social services are fairly advanced. A unicameral Congress is elected for four years, one-half rotating every two years. The President is elected for four years. Voting is compulsory (manhood suffrage). The two parties, Union Nacional and Republicans, have often alternated in office, and their policies do not seem very different.

Costa Rica's idyllic political life was disturbed in 1948. When in the presidential election of February 1948 the Union candidate, Ulate, had defeated the Republican Calderon Garcia, the Republicans, then in government, induced Congress to annul the election on the ground of corruption and to order a new election. Colonel Figueras, who had fought against Franco in Spain, thereupon led an uprising on behalf of Ulate. Peace was made in April 1948. President Picade, a Republican, resigned and the government leaders left the country. L. Herrera, an independent, was appointed provisional President, with Figueras as foreign minister, and elections for a constituent assembly were announced for December 1948.

In the election for the constituent assembly held on 8 December 1948, the National Union Party, led by Dr. Ulate, won thirty-five of the forty-five seats. Thereupon a force led by the exiled former President, Calderon Garcia, invaded Costa Rica from Nicaragua. Colonel Figueras said most of the invaders were Nicaraguan troops. Costa Rica invoked the Inter-American Treaty (see *Rio de Janeiro, Treaty of*) and an Inter-American peace-making commission was despatched. The invaders withdrew, and on 21 February 1949, a pact of friendship between Costa Rica and Nicaragua was signed in Washington in the presence of members of the Council of American States. President Ulate's election was confirmed early in 1949.

COSTELLO, John, Irish politician, born 1891. Attorney General of the Irish Free State (q v.) 1926–32, Prime Minister of Eire (q v.) in 1948. He is a member of *Fine Gael*, Eire's second largest party.

COUP D'ÉTAT, French, literally 'state-stroke', a sudden change of government by force, effected by holders of governmental or military power. It differs from a revolution by being made 'from above', while a revolution is made 'from below'. A revolution is marked by the participation of large masses of the people, while a *coup d'état* is carried out through the machinery of the state or some part of it, usually the army. Examples of *coups d'état* are those of Caesar in 49 B.C., of Cromwell in 1653, of Bonaparte in 1799, of Mussolini in 1925; also the abortive German army revolt against Hitler of 20 July 1944, was in the nature of a *coup d'état*. Such *coups* may also be carried out by the head of the state himself in order to change the political situation; instances are the *coup* of Napoleon III in 1851 and of King Victor Emanuel III of Italy in 1943 (removal of Mussolini). The *coup d'état* is of frequent occurrence in Latin-America, where it is, under the name of *pronunciamento* (q.v.), one of the traditional instruments of politics. The technique of the *coup* has changed in recent times, while formerly the seizure of government buildings used to be sufficient, it seems now essential for planners of a *coup* to ensure control of radio stations and the technical centres of modern life.

COUPON ELECTION, in Britain a name given to the election of 1918, at which Lloyd George, the Prime Minister, sent a letter of support (the coupon) to all government candidates, even when they were fighting candidates of the Asquith section of the Liberal Party (q.v.), of which party Lloyd George himself was a member.

CROATS, a south Slav people of 4,000,000 in the northern part of Yugoslavia. Formerly an autonomous kingdom within

Hungary under the Habsburg rulers, Croatia came to Yugoslavia in 1918 after the break-up of the Habsburg monarchy. The Croats soon began to demand home rule instead of the 'Greater Serbian' policy then prevalent in Yugoslavia. Although Serbs and Croats talk the same language known as Serbo-Croat, there are considerable differences between the two peoples. Croatia is more advanced, Western-influenced and prevailingly Roman Catholic, and uses Latin script, while Serbia is more backward, Eastern-influenced and of Greek orthodox religion, and uses Cyrillic characters. In 1939 Croatia obtained limited self-government under the then leader of the Croat peasant party, Dr. Matchek. After the occupation of Yugoslavia by the Germans and Italians in 1941, Croatia was declared an independent kingdom. An Italian duke was appointed king but never took office. Croatia was terrorized by the fascist *Ustashi*, a local variant of the Nazis. In 1944 Croatia was re-incorporated in Tito's Yugoslavia and made an autonomous federal unit under the style of Croat People's Republic. The capital is Zagreb. Next to the Serbs, the Croats are the most important people of Yugoslavia.

CRIMEA CONFERENCE, official name of the conference usually called by the name of the place at which it was held—*Yalta* (q.v.).

CRIPPS, Sir Stafford, British Labour politician, born 1889, youngest son of the first Lord Parmoor. Educated at Winchester and London, he became a barrister. In the second Labour government he was Solicitor-General 1930–1. In the 1930's he advocated first a United Front with the communists, then a Popular Front of all the anti-conservative parties. The majority of the Labour Party opposed these policies and Cripps was expelled in 1939, and remained an independent socialist until 1945. He was made ambassador to the U.S.S.R. by Churchill in 1940, but was recalled in 1942 to become Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Commons; from 1942 to 1945 he was Minister of Aircraft Production. In the Labour government of 1945 he was President of the Board of Trade until 1947, when he became Minister for Economic Affairs. In November he succeeded H. Dalton (q.v.) as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

CROWN, the, in the British Empire the King exercising his legal powers through his servants (the central government departments of Great Britain, the Dominions and the Colonies). The term has been used also to refer to the King, but it is becoming customary to use 'the King' of acts done personally by the monarch (e.g. the appointment of the Prime Minister) and 'the Crown' only of acts the legal power to do which is vested in the King but which are performed by a public authority.

CROWN PROCEEDINGS ACT, in Britain an Act passed in 1947 to enable the citizen to sue a central government department that has wronged him. Previously the legal doctrines that the King can neither do nor authorize a wrong and cannot be sued in the courts because they are his own, had meant that to obtain redress for civil injuries done him by a government department—which is technically the King's servant—the citizen had to sue the minister or civil servant concerned personally, and for breach of contract he had to use special and elaborate procedures. The act abolishes this legal immunity of the Crown (the central government departments), thus enabling the injured citizen to sue them in the usual way. (See *Administrative Law*, *Crown*.)

CUBA, an island republic in the Caribbean, 44,000 sq. m., population 4,800,000, of whom 3,200,000 are whites and 1,500,000 negroes or mulattoes. The capital is Havana. The island was a Spanish colony until the Spanish-American war of 1898 in which the United States intervened in favour of a Cuban independence movement. Cuba became a republic in 1901, with the United States keeping the right of intervention in Cuban affairs under the Platt Amendment. Open intervention took place in 1906, when American governors temporarily ruled the island. The Platt Amendment was repealed in 1934. The United States kept a naval base at Guantànamo.

Cuba lives essentially on the cane sugar industry. Two-thirds of the crop go normally to the United States, and 85 per cent of the sugar mills are American owned. The ups and downs of the sugar prices and American quota policy (quotas were reduced in August 1947) have deep repercussions on the life and politics of the island.

The plantation workers and peasants, known as *colones*, live in extreme poverty, and social unrest has been noticeable for a long time. Cuba also contains large iron ore deposits owned by American steel corporations. United States investments in Cuba total $1,200,000,000, the largest in the hemisphere except Canada. Apart from economic interests, American concern with Cuba is based on the island's strategic position on the approaches to the Panama Canal. Although visible intervention in Cuban affairs is now refrained from, United States influence in Havana remains great.

Cuba gave constitutions to itself in 1901, 1935, and 1940. The present constitution provides for a President to be popularly elected for four years and not re-eligible, and a Congress consisting of a Senate of 53 members, and a House of Representatives of 136 members. Senators are elected for eight years and representatives for four years, one-half of the latter rotating every two years. The President has a cabinet under a Prime Minister, and the cabinet is responsible to the House of Representatives. Thus, Cuba has parliamentary government (at least in theory), a rare case in America. The actual system of government is on Latin-American lines, with military *pronunciamentos* and manipulated elections, although the amount of political freedom in Cuba has increased in recent years.

After the dictatorship of President Machado from 1924 to 1933, the so-called Sergeants' Group under Sgt. Batista came to power by a military *coup*, supported by the working classes who hoped for reform. The sergeants quickly made themselves colonels and generals, and while a programme of land and social reform was announced and some social legislation initiated, general conditions in the country did not change profoundly. Batista ruled with the aid of various Presidents he made and unmade, and was himself President from 1940 to 1944. He was supported by a parliamentary coalition extending from the right-wing *Partido Democrático Republicano* to the communists, known in Cuba as the popular socialists. His reforms included obligatory voting, women's suffrage, and a constitutional provision for a thirty-days' holiday with pay for all manual workers. The 1944 election was contested by a left-wing coalition consisting of liberals, democrats, communists, and an intellectual progressive group known as A.B.C. (candidate, Dr. Saladriga), and the moderately right-wing *Alianza Auténtico-Republicana*, consisting of the *Auténticos*, fully known as the *Partido Revolucionario Cubano*, and the anti-Batista Republicans. The candidate of the *Alianza*, Dr. Grau San Martin, won and became President for the 1944–8 term. In 1948, also, the candidate of the *Alianza*, Dr. Prio Socarras, won the presidential election.

CURZON LINE, a line suggested for the Russian-Polish frontier by Lord Curzon, then British Foreign Secretary, after the Russian-Polish war of 1920. The line followed roughly the ethnographic boundary between Poles on one side, Ukrainians and White Russians on the other, though it left East Galicia, prevailingly Ukrainian-speaking, with the city of Lvov (Lemberg) within Poland. This frontier was declined by Poland, which kept large areas east of the Curzon Line, predominantly inhabited by Ukrainians and White Russians. In October 1939 the Soviet Union marched into Poland during the German-Polish war and annexed these territories as well as East Galicia, 4,000,000 Ukrainians and 2,000,000 White Russians were thus joined to the corresponding Soviet Republics. About 4,000,000 Poles were annexed along with them; some of them were deported, some expelled to Poland. Now the Russian-Polish frontier, after some later adjustments, follows approximately the Curzon Line. Poland was compensated at the expense of Germany.

CUSTOMS UNION, the union of two or more states in a joint customs area without abandonment of their political independence. The customs frontier between them is abolished and a common customs frontier with outside countries erected, and a common commercial policy toward third countries is adopted. A customs union makes the participating states practically one economic territory, and is sometimes the forerunner of political union as well. The German *Zollverein* of the earlier half of the nineteenth century is a well-known historical example. A contemporary customs union of importance is *Benelux* (q.v.), the customs union of Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg.

Western Union (q.v.) has established a committee for the study of wider customs unions at Brussels. France and Italy signed a customs union in 1949. The states participating in a customs union may form a monetary union also. It has several times been proposed that the countries of the British Empire (q.v.) should establish a customs union. (See *Empire Free Trade, Imperial Preference.*)

CYCLICAL THEORY OF HISTORY. (See *Burckhardt, Spengler.*)

CYPRUS, an island in the eastern Mediterranean, 3,500 sq. m., population 440,000, of whom 80 per cent are Greeks and 20 per cent Turks. After a variegated history, the island passed in 1571 from Venetian to Turkish possession. In 1878 Great Britain secured, by a treaty concluded with Turkey at the Congress of Berlin, the right to occupy and administer Cyprus. When Turkey went to war against England in November 1914 in the course of World War I, the island was annexed by Britain, and declared a crown colony in 1925. After some internal trouble, the legislative council existing since 1882 was dissolved in 1931 and legislative powers were vested in the British governor. British policy in Cyprus clashes with the nationalist aspirations of the Greek population and communist tendencies among Cypriot workers. The Greek population demands *enosis*, union with Greece. The Turkish section of the population is averse from this idea and supports the British colonial administration.

In 1946 Britain announced that a new constitution would be prepared by a Consultative Assembly, but *enosis* and full self-government were barred. At the same time the election of an Archbishop of the Cypriot Church, which intervenes in politics, was permitted, the earlier ban on an election to fill the vacancy recently caused by death having been lifted. Bishop Leontios, an advocate of *enosis*, was elected and advised the Greeks to boycott the Assembly. He died soon afterwards and a new archbishop was elected. While Leontios had been friendly with the communist-dominated A.K.E.L., led by P. Servas, his successor was anti-communist, and A.K.E.L. decided to participate in the Assembly. The other Greek parties are the peasant party, P.E.K., and the Labour Party, K.E.K. All the Greek parties favour *enosis*. The Greek population elected an Ethnarchic Council in 1946; its head, the Ethnarch, led a Cypriot delegation to Athens.

The Consultative Assembly, after long debate, decided in May 1948 to adopt the British proposals for a legislature of 4 officials and 22 unofficials—the latter being 18 members elected by the Greeks and 4 by the Turks, and an executive council of 4 officials and 4 members of the Assembly (3 Greeks and 4 Turks). The legislature would not be able to discuss the status of Cyprus and its legislative powers would be subject to the governor's exercise of reserve powers. The majority in favour of the British offer was composed of 7 Turks and 4 independent Greeks; the minority against was composed of 7 left-wing Greeks—5 of them members of A.K.E.L. The government therefore decided to dissolve the Assembly and postpone constitutional reform until its proposals were acceptable to the Greeks.

The refusal to grant *enosis*, or full self-government, which might lead to *enosis*, was due partly to the desire to retain the naval base of Antofagasta, now that Alexandria in Egypt has been lost, and partly to the desire not to offend Turkey. King Paul of Greece told an American reporter that Cyprus should be united to Greece, who would then offer naval bases in Cyprus, Crete or elsewhere (27 July). Britain protested to the Greek government against this statement.

CYRENAICA, the eastern part of Libya (q.v.).

CZECHOSLOVAKIA, a republic formed in 1918 out of the former Austrian lands of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, and the former Hungarian provinces of Slovakia and Subcarpathic Russia (Ruthenia), 46,000 sq. m., population 12,400,000, of whom 8,700,000 are Czechs, 2,700,000 Slovaks, 700,000 Hungarians, and 300,000 others. (3,000,000 Sudeten-Germans have been expelled to Germany.) The capital is Prague. The first President was T. G. Masaryk (q.v.), who was succeeded by Dr. Beneš in 1935. Czechoslovakia took over some of the most important industrial areas of the old Austrian Empire. The political system was democratic, but Czech policies were until 1938 dominated by the problem

of nationalities. Large minorities, mainly 3,250,000 Sudeten-Germans and 700,000 Hungarians, had been incorporated in the state against their will in 1918, and there was constant friction; also Czechs and Slovaks were not quite united. The Ukrainians of Subcarpathic Russia, also known as Ruthenia, insisted on the autonomy they had been promised. The state was in fact governed by the Czechs, with some Slovak participation, while the other nationalities, although civic rights were equal and there was no question of oppression, felt they were reduced to a position of political inferiority in spite of their numbers. (See *Sudeten-Germans, Slovaks, Ruthenia.*) Sudeten-German ministers took part in the government from 1926 to 1938, but there was no change in the general trend of Czech policy. Racial tension was enhanced when the economic crisis of the 'thirties hit the highly industrialized Sudeten-German areas in the borderland especially hard, and their population complained of discriminatory economic politics on the part of the Czech government. With the rise of Hitler in Germany and following the failure of the Sudeten-German democratic parties to achieve any concessions from the Czechs, the Sudeten-Germans embraced German Nazism after 1935. In May 1938 its local branch, the Sudeten-German Party of K. Henlein, polled 88 per cent of the vote in the borderland. Under pressure from both Hitler and the Western Powers the Czech government now negotiated with the Nazis on self-government, and offered far-reaching autonomy in August 1938 when a British mediator had appeared on the scene. It was too late. The Nazis now demanded the incorporation of the Sudetenland in Germany, and after the September crisis of 1938 and the Munich Agreement (q.v.) the borderland was ceded to Hitler's Reich. Czech foreign policy under Beneš had been based since 1919 on an alliance with France, which, however, let Czechoslovakia down in the crisis. An alliance with Soviet Russia, concluded in 1935, also failed to operate, since its prerequisite was that France should intervene first. After Munich, Hungary also raised demands for the cession of Hungarian-inhabited border districts of Slovakia; the second Czech system of alliances, the anti-Hungarian 'Little Entente' with Roumania and Yugoslavia, also failed to operate, and the districts were ceded. Finally Poland demanded the Olsa area in the north-east of Czechoslovakia with a Polish minority and a large steel industry, and this too had to be given up.

President Beneš resigned and went abroad. Judge Hacha was elected President in his stead. Czechoslovakia was now transformed into a federation of the Czech provinces, Slovakia, and Ruthenia. This 'second republic' was for all practical purposes run by the Czech Agrarian Party, a Conservative Party which had previously encouraged the Nazis. German pressure continued also toward the new state, and on 10 March 1939, a Nazi-engineered uprising broke out in Slovakia, leading to a declaration of Slovak independence. This was the signal for Hitler to occupy the Czech lands, which were on 15 March 1939 taken over by Germany and declared the 'Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia'. Nominally it was autonomous under President Hacha, who had been forced to sign a statement by which he placed his country under Hitler's 'protection', and a Czech government remained in existence, but actual power was in the hands of the German administration headed by a 'Protector'. The Nazis ruled with the usual methods of oppression and terror. Ruthenia passed to Hungary.

After the outbreak of World War II in 1939 a Czechoslovak National Committee was formed in Paris under Dr. Beneš. In 1940 it moved to London and was recognized as the Czechoslovak government. A Czech army of some 3,000 men was organized in the west, and another of some 8,000 in Russia. In 1943 the government decided to expel the Sudeten-Germans after the war and secured Russian agreement. The position of the other Allies in this question was less definite; anyway, Czechoslovakia had been allotted to the Russian sphere of influence. After the war the Czechs re-occupied the Sudetenland and drove out the Sudeten-Germans by methods which evoked protests from the British and American Ambassadors. (See *Sudeten-Germans.*) A small remnant, estimated at 150,000 to 300,000, was allowed to remain on condition of assimilation to the Czechs. The Sudetenland was settled with Czechs, part of it being assigned for afforestation, since there were not enough Czech settlers to replace the 3,000,000 Germans. The

areas ceded to Hungary in 1938 were also retaken and the expulsion of the Hungarian population was announced, but not put into effect on account of a Russian veto. Ruthenia clamoured for union with the Soviet Ukraine after occupation by the Russians in 1945, and was ceded to the Soviet Union by a Czech-Russian agreement of 29 July 1945. The border strip annexed by Poland in 1938 was returned, but Czech-Polish territorial differences are not yet entirely settled.

A constituent assembly was elected in 1946, only four Czech parties and their Slovak opposite numbers being permitted. (Slovakia was now given self-government.) The election to the constituent assembly, held on 27 May 1946, resulted in the following distribution of seats: Communists 114, Czech National Socialists (Beneš's party) 65, Catholic People's Party (Conservative) 43, Social-Democrats 36, Slovak Democrats (Catholics) 43, other Slovaks 5. Dr Beneš was unanimously re-elected President on 19 June 1946. The communist leader, Gottwald, became Prime Minister. The influence of the communists, the largest party, was gradually extended; while Czechoslovakia remained for a while comparatively more democratic than the other countries of the Soviet bloc, a communist semi-dictatorship developed. The publication of newspapers and magazines was reserved to political parties and associations, which in effect ended freedom of the press. About 70 per cent of all industrial undertakings were nationalized and a two-year plan, later a five-year plan, were enacted for the national economy. Czechoslovakia co-operated with the Soviet bloc in foreign policy and in deference to Russia withdrew its initial acceptance of the Marshall Plan (q.v.) in 1947.

In September 1947 a plot against the government was officially reported to have been discovered in Slovakia. Communist-sponsored demonstrations followed and in October the Slovak Board of Commissioners, the autonomous government of Slovakia, was dissolved and reorganized as a communist-dominated body. When the 1948 elections were approaching the communists decided to seize power. The communist minister of the interior appointed communists to key posts in the police. A government crisis ensued, and the non-communist ministers resigned on 21 February 1948. The communists organized mass demonstrations and formed 'action committees' to 'purge' public life. They were assisted by their sympathizers in other parties all of which had been stuffed with crypto-communists. On 25 February President Beneš, once more refusing to fight although he was supreme commander of the army, yielded and appointed a communist - plus - crypto - communist government. The American, British and French governments protested against this *coup d'état*. A number of Czech diplomats abroad resigned. Foreign minister Jan Masaryk, son of the founder of the republic and in office since the days of the government-in-exile in London, lost his life on 10 March; suicide was reported but rumours of murder persisted. A nation-wide purge of anti-communists was effected by the 'action committees' set up within all organizations in the country; fully fledged communist dictatorship, called 'people's democracy' on the Eastern bloc pattern, was established and the last vestiges of freedom vanished. In these conditions the election took place on 30 May 1948. Only one list of candidates, that of the communist 'National Front', was permitted, and voting was in effect public. The government secured 6,432,000 votes, 772,000 blank ballots were cast, and 800,000 voters abstained from voting in spite of penalties for non-participation. Communists and social-democrats had meanwhile fused their two parties, and the unified party obtained 236 seats in the new national assembly; the rest of the seats were allocated as follows: Czech (Beneš) Socialists 26, People's Party (Catholic) 23, Slovak Revival Party (formerly Slovak Democrats, Catholic) 12, Slovak Freedom Party 3. Thousands of Czechs fled to the western zones of Germany and west European countries. Exiled Czechoslovak politicians established a Free Czechoslovak Council in Washington on 25 February 1949. The Council has 15 Czech and 15 Slovak members. Its chairman is Dr. Zenkl, ex-Mayor of Prague.

Before the election, but after the communist *coup*, the old constituent assembly had adopted a constitution providing for a President elected by the one-chamber assembly of 300 members. The latter are to be popularly elected for six years. Slovakia has a National Council of 100 members elected for six years, and a Board

of Commissioners appointed by the central government and responsible to it and the Slovak National Council. The usual civic liberties are provided but must not be exercised in ways 'contrary to the popular democratic system of government'. Economic provisions make Czechoslovakia a socialist-planned economy, though they safeguard small businesses and farms.

President Beneš resigned on 7 June 1948, without having signed the constitution. On 14 June the communist leader Gottwald was chosen President in his stead, and the communist trade union chief Zapotocky became premier. Dr. Beneš died on 3 September 1948. Communist dictatorship was tightened; in October 1948 a law for the protection of people's democracy was passed providing for severe penalties for opposition to the government and insufficient working output or other behaviour 'imperilling the economic plan'. Concentration camps were formed under the name of 'forced labour camps'. Numerous arrests and trials followed, and more Czechs fled to western Germany and the western countries. Various anti-communist committees and organizations were set up by these Czech emigrés. In Czechoslovakia, nationalization was extended to include many smaller concerns and preparations for the collectivization of agriculture were reported late in 1949.

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DALTON, Hugh, British Labour politician, born 1887. Educated at Eton and Cambridge, he became a barrister and economist. In the second Labour government, 1929–31, he was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs; in the Churchill coalition he was Minister of Economic Warfare 1940–2, and President of the Board of Trade 1942–5. In the Labour government of 1945 he was Chancellor of the Exchequer until in November 1947 he accidentally disclosed information about the Budget he was about to present to Parliament and resigned a a result. In May 1948 he returned to the Cabinet as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and was charged especially with the representation of Britain at intergovernmental conferences to discuss Western Union (q.v.).

DANUBE BASIN, a politico-geographical term for the region in south-east Europe through which the River Danube flows on its way to the Black Sea. It comprises in the main the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, to-day covered by Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and sometimes Bulgaria is also included. Since the dissolution of the old Austrian Empire the Danubian Basin has been divided into a number of small and medium states, with tariff walls, frontier and minority quarrels, and other political antagonisms. Suggestions for reunion of the region in a Danubian Federation have not had any effect owing to these antagonisms, some of which have been fostered from outside the region. The Danubian region is important for its agricultural and other production, and as a market (the population exceeds 60,000,000); it also controls the approaches to the Balkans (q.v.). In the recent past, Russia, Germany and Italy have been the Powers showing most interest in the Danubian area, while the Western Powers' influence receded. After World War II almost the whole Danubian Basin came into the Russian sphere of influence. There are, however, indications of continued interest of the Western Powers, and recently the United States, in the region. Plans for federation in the region have often been propounded and in World War II western Liberals and Socialists advocated the establishment of an international authority to develop the basin on the model of the Tennessee Valley Authority (q.v.) in the U.S.A. (See also *Danube Commissions* and Map III.)

DANUBE COMMISSIONS, International and European, two commissions created for the international administration of the Danube as a waterway. The *European Danube Commission* was set up in 1856 after the Crimean War, in the first place as a technical body for making the mouths of the Danube navigable. The river deposits much silt in its delta, which therefore requires permanent care. At the time the delta was, with all Rumania, still under Turkish rule. The Commission also served the purpose of securing a political foothold in the region for the Western Powers and Austria. The Commission was first designed to operate only for two years, but did such useful work that it was made a permanent institution. Simultaneously a second commission was created, that of the riparian states, with a view to regulating the administration of the whole course of the Danube. The political side-purpose was again the extension of the influence of the Powers in the Balkan region, still Turkish at the time. The riparian commission never developed any appreciable activity, because Austria, through whose territory most of the Danube flowed, wanted no international interference, and the various Balkan riparian states, as they attained independence, shared this view. Only the European Commission did practical work, but its province remained confined to the mouths of the river up to Braila. Only when

the Iron Gate passage was regulated, was the Commission called upon to co-operate at a place farther upstream. Rumania resented the exercise of sovereign rights by the Commission, although the technical results of the Commission's work were most beneficial. It created and maintained a permanent waterway to the Black Sea, policed the river, built and administered ports, issued regulations for navigation, and levied tolls out of which it paid its expenses. Its seat was Galata. The members were Great Britain, France, Italy, Austria, Germany, Russia, Rumania and Turkey. After World War I the riparian commission was abolished and replaced by the International Danube Commission in Vienna, in 1921. The members were Great Britain, France, Italy, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania, the German states of Bavaria and Wurttemberg. Russia and Turkey were no longer represented. The I.D.C. also took over the administration of the Iron Gate. Concerning the administration of the mouths of the Danube, rival claims were put forward by the I.D.C. and the European Danube Commission (E.D.C.); the actual administration remained in the hands of the E.D.C., on which after World War I only Great Britain, France, Italy and Rumania were represented. The I.D.C. met with further obstacles for its activities in view of the insistence of the riparian states on their sovereign rights, but it managed to assert itself a little more than its predecessor, the riparian commission. When Germany abolished the internationalization of its waterways in 1938, the I.D C. was dissolved. The Western Powers readily agreed to this because the Commission was now likely to become an instrument of German influence in south-east Europe. The Convention of Sinaia (16 August 1938) transferred the rights of sovereignty so far exercised by the E.D.C. to the Rumanian state, which set up the *Direction du Danube Maritime* (D.D.M.) for the administration of the mouths. The E.D.C. remained in existence, but was confined to technical tasks, for the execution of which the Rumanian Government allotted to it part of the navigation fees.

During World War II a new Danube Commission was established under a German chairman; it vanished with the end of the war. Almost the whole of the Danube Basin now came into the Russian zone of influence. Through the incorporation of Bessarabia (q.v.), the Soviet Union also became a riparian.

At the peace conference in Paris in 1946, the United States, Great Britain and France proposed restoration of the international régime of the Danube, this time with American participation. The Soviet Union and the riparian states under its influence refused this and insisted on sovereign administration of the Danube by the individual riparian countries. The Western Powers saw in this an attempt to perpetuate exclusive Russian influence in the Danubian Basin, and at their insistence a clause was inserted into the peace treaties with Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania, expressing recognition of freedom of navigation on the Danube and providing for a conference for the restoration of an international régime.

In August 1948 the conference was held at Belgrade. The four major allies and the riparian states—Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia and the Ukraine—were full participants, but Austria sent only observers, the U.S.S.R. having refused to agree to her full participation. From the start the conference was marked by a fundamental clash between the Western Allies and the eastern states over the Russian proposal to establish a new Danube Commission composed only of the riparian states (including Austria when the Austrian Peace Treaty should have been concluded; there was no mention of Germany) and a new Lower Danube administration composed only of the Ukraine and Rumania; to these two bodies all the functions and property of the previous organizations would be transferred. Traffic would be unimpeded save for the regulations made by each riparian state for its part of the river. This qualification, and still more the composition of the new authority, met with strong opposition from the Western Allies. Despite their protests the Russian draft convention was adopted by a majority of the conference—the seven eastern states. The United States voted against. Britain and France abstained, declaring that they continued to regard the 1921 convention as valid. All three refused to recognize the Danube Commission later set up by the Soviet group.

DANZIG (Gdansk in Polish), a Baltic port on the mouth of the Vistula. Conquered by

the German Order of Teutonic Knights in 1310, the town had a German population afterwards, but was a Free City under Polish suzerainty from 1450 to 1793, functioning as Poland's seaport. At the third partition of Poland in 1793 Danzig was annexed by Prussia, to which it was allotted by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. The Peace Treaty of Versailles detached Danzig from Germany in 1919 and made it, against the protests of the population, again a Free City under Polish suzerainty. The population was entirely German. Including some adjacent territory, the Free City had 400,000 inhabitants. It had self-government under an elected senate, a League of Nations commissioner being in residence; but Poland was in charge of foreign relations and of railways, and Danzig was included in the Polish customs area. The port was administered jointly by Poland and Danzig. Poland was connected with Danzig by the Polish Corridor (q.v.), where it built the port of Gdynia, which competed with Danzig. On 28 May 1933, Danzig elected a senate with a Nazi majority. Non-Nazi parties were suppressed, and Dr. Rauschning, the president of the senate, resigned in 1935 in protest against the Nazi methods. He was forced to flee abroad. Germany had never abandoned its claim to Danzig and Hitler used this as a pretext for starting World War II. In March 1939 he demanded the return of Danzig. Poland refused, though offering partial concessions. British attempts at mediation failed. On 1 September 1939 the Nazi leader of Danzig, Forster, proclaimed the reunion of Danzig with Germany, which was at once confirmed by Hitler. Simultaneously Hitler invaded Poland, and World War II began. In March 1945 Danzig was conquered by the Russians, who handed it over to the Poles two months later. Poland now fully annexed Danzig and expelled the German population, settling Poles instead.

DARDANELLES, the southern part of the straits connecting the Black Sea with the Mediterranean. The central part is the Sea of Marmora, the northern part is the Bosphorus, on which Constantinople (Istanbul) is situated. This waterway is known to world politics as 'the straits' or, more recently, as 'the Dardanelles', the latter term, although strictly referring only to the southern section, being applied to the whole of the straits when talking politically. The Dardanelles are of great political and strategic importance. Under Turkish control since the fourteenth century, they have been the target of Russian expansion since the eighteenth century. Russia regards the straits as an outlet to the Mediterranean, and at the same time as a door through which an enemy might get into the Black Sea. Britain and France, on the other hand, have been anxious for two centuries to prevent the establishment of Russian control over the straits, which would have given Russia a foothold in the Mediterranean. Turkey's position in world politics has been mainly based on its function as the guardian of the straits.

In 1833 Russia secured a privileged position in the straits in return for aid rendered to the Sultan against Mehemet Ali, the rebellious Pasha of Egypt. The *Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi* guaranteed free passage to Russian warships at any time; in wartime the straits were to be closed to the warships of all other nations. By the *Convention of London* (1840) the Western Powers achieved the repeal of this privilege. Turkey was obliged to close the straits to the ships of all nations in wartime. This system was in force until 1914. In World War I the Allies tried in vain to conquer the heavily fortified Dardanelles from the sea. A secret agreement with Russia, offering her post-war control of the straits, was made illusory by the Russian revolution. The Allies occupied the Dardanelles at the end of the war, and the Gallipoli peninsula, situated on the western side, was given to Greece. The straits were demilitarized, opened to any kind of navigation, and placed under an international commission. After the victory of Kemal Atatürk (q.v.) over the Greeks, Gallipoli was returned to Turkey in 1922. The *Convention of Lausanne*, dated 4 August 1923, restricted international control and largely restored Turkish sovereignty over the straits. Contrary to tradition, Russia this time opposed the opening of the straits (for fear of foreign intervention), while England advocated it.

The *Convention of Montreux*, dated 20 July 1936, practically restored full Turkish sovereignty over the straits. The international commission and international guarantees were abolished, and Turkey was authorized to remilitarize and fortify the straits. The provisions concerning naviga-

tion through the straits are now as follows. In peacetime, merchant navigation in the straits is free. Warships over 10,000 tons, submarines and aircraft-carriers are excluded; other warships may pass only by day. In wartime, Turkey being neutral, warships of belligerents are banned from the straits. They may, however, pass without limitation if the action is taken on behalf of the United Nations, or in fulfilment of a pact of assistance to which Turkey is a party. If Turkey is a belligerent, commercial navigation is closed to countries at war with Turkey, and to neutral ships carrying men or material in support of the enemy. The passage of warships is left to the discretion of Turkey in this case. If Turkey feels itself threatened by war, it may apply this rule to warships even in peacetime.

In World War II Russia once more tried to gain control of the straits. In 1940 she sought German assent to the establishment of Russian bases there. In 1945 she refused to renew her treaty of friendship with Turkey unless Turkey gave her bases and revised the Montreux Convention (she also asked for the retrocession of Kars, Artvin and Ardahan, in Turkish Armenia—q.v.). Turkey refused these terms. The U.S.A. proposed that the Convention should be revised to open the straits to the merchant ships of all nations and to the warships of all Black Sea states, and if the Black Sea states or the United Nations deemed it necessary, to the warships of other states. In August 1946 the U.S.S.R. asked Turkey to agree to the revision of the Convention by the Black Sea states alone and to the establishment of joint Russo-Turkish defence of the straits. This was rejected by Turkey, and also by the U.S.A. which held that the Convention should not be revised by the Black Sea states alone.

DAVIES, Clement, British Liberal politician, born 1884. A barrister, he served on numerous committees of inquiry in the inter-war years. He has been an M.P. since 1929, and was a Liberal National 1931–42. In 1945 he became Leader of the Liberals in the House of Commons.

DE FACTO RECOGNITION, an act or acts implying the acceptance of a political change without the formal recognition of it. Thus a new government or a new state, emerging during or after a revolution, may be recognized as the effective authority in the area concerned, but full recognition (*de jure* recognition—q.v.) is not accorded until later—e.g. until the new authority has shown itself to be permanent or has agreed to observe the obligations into which its predecessor has entered.

DEFLATION, a reduction in the volume of money, resulting in a decrease in the demand for goods and services, thus causing a contraction of economic activity. It may arise naturally in the course of the trade cycle (q.v.) or may be deliberately initiated by a government desiring to restore the value of its currency in terms of goods, when that value has been reduced by inflation (q.v.)—too great a volume of money. (See also *Disinflation, Full Employment.*)

DE JURE RECOGNITION, the formal and binding recognition by other governments of a political change, such as a new government or new state arising out of a revolution or a change in frontiers or sovereignty. (See *De Facto Recognition.*)

DELEGATED LEGISLATION, in Britain properly legislation by any authority which is not a legislative body; the term is, however, often confined to legislation on the part of the central government departments, to which legislative power has been delegated by Parliament. No Act of Parliament can deal explicitly with all that is necessary to implement the will of Parliament on the subject concerned, therefore in many statutes the Minister responsible for putting the Act into operation is empowered to make regulations having the force of law to implement the Act.

The power to issue these regulations (known variously as orders, rules and regulations, and in general as 'statutory instruments') has been much criticized as a dangerous extension of the power of the central government, which, it is alleged, is becoming too independent of Parliament, representing the will of the people, and the law courts safeguarding their rights. Criticism is directed especially at the 'Henry VIII clause', which in some Acts empowers the Minister to alter the Act if he thinks fit when it is first being put into operation, at the practice of 'sub-delegation', by which a Minister makes a regulation empowering himself or others to make further regula-

tions, and at the difficulty of understanding many regulations because of their terminology. Criticism in the inter-war period (1929—Lord Justice Hewart's *The New Despotism*; 1931—C. K. Allen's *Bureaucracy Triumphant*) caused the government to appoint a Committee on Ministers' Powers (called the Donoughmore Committee from the name of its chairman), whose report (1932) vindicated the existence of the power but urged safeguards against its abuse. Little was done by the National Governments of 1931–40. Increased criticism in World War II, when the power was much used, resulted in 1943 in the House of Commons establishing a Select Committee to examine regulations and to report whether they were intelligible, necessary for the implementation of the relevant Act (the wisdom of which could not be discussed by the Committee), and a proper exercise of the power conferred in the Act. In 1946 continued criticism resulted in the passage of the Statutory Instruments Act, revising the method of making regulations. As a result of this and earlier acts, and of decisions of the courts, regulations must be made public and must be laid before Parliament. To become valid some require an affirmative resolution of approval by either or both Houses; others are valid unless within forty days of being published either House passes a negative resolution of disapproval. (See also *Administrative Law.*)

DEMAGOGY, instigation of the people by lies, false promises, half-truths, flattery, illogical argument, appeal to passions and prejudices. The word is derived from Greek δημαγωγοί, leaders of the people, originally politicians who knew how to influence the popular assemblies in ancient Greece by oratory. From the time of Thucydides onwards, the term acquired a derogatory ring.

DÉMARCHE, diplomatic term from the French, used for representations, whether moderate proposals or severe threats, made by one state to another through diplomatic envoys.

DEMOCRACY, from the Greek δῆμος, people, and κρατεῖν, to rule, the government of the state by the people, or in other words, the government of the people by themselves. Democracy is the political embodiment of the idea of freedom. It may be either direct, i.e. exerted by assemblies of the whole people, and plebiscites (referenda), or indirect, exerted through representative bodies. Representative democracy prevails in practice. Historically, democracy has everywhere come into being by a struggle against the opposite principle, the rule of individuals or groups over the people. Apart from ancient tribal democracy, the first to adopt democracy as a form of government were the ancient Greek cities (after some Phoenician precursors). Democracy evolved especially in centres of commerce and navigation. It remained, however, partial because slaves and bondmen, forming the majority of the population, were excluded from political rights. The Funeral Oration of the Athenian leader Pericles is still regarded as a classic statement of democratic ideals.

Apart from Iceland (q.v.), whose parliament dates from A.D. 930, democratic institutions as we know them were gradually developed in England and the European city republics from the fourteenth century onwards, backed by a concurrent political philosophy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. (See *Hobbes, Hume, Locke, Montesquieu, Paine, Rousseau.*) The Puritan revolution in England, and over a century later the American and French revolutions, marked the beginning of modern democracy. Its rise was everywhere connected with the development of industry and trade and the ascendancy of the urban middle class. In the nineteenth century most European countries adopted more or less democratic constitutions. The West, with the United States, has remained the traditional home of democracy, while the hold of democratic principles over Central and East Europe has been uncertain to this day.

Democratic principles. The democratic system of values centres around the worth and dignity of the individual. Every person has the right to freedom and to the unfolding of his or her personality. The second basic postulate of democracy is equality. Democracy does not deny the existing differences between men, but considers the similarities more important. Yet no dictatorial system can be democratic, even when professing egalitarian principles and humanist ultimate aims. Personal liberty and the free exercise of political rights by every individual are of the essence of democracy.

All democratic countries guarantee the liberties of the citizen. The basic civic

rights are the following: personal liberty, security against arbitrary arrest and imprisonment (see *Habeas corpus*); freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of petition, of association (i.e. the right to form parties unions, and any other societies), of movement, of religion, of teaching; the right to property and free enterprise. (The two last-named freedoms are to-day questioned by socialists and others.) These democratic rights are largely derived from the school of natural law and regarded as innate rights of man.

The most important political right, dependent on the liberties listed before, is the right of every citizen to participate in the government of the community. All power resides in the people: this is the principle of the *sovereignty of the people*. Unless exercised directly in popular assemblies and referenda (q.v.) it finds expression through elections. Democracy rests on elected government. Elections must be held with reasonable frequency and regularity. Every citizen must have the right to vote, and elections must be free and fair. There must be no limitation of candidates to those approved by the government. Nor may there be supervision of how the franchise is exercised. The ballot (q.v.) must be secret to safeguard the voter against intimidation. Direct elections are also considered a fundamental requirement of democracy, but there are democratic constitutions providing for indirect elections in certain cases.

The right of legislation is vested solely in the assembly of the elected representatives of the people, variously known as parliament, congress, national assembly, etc., except when it is reserved to the people voting in referenda. In many constitutions a limited right of veto is provided for the head of the state. The legislature has the right to decide on the budget (q.v.) on taxation and expenditure ('no taxation without representation'), and varying degrees of an overall right to control and inquiry. Its members enjoy certain privileges, especially immunity from prosecution or arrest unless the House decides to waive the privilege in a particular case. They must not be prosecuted for anything they say or do in their capacity as representatives of the people, nor must they be directed or impeded by the government in the exercise of their rights.

The division of powers (q.v.) into the legislature, executive and judiciary powers, is regarded as a corollary of democracy. The dependence of the executive on the legislature, i.e. on the representatives of the people, and therefore ultimately on the people themselves, is also essential, ensuring that the executive will do the will of the people, and excluding arbitrary government by the holders of high office. The existence of a constitution, judicial safeguards for its administration in general, are likewise fundamentals of democracy, as are trial by jury or properly appointed judges, with legal proceedings safeguarding the citizen from arbitrariness, and application of the principle *nulla poena sine lege* (no punishment without a law).

Democracy requires the existence of several, at least two, political parties. One-party states are not democratic, even if democratic machinery is ostensibly used in the shape of elections, parliamentary votes and plebiscites. The existence of a legal opposition is a requisite of democracy. The ruling party or group of parties must at all times be ready to withdraw from power in favour of the opposition, if the opposition becomes able to assume government by gaining or forming a majority. The formation of a free and unadulterated public opinion is vital to the function of democracy, it requires freedom of information and discussion, and an adequate level of education.

In general, democracy rests on the majority principle. An absolute majority means the majority of votes; a relative majority means an actual minority, but larger than any other group; a qualified majority means one with a specified size, e.g. a two-thirds majority. On the other hand, there is the minority principle, which cares for the protection of minorities. It is embodied in proportional representation (q.v.) and certain other safeguards for minorities. The principle of unanimity, however, although apparently most democratic, is rejected by most commentators on democracy, because it would in practice lead to a dictatorship by minorities or individuals who, by their veto, could control all decisions.

It must be borne in mind that democracy is not only a matter of institutions, however important these may be. Democracy requires democrats to work. It implies a certain fundamental attitude on the part of governors and governed, a determination to

keep to certain rules based on the dignity and freedom of the individual.

Democracy to-day. The political development of the world, especially Europe, seemed to be governed by the advance of democracy until World War I, and some time after, but roughly about the same time a counter-movement started. The anti-democratic wave began with communism (q.v.) which declared democracy a mere guise for the rule of the capitalist class, and preached instead a ruthless dictatorship, which was to reorganize society on a socialist basis with a view to creating a new, more genuine democracy in the end. The authoritarian movements which appeared soon after communism, and in opposition to it, discarded even ultimate democratic ideals altogether. (See *Fascism, National Socialism.*) General points made against democracy in recent controversy include its alleged slowness and inefficiency, its endless discussions and divisions, and the difficulties of arriving at a decision. Upholders of democracy reply that on the whole the democracies have not proved less efficient than the dictatorships, as the late war has shown, and that the slowness of decisions is out-weighed by the firmer basis they gain in the people.

There are numerous suggestions for the reform or modification of democracy. Some are restrictionist and want to increase the power of governments at the expense of freedom. Others want extension of democracy in order to curb sectional influences such as emanate from economic power centres, 'pressure groups', or party machines. (An American democrat said: 'The only remedy for the shortcomings of democracy is—more democracy.') Socialists of the Marxian school consider 'bourgeois' (middle class) democracy just a 'superstructure' veiling the class-rule of the capitalists, and believe true democracy to be possible only in a socialist system. Other progressives, who would not go to this length, point to the discrepancy between democratic theory and social reality; they demand more economic equality and security to make political equality effective.

These critics also stress the difference between the social structure out of which grew nineteenth-century democracy, and the social set-up of to-day. The position of the middle class, the traditional bearer of democracy, has shifted or is shifting. Where it survives, its relative importance has been reduced by the growth by its side of a working class much stronger and weightier than in the last century. A large class of white-collar workers, technicians, administrators, office employees has also taken up an important position in society. Large-scale production units concurrent with great concentrations of wealth are dominant where a broad class of smaller, independent producers prevailed in earlier times. For some time the world's economy has not been expanding in the old way, and the consequent reduction of opportunity has contributed to a change in outlook. The latest crisis of democracy was obviously connected with the great economic slump and mass unemployment in the 'thirties. To this must be added the sequels of the great wars of the age, and the effect of the Russian revolution. An increasing amount of planning and central economic management has been introduced, and it is widely held that only government action can cope with the problems arising out of the structure of modern economy and of recent political and economic upheaval.

This, it is argued, entails certain changes in the conceptions and institutions of democracy. New social rights are recommended for inclusion in the catalogue of democratic rights, such as the right to employment, social insurance, co-management, unionizing, a minimum income, recreation, education. On the other hand, certain of the older rights are declared ripe for an amount of curtailment, mainly the right to property and free enterprise. Such rights have made their entry into post-World War II democratic constitutions in Europe. The theories asserting that economic and social factors necessarily lead away from democracy to a different form of social organization usually envisage some kind of socialism or other collectivism; the emergence of a 'managerial society' in place of democracy has also been predicted (see *Burnham*).

In contrast to these trends there are wide sections of opinion adhering to purely political democracy in the traditional sense, and they exist especially in the countries with less sweeping changes in the social set-up and a fairly intact middle class. This is notably the case in America, where there is upheld a classical liberalism (q.v.) which the European Left is already apt to describe as reactionary. Adherents of this school refuse

any historical or social relativization of the traditional tenets of democracy. They point out the dangers of a state-controlled economy, which they hold will, even in democratic forms, inevitably lead to a restriction of freedom, to the rule of bureaucracy and an all-powerful state. In a sociological interpretation this view implies that a broad, free and differentiated class of property-owners is necessary for the preservation of a free political system, while a society consisting of unpropertied employees and governing bureaucrats will be disposed to prefer security and discipline to the virtues of liberty. Thus, liberals of the classical school regard socialism as the end of democracy, while socialists see in it its consummation. There are many who wish to find a middle road between the extremes, and believe a synthesis of planning and freedom to be the task of this century. At any rate, recent experiences with dictatorships have made a good many people visibly more conscious of the value of democratic liberties.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY, one of the two great parties in the United States, the other being the Republican Party (q.v.). The Democratic Party originated in 1787 among the early opponents of a strong federal government. In 1792 it assumed the name of Republican Party, which later passed to its opponents. The party was led by Thomas Jefferson and stood for limitation of the central power, free trade, and more popular influence in politics. During the 'Era of Good Feeling' (1817–25) it was the only party in America. Then it split on the tariff and other issues; the National Republicans broke away under Adams, a development which led to the creation of the Republican Party, while the low-tariff adherents under Jackson became the Democratic-Republican Party and later just the Democratic Party. (The name Democratic-Republican Party is, however, still used by some local branches, e.g. in New York City.) Originally the party represented agricultural interests, especially in the south, and it upheld slavery. The Republican triumph in the Civil War caused a temporary eclipse of the Democratic Party, but the 'Solid South' continued to support it (as it does to this day) and by 1876 it had recovered. Yet Democratic administrations were the exception rather than the rule in the following decades (Cleveland 1884–8 and 1892–6, Wilson 1912–20), until the great economic crisis of 1930 and the outstanding personality of Franklin D. Roosevelt (q.v.) brought the long period of Democratic government from 1933, associated with the policy of reforms known as the New Deal (q.v.).

Like the Republican Party, the Democratic Party has, in the course of its long history, repeatedly abandoned major parts of its policy and appealed to varying groups among the population. In contrast to the early period it has come to be looked upon as the more 'left-wing' of the two large American parties. Yet the difference between the two is not simply a question of left and right, and there are liberal and conservative Democrats as there are liberal and conservative Republicans. The Democratic 'Solid South' is the most conservative area in the U.S.A.—lately, however, it has been wavering in its support, even before President Truman (q.v.) championed the negroes despite Southern insistence on the subordination of the negroes to the whites. Roosevelt made the party one of social reform and internationalism but his influence may not long survive him. In the 1948 election H. Wallace (q.v.), one of Roosevelt's ministers, stood as an independent candidate, claiming to be the true inheritor of Roosevelt's policy, which he alleged had been abandoned by the party. But the great federations of trade unions and many radical leaders gave their support to the Democrats on the ground that Wallace was the tool of the communists.

The latest statement of Democratic policy is the platform adopted for the 1948 elections. Abroad, the United Nations and regional associations such as the pan-American Union and the Western Union are to be supported; the Marshall Plan is endorsed. At home, inflation should be countered by controls, house-building increased, taxes on low incomes reduced, the privileges of the trade unions (q.v.) restored by repeal of the Republican Taft-Hartley Act (q.v.), social services extended and free enterprise fostered.

Another 'plank' of the platform was defence of the civil rights of racial and religious minorities. This caused the delegates of the Southern States, already critical of President Truman's negro policy, to withdraw from the party convention which was discussing the platform and the candidates

for nomination to office, and to form a convention of their own. Governor J. S. Thurmond of South Carolina, a moderate upholder of white supremacy in the South, and Governor F. Wright of Mississippi, an extremist, were nominated as candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency respectively, on a platform of states' rights and white supremacy.

In the elections of November 1948 the Democratic Party gained a great victory, despite the Wallace and Thurmond revolts. President Truman polled 24,104,836 votes and retained the Presidency. The Democratics regained a majority in the Senate, where they now have 54 out of 96 members, and in the House of Representatives, where they now have 264 of the 435 members.

DENAZIFICATION, in Germany the process of removing from public and private positions persons who were either members of the Nazi Party or profited from its rule; and the examination of the recent past of all former Nazi party members with a view to either punishing them or requalifying them for professional work. German courts were entrusted with the task. Initially, special courts known as *Spruchkammern* were formed for the purpose and authorized to pass sentences up to ten years' hard labour, apart from confiscation of property and professional disqualification. Later, denazification was assigned to regular judges and juries.

The enterprise ended in failure, due both to Allied mistakes and German sabotage. At first, the 'small fry' were victimized, while prominent Nazis were allowed to go free; later, all and sundry were acquitted. The higher courts often quashed the sentences passed by the special courts. Most judges and juries, and large sections of the population, were in sympathy with the Nazis rather than their victims, and leniency towards Nazis came to be regarded as a patriotic feat. Anti-Nazi judges were frequently removed from their posts, and former chairmen and members of the *Spruchkammern* were victimized. As a result, hosts of Nazis returned to public and private positions of importance, and the German civil service is now to the extent of 70 to 80 per cent composed of former members of the Nazi party, though not all of these joined the party voluntarily.

DENMARK, Northern European kingdom; area 16,500 sq. m., population 4,012,000, capital Copenhagen (927,000). The reigning king, Frederick IX (born 1899) of the House of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Gluecksburg, to which the Greek royal family belongs, succeeded his father Christian X in 1947. Government is democratic and parliamentary. The *Riksdag* (Parliament) consists of the *Folketing* (lower house) and the *Landsting* (upper house). The 148 members of the *Folketing* are elected for four years on the basis of proportional representation. So are 57 of the 76 members of the *Landsting*; they are elected for eight years but half retire every four years; the rest are chosen by the preceding *Landsting* for eight years. The Danish economy is based on an agriculture producing mainly for export and organized co-operatively; there is a large cattle and dairy produce trade with Britain and Germany, among other countries. The adult education movement, consisting of residential Folk High Schools and associated with the agricultural co-operatives, has been accounted a chief cause of the successful working of the Danes' political and social democracy.

The principal political parties are the Social Democrats, the Radicals (*Radikal Venstre*), the agrarian Liberals (*Venstre*), the conservative People's Party, the Danish Justice League and the Communists. From 1929 to 1945 the Social Democrats, supported by the Radicals, were in office and conducted a successful policy of social reform and economic control. They remained in power during the German occupation (1940–5), and were for a time followed by an all-party coalition. At the end of the war elections were held and resulted in the formation of a *Venstre* minority government under Knud Kristensen, supported by the Radicals. This government had four main problems—to start domestic reconstruction, to secure the evacuation of the Baltic island of Bornholm by the Russians, to deal with the Danes in German Schleswig (q.v.) and to negotiate with the people of the Faroe Islands (q.v.). It was because of its attitude to the third problem that the ministry fell. The parties had agreed that the people of Schleswig should be left quite free to decide whetherw they anted union with Denmark, but the Prime Minister later proposed that the peace treaty with Germany should pro-

vide for a plebiscite in Schleswig. In October 1946 a vote of no-confidence in the government was carried in the *Folketing*; the *Venstre*, Conservative and Unity Parties were out-voted by the Socialists, Communists, Leaguers, and Radicals, who turned against the government on this issue. A general election was held; in the new *Folketing* the representation of the parties was as follows (previous representation in brackets): Socialists 57 (48), *Venstre* 46 (38), Radicals 10 (11), Conservatives 17 (26), Communists 9 (18), Justice League 6 (3), Unity Party 0 (4), and the Metropolitan Venstre, a new urban section of the *Venstre*, 3. The government resigned and a Social Democratic ministry, under Hans Bedtoft, was formed with Radical support.

Since the Napoleonic Wars Denmark has pursued a policy of neutrality towards the great powers, though this did not prevent war with Germany and Austria over Schleswig in 1864 or occupation by Germany in World War II. There is an old antagonism between Denmark and Germany over part of the province of Schleswig (q.v.) which was detached from Denmark in 1864, although a large minority of the population was Danish. After a plebiscite held in 1920 under the Peace Treaty of Versailles, a zone of North Schleswig was returned to Denmark. Denmark thus gained a minority of 20,000–30,000 Germans, while Germany retained a similar Danish minority. This caused nationalists in both countries to demand revision. Denmark co-operated with Norway and Sweden (both q.v.) in a neutral Scandinavian bloc. In February 1948 the prime ministers of these three states and the foreign minister of Iceland (q.v.) met to discuss economic co-operation. They agreed to work together with the other western European countries in the European Recovery Programme (q.v.) and to set up a Joint Northern Committee for economic co-operation between themselves. They had previously declared individually that participation in the Programme did not commit their countries to joining any bloc. Defence talks with Sweden and Norway failed because Sweden wished to maintain the traditional Scandinavian policy of neutrality, while Denmark (like Norway) favoured co-operation with the west. Denmark became a signatory of the North Atlantic Treaty (q.v.), accession having been approved early in 1949 by large majorities of all parties except the Communists. Danish defence was improved.

Constitutional reforms, including the abolition of the upper chamber, were under discussion in 1949. A series of election and a referendum are necessary for amendment of the constitution.

The Faroe Islands (q.v.) are a part of Denmark; Greenland, until now a colony, may be given this status; Iceland, formerly united to Denmark by the Crown, became an independent republic in 1941 (see separate entries); in 1917 Denmark sold the Virgin Islands in the West Indies to the United States.

DESIGN FOR FREEDOM COMMITTEE, in Great Britain a group of conservative and liberal M.P.s and candidates, led by Peter Thorneycroft, established in 1947 to formulate an alternative to the Labour government's policy. Its reports have favoured a reformed free capitalism (q.v.). It has been criticized by members of both parties. (See *Tory Reform Committee*, *Conservative Party*, *Liberal Party*.)

DÉTENTE, diplomatic term from the French, meaning a lessening of tension.

DE VALERA, Eamon, Irish national leader and head of *Fianna Fáil*, born 14 October 1882, in New York, the son of a Spaniard and an Irishwoman, was sent to Ireland at the age of three and educated by Irish relations. He studied mathematics and became a teacher. In 1904 he joined the Irish national movement, learned and taught the Irish (Gaelic) language. During the Dublin Easter Rising (1916) he commanded an insurgent battalion. After the rising he was sentenced to death, but the sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life, and in the following year De Valera was pardoned. He became president of the Sinn Fein nationalist movement in Ireland, was imprisoned for another year in 1918, and then went on a tour of propaganda in America. At the end of 1920 he returned and participated in the first Irish civil war as the secret leader of the Irish republicans. The first Irish parliament (*Dáil Eireann*), at which only 27 out of 73 Sinn Fein M.P.s were present, elected De Valera President of the Irish Republic. When the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 ensued, which made Ireland a British Dominion, De Valera opposed the treaty and demanded full inde-

pendence, possibly in 'external association' with the British Empire. He went underground once more to direct the uprising of the Irish Republican Army against the new Irish Free State Government. After the Government's victory the second in Irish civil war in 1923 he was arrested, but released in 1924. He continued until 1925 to lead the republicans who boycotted the *Dáil*; then he founded his own party, *Fianna Fáil* (Soldiers of Ireland), whose programme provided for participation in the *Dáil* with the aim of achieving the independence of Ireland. Thereupon the extremist republicans broke with De Valera and withdrew from him the fictitious title of President of the Irish Republic. In 1927 De Valera was elected to the *Dáil*, and in 1932 his party won a majority which it retained until 1948. Between 1932 and 1937 he severed the constitutional ties which bound the Dominion—the Irish Free State—to the British Crown, and in 1937 he secured the adoption of a new constitution which established a new state called Ireland or Eire (q.v.)—a republic 'externally associated' with the British Commonwealth. During World War II he kept Eire neutral. Although a political and economic nationalist in his relations with Britain, he played an active part in the League of Nations (q.v.). In the general election of February 1948 his party was defeated and he resigned. He has since been conducting a campaign in Eire, Britain and the United States for the abolition of partition. (See *Eire*.)

DEVALUATION, a reduction in the value of the currency. This can be done legally by reducing the amount of gold represented by the currency unit, or by leaving the gold standard (q.v.), which means repealing the convertibility of paper money into gold, and letting the currency drift. This usually results in the currency dropping below its former value in gold. Devaluation is not necessarily linked with inflation (q.v.), though the latter invariably leads to the former. Practically all countries of the world devaluated their currencies during, and some even before, the great business slump of the 'thirties, and the traditional gold content of currencies which had existed for generations is now hardly to be met with anywhere. The American dollar was devaluated on 31 January 1934, from 23·22 grains to $15\frac{5}{21}$ grains of gold $\frac{9}{10}$ fine, or to 59·06 per cent of its former value. The pound sterling had in practice undergone a similar devaluation after the suspension of the gold standard in Great Britain in 1931, but no new gold content to replace the old one (which theoretically still exists) has been fixed so far.

Devaluation is supposed to facilitate exports, as it cheapens export goods in foreign currency, and to stimulate business at home by a rise in prices, the latter effect also reducing the actual value of public and private debts. Experience showed, however, that the start in exports was soon made illusory by all other countries also devaluating their currencies, which resulted in the restoration of the previous currency relations; the two other sequels materialized only where a dose of 'controlled' inflation was allowed to accompany the devaluation. In a number of countries the prices of commodities did not change appreciably merely owing to devaluation. Yet many governments and economists believe that devaluation was a valuable psychological stimulant for enterprise and positively helped to overcome the slump. To prevent competitive devaluation, the International Monetary Fund has been established (see *Bretton Woods*).

In September 1949, the pound sterling was devalued in relation to the U.S. dollar (which remained unaltered) from £4·02 to £2·80, and most European and many extra-European currencies followed suit. The change had been suggested by the United States with a view to stimulating exports to America, and it received the assent of the International Monetary Fund.

DEVELOPMENT AREAS, in Britain areas which are scheduled for industrial development under the Distribution of Industry Act 1945. They are parts of Cumberland, Durham, South Wales and Central Scotland. These districts rely largely on the coal-mining, iron and steel, and shipbuilding industries, which were in the inter-war years too large for the demand for their products and were very badly hit by the slump of 1930–3. In the 1930's they were known first as 'depressed' and then as 'special' areas. The National Governments of the 1930s tried to restore them by increasing the demand for their products and introducing the more prosperous light in-

dustries, and this policy is being continued under the new act. (See also *Barlow Report.*)

DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL. (See *Working Party.*)

DEVOLUTION, the delegation of powers by a superior authority to a subordinate one, especially the delegation of powers greater than those normally granted to local government bodies. In the United Kingdom, Scotland enjoys a measure of administrative devolution in that the Secretary of State for Scotland controls most of the United Kingdom government's services in Scotland and administers them from Edinburgh as well as from London. Northern Ireland (q.v.) enjoys legislative devolution, with a Parliament possessed of substantial powers and a separate government responsible to that Parliament. (See *Autonomy.*)

DEWEY, Thomas Edmund, United States lawyer and Republican politician, born 1902. As Attorney-General in New York State he achieved fame by 'cleaning up' vice and crime in New York, 1935–41. In 1942 he was elected Governor of New York State and was re-elected in 1946. In 1944 and 1948 he was Republican candidate for the Presidency, but was defeated both times.

DIARCHY, joint rule. It is a constitutional device much used in the British Empire, where it takes the form of dividing the government of a territory into two sections —one part of the administration is reserved to officials appointed by the governor of the territory and thus responsible to the British government, and the other is entrusted to ministers chosen from and responsible to the locally elected legislature.

DIEHARDS, extreme conservatives, reactionaries, also known as 'stand-patters'. The name was first used in Britain in 1911, when certain Conservative Peers decided to 'die in the last ditch', to 'die hard', before they would allow the passage into law of the Parliament Bill (q.v.), which was to reduce the powers of the House of Lords.

DIES COMMITTEE. (See *Un-American Activities.*)

DIETSCH, an ancient Dutch word revived by Flemish and Dutch nationalists as a common name for Flemings and Dutch, implying their reunion in one nation. (See *Belgium, Flemings, Netherlands.*)

DIRECT ACTION, slogan of the revolutionary syndicalism (q.v.) of the early years of the century, meaning strikes, factory occupation, and sometimes also uprisings by the workers in place of political or parliamentary action. The slogan was revived in 1947 by the French communists to provoke strikes and riots.

DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE, an international conference on the reduction of armaments, held 1932–3 at Geneva. The preamble to Part V of the Peace Treaty of Versailles, instituting the disarmament of Germany, had envisaged general disarmament. On 24 January 1931 the League Council decided to call a 'Conference for the reduction and limitation of armaments,' and the conference met on 2 February 1932, Arthur Henderson (Great Britain) presiding. In addition to the members of the League, the United States and the Soviet Union (not a member at the time) also took part.

The conference took an inharmonious course. There was no real will to disarmament, and vested interests were reported to be at work behind the scenes to forestall the aims of the conference. Germany insisted on equality, which in practice meant rearmament. France harped on the question of security, opposing any reduction of its armaments. Russia horrified the conference by proposing real disarmament, to wit, the abolition of all armies, navies, and armament industries, but this was generally considered to be mainly propaganda. On 23 July 1932 the conference adjourned for three months. On its resumption, Germany's claim to equality was recognized by a declaration of the Great Powers on 11 December 1932, and on 16 March 1933 the then British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, presented a draft convention of 96 articles, providing for a substantial, if incomplete, measure of international disarmament in the course of eight years. The convention was to be substituted for Part V of the Treaty of Versailles. It provided for a drastic reduction of standing armies (e.g. European France and Germany were to have 200,000 men each, Russia was to have 500,000), limitation of military service to eight months, of gun-bore to 4·2 in., of armoured vehicles to 16 tons; a naval holiday of three years; complete prohibition of bombing, including that of military objec-

tives; reduction of air forces; prohibition of chemical, bacterial and gas warfare; and of fire-bombs and flamethrowers. Germany was to rearm within eight years up to the level provided in the draft. The draft convention was unanimously adopted on 8 June 1933. Yet fresh difficulties ensued. Hitler's Germany demanded immediate rearmament, while France wanted an even longer period of transition and the exemption of colonial forces from the maximum figures for national armies. On 14 October 1933 Germany left the conference, which adjourned indefinitely.

DISINFLATION, a reduction in the volume of money, resulting in a decrease in the demand for goods and services, thus causing a contraction of economic activity. In this it is the same as deflation (q.v.): the two differ in that 'disinflation' is used only of partial deflation—the reduction of the volume of money from inflation (q.v.) to the level at which there is sufficient demand for the goods and services which the community can produce with its current equipment, population and working hours, while deflation is defined as the reduction of the volume of money until demand is inadequate and unemployment results. A policy of disinflation was adopted in Britain in 1947. (See *Full Employment*)

The definition is not universally recognized.

DISPLACED PERSONS, people who were removed from their homelands or had to flee during and after World War II. It was Hitler who began the making of displaced persons first by expelling the Jews, then by uprooting German minorities in Eastern Europe and shipping them to Germany, and finally, on a particularly large scale, by recruiting foreign labour from all parts of German-occupied Europe during the war. At the end of the war, about six million displaced persons were found in Germany. Many were transported home, and the rest cared for in special camps under UNRRA (q.v.) auspices. Between one and two millions could not be sent home because they refused to return to their east European homelands which had meanwhile become dominated by the Communists. The same applied to smaller but appreciable numbers of Poles, Yugoslavs and others who had voluntarily left their home countries during the war to fight on the Allied side. New categories of displaced persons arose: masses of Jews who had survived Hitlerite mass-murder in Poland migrated to Germany as an intermediate stage on the journey to Palestine or America; numbers of anti-communists fled the east European states; some German prisoners of war would not go back to the Russian zone of Germany, while other persons fled from that zone to west Germany, etc. Even greater numbers of displaced persons exist in east Asia, mainly in China. In 1945 they were estimated at fifteen millions. Communal clashes in India, fighting in Greece, the war in Palestine and similar events have also produced new numbers of displaced persons.

Displaced persons in Europe were cared for by the International Refugee Organization (I.R.O.), and by mid-year 1949 about 250,000 had been taken by Britain, the same number by France, and a similar number by the United States and the British Commonwealth countries together; large numbers were settled in other countries. It was estimated that by the date of the termination of I.R.O. (July 1950), a 'hard core' of some 175,000 displaced persons would be left.

DIVISION OF POWERS, the division of government into the legislative, executive and judicial powers. More accurately called the separation of powers (q.v.). The term is also applied to the allocation of authority between the central government and state governments in federations.

DIXIECRATS, in the United States a term for those members of the Democratic Party (q.v.) who insist on the maintenance of white supremacy over the negroes in the Southern States. (See *Solid South.*) The term is of unknown origin. It may come from the Mason-Dixon line which divided the States with negro slavery from those without it from 1763 to 1862, when slavery was abolished throughout the Union. Alternatively, it may come from the ten-dollar bank notes which circulated in the Southern States in the 1860's and were known as 'dixies' because they had *dix* (French for 'ten') printed on them.

DODECANESE. Greek for Twelve Islands, a group of islands and islets, in the Aegean Sea (eastern Mediterranean), total-

ing slightly over 1,000 sq. m., population 140,000 (92 per cent Greeks, 8 per cent Turks). The most important of the islands are Rhodes, Cos, Karpathos, Leros, Patmos and Kalymnos. The actual number of islands is about fifty. The islands are of strategic importance. In 1912 they were taken from Turkey by Italy and formed a problem of Mediterranean politics for a long time afterwards because Greece kept claiming them on racial grounds. By the Treaty of Paris in 1947 the Dodecanese was given to Greece. The islands are to remain demilitarized under the treaty.

DOMINION, a self-governing member-state of the British Empire (q.v.) other than the United Kingdom. Dominion status is one of full equality with Britain, which does not intervene in the domestic affairs of the Dominions or try to control their external policy. There are seven Dominions—Australia, Canada, Ceylon, India, New Zealand, Pakistan and South Africa. Southern Rhodesia is treated as a Dominion to some extent. (See articles on all these countries and on *Eire, Newfoundland.*) Welsh and Scottish nationalists (both q.v.) have demanded that their countries be given Dominion status, and a similar demand has been made by some conservatives in Northern Ireland (q.v.). There has also been talk of a Dominion of the West Indies.

The term 'Dominion' is resented in some of the Dominions because it seems to imply subjection to Britain, and the British government hinted in 1948 that it may be abandoned. When India and Pakistan were established in 1947, the Dominions Office, the department of the British government which deals with relations with the Dominions, was renamed the Commonwealth Relations Office, and in addition to the Secretary of State a Minister of State was appointed, chiefly to deal with British relations with the new Asian Dominions.

DOBRUDJA, an area of 8,800 sq. m. on the western Black Sea coast, for a long time disputed by Rumania and Bulgaria. When Rumania had to cede southern Bessarabia (q.v.) to Russia in 1878, she obtained the Dobrudja by way of compensation. After the second Balkan War in 1913 she added to it the district of Silistria from Bulgaria. By the short-lived Peace of Bucharest in 1918 Bulgaria secured return of the southern portion of the Dobrudja, an area of 3,000 sq. m., but had to hand this territory back to Rumania again under the Peace Treaty of Neuilly (1919). Bulgaria never ceased to claim the return of the southern Dobrudja, if not the whole of the region, and in September 1940 Rumania had to restore this part to Bulgaria under pressure from both Germany and Russia. (Treaty of Craiova, 8 September 1940.) Bulgaria claims that there has always been a Bulgarian majority among the population of the southern part of the Dobrudja, while the Rumanian census found only 38 per cent Bulgars. There are also Russian, Turkish, Greek, Tatar and other racial groups in the Dobrudja. The Peace Treaties of Paris in 1947 left the southern Dobrudja to Bulgaria. The arrival of new Russian settlers in the region was reported in 1947.

DOLLAR DIPLOMACY, a term applied to American policy in the Caribbean under President Theodore Roosevelt (1905–9) and in China under President Taft (1909–13). The latter described the American diplomacy of his day as 'substituting dollars for bullets'. The term has since been often used by left-wing critics of American foreign policy.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, a state covering the eastern portion of the island of Hispaniola, the neighbour of Haiti (q.v.). Area 19,000 sq. m., population nearly 2,000,000. The capital is Ciudad Trujillo. While Haiti speaks French, the language of the Dominican Republic, also referred to as San Domingo, is Spanish, and 25 per cent of the population are white. The rest are mulattoes with an Indian admixture. United States forces were in the country from 1916 to 1924, but now there is no direct political control by the United States, although the influence of American diplomacy and American sugar companies is considerable. Sixty per cent of the national income is derived from sugar production and export. The United States has a lien on all revenue till 1969 in view of existing debts. The constitution provides for an elected two-chamber Congress and a President elected for five years. The actual régime is a dictatorship of General Trujillo, who took power in 1930 and formed a single party, the *Partido Dominicano.* Two small opposition parties, the National Democratic and

National Labour parties, have been allowed; in the 1947 elections each polled 3·5 per cent of the votes, the Dominican Party polling 93 per cent.

DOWNING STREET, a street in London containing the residences of the Prime Minister (No. 10) and of the Chancellor of the Exchequer (No. 11); opposite them are the Foreign, Colonial and Home Offices. The name is often used as a symbol for the British government, and, abroad, especially for British foreign policy.

DOYEN, the longest accredited member, and therefore the leader on ceremonial occasions, of the diplomatic *corps* in a capital. Where there is a Papal Nuncio, he is automatically regarded as the Doyen.

DREW, George, Canadian lawyer and Progressive-Conservative politician, born 1894. He became leader of the Progressive-Conservative Party in Ontario in 1937, and was provincial Prime Minister and Minister of Education from 1943 to 1948. In October 1948 he was elected leader of the Canadian Progressive-Conservative Party, and resigned his Ontario offices to enter national politics.

DRUZES, a religious sect and nationality in Syria and the Lebanon (both q.v.). The religion is a mixed one, closest akin to Islam. When Syria became a French mandate, the French supported the Christian Maronites, so the Druzes looked to Britain. They revolted in 1925 and received concessions. When Syria became independent in 1941 they obtained a measure of autonomy.

DUAL MANDATE, in colonial government the principle that the governing power should consider the interests of the natives as well as of white settlers. It inspires British colonial policy and, indeed, found its fullest expression in *The Dual Mandate* (1927) by the colonial administrator Lord Lugard.

DUCE, the Italian for 'leader', the title of Mussolini (q.v.), dictator of Italy (q.v.) from 1922 to 1943.

DUNKIRK, Treaty of, an alliance concluded between France and Britain in March 1947. It provided for mutual aid against German aggression and German failure to fulfil the peace treaty, when one is made, and for economic co-operation; it was to last for fifty years. It is probable, however, that the later Treaty of Brussels (q.v.) has superseded it.

DUPLESSIS, Maurice, French Canadian lawyer and politician, born 1890. He was elected to the Quebec Provincial Assembly in 1927 and became leader of the Conservative Party in 1933. In 1936 he formed the *Union Nationale* to defend the rights and institutions of French Canada. His party won the Quebec election of 1936 and he became Prime Minister and Attorney-General. He was defeated in 1939, but returned to power in 1944.

DURAND LINE, the frontier between Afghanistan (q.v.) and India, now Pakistan (q.v.), as laid down in 1893. Afghanistan declared in 1949 that she no longer recognized this line as valid.

DUTCH EAST INDIES. (See *Indonesia, Netherlands.*)

E

EAST. At one time non-Russian Asia and north-western Africa were named as follows: Near East—Libya, Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Turkey; Middle East—Iran, Afghanistan, India and Burma; Far East—south-east Asia, China, Japan. Iraq (Mesopotamia) was sometimes included in the Near, sometimes in the Middle East. Nowadays, however, the old Near East is called the Middle East and the exact meaning of the other two terms is in doubt.

E.C.A., initials of the European Co-operation Administration, which supervises the European Recovery Programme (q.v.).

ECUADOR, South American republic, area about 275,000 sq. m., population about 3,241,000, of whom about 8 per cent are white, 27 per cent Indian, 54 per cent mestizo, 8 per cent negroes and mulattoes, 3 per cent others. The capital is Quito. The 1945 constitution provides for a President elected by the people for four years and a single-chamber parliament elected for two years by the provinces on a population basis, with special deputies chosen by professional, business, cultural and racial groups. Suffrage extends to all literate citizens, male and female. The language is Spanish; most of the Indians speak their own languages, mainly Quechua and Jibaro. The principal industries of Ecuador are cocoa- and coffee-growing. Most of the arable land belongs to the Church and about half a dozen big *haciendados*. Church and state are separated.

From 1895 to 1925, liberal, anticlerical governments ruled the country. Since 1925, there has been a continuous succession of Presidents and *pronunciamentos*. The traditional parties are the conservatives and the liberals; there is also a centre party known as the national democrats, and socialists and communists also exist. The army is the decisive factor in Ecuadorian politics. President Arroyo del Rio, elected 1940, was overthrown in May 1944 and succeeded by Velasco Ibarra, a former President returning from exile. A conservative national assembly adopted a new constitution in January 1947, which made only minor changes. Ibarra was overthrown in August 1947 by the army and Colonel Mancheno formed a socialist-liberal coalition. He was deposed in September, when the conservatives returned to power under S. Veintimilla, Vice-President to Ibarra. Veintimilla soon resigned, and C. J. Arosemena, a non-party man, became President and formed a liberal-socialist-conservative administration. The first presidential elections since 1940 were held in June 1948, when G. Plaza, a senator and former ambassador to the U.S.A., was elected as the National Democratic candidate in opposition to General Enriquez, nominated by a liberal-socialist coalition, and Dr. Flor Torres, conservative.

Border fighting with Peru has been intermittent for a century, both countries disputing some frontier areas, especially a jungle region of 50,000 sq. m. extending between the Napo and Marañon rivers and leading to Iquitos on the Amazon river. Arbitration by the United States, Argentina and Brazil in 1942, after an invasion of an Ecuadorian border province by Peru, settled the boundary, and the agreement was ratified in 1944. Ecuador owns the strategically important Galapagos Islands in which it granted naval bases to the United States in 1942. A United States naval base was also established in the Santa Elena peninsula.

EDE, James Chuter, British Labour politician, born 1882. A teacher, he was Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education in the Churchill coalition government 1940–5. In August 1945 he became Home Secretary in the Attlee Labour government.

EDEN, Robert Anthony, British Conservative politician, born 1897. Educated at

Eton and Oxford, he has been M.P. for Warwick and Leamington since 1923. He was Foreign Under-Secretary 1931–4, Lord Privy Seal 1934–5, Minister without Portfolio for League of Nations Affairs in 1935, and Foreign Secretary 1935–8. He believed in the policy of collective security (q.v.) and in making the League an effective guardian of peace. He conflicted with Chamberlain on the question of the continued appeasement (q.v.) of Italy, and resigned in February 1938. Together with Churchill (q.v.) he urged resistance to the dictators. On the outbreak of war he was recalled to the government as Dominions Secretary; in the Churchill government he was War Minister in 1940 and Foreign Secretary 1940–5. He has turned his attention to domestic affairs and he is now regarded as Churchill's successor in the leadership of the party, in which he occupies a central position.

EGYPT, Kingdom of, Arabic name *Misr*, 386,000 sq. m., population 17,000,000, capital Cairo. Most of the country is an uninhabited desert; nearly the whole population is concentrated in the Nile Valley, the Delta and the oases. The populated and cultivated area hardly exceeds 14,000 sq. m. From the sixteenth century onwards, Egypt belonged to Turkey; at the beginning of the nineteenth century Mohammed Ali, the Turkish Pasha of Egypt, made himself virtually independent under the title of *Khedive* (viceroy), but Egypt remained under Turkish suzerainty. The office of Khedive became hereditary in the family of Mohammed Ali, who was of Albanian origin. The construction of the Suez Canal (q.v.) in 1860 renewed Egypt's importance in world politics. In 1882 rebellion against the Anglo-French control of finances which had resulted from the Khedive's extravagance, led to British occupation and control of administration. After the outbreak of World War I Egypt was declared a British Protectorate. The pro-German and pro-Turkish Khedive, Abbas Hilmi II, was deposed and Prince Husein Kamil, of the same dynasty, was made his successor under the title of Sultan. On his death in 1917 he was succeeded by his brother Fuad. The protectorate was abolished in 1922 and Egypt was recognized as an independent state. Sultan Fuad adopted the title of King. The British forces, however, stayed in Egypt. British interest in Egypt is primarily based on the defence of the Suez Canal.

After 1922 a strong nationalist movement developed in Egypt, demanding real sovereignty and withdrawal of British troops. Unrest grew, and there were frequent clashes. King Fuad I died on 28 April 1936, and was succeeded by his son Farouk I (born 1920). On 26 August 1936 a new Anglo-Egyptian treaty was concluded for 20 years. It provided for the recognition of Egypt's full sovereignty; the evacuation of Egypt by the British with the exception of the Suez Canal zone, where 10,000 British troops and 400 airmen were to remain stationed; the right to use Alexandria and Port Said as British naval bases; in case of war or the threat of war, free movement of British forces in Egypt, the Egyptian government to facilitate such movement in every way; an alliance between Great Britain and Egypt, the former undertaking the defence of Egypt, while the latter should not be under obligation to come to the aid of Britain, unless Egypt was directly attacked, Britain to undertake the defence of the Suez Canal until the Egyptian army should be in a position to ensure such defence itself. In 1937, capitulations (q.v.) were abolished in Egypt by an international convention signed at Montreux; a transition period of twelve years and certain reservations were stipulated, the most important being that Egypt must bring up the standard of its national courts to that of the mixed courts functioning under the transition régime. The latter ended in 1949

The Egyptian constitution of 1923 provides for a constitutional monarchy with parliamentary government. Parliament consists of an Upper House or House of Sheikhs (*Mejlis esh Shuyuk*) with 150 members, 60 of whom are nominated by the King and all of whom serve for ten years, and a Lower House (*Mejlis el Nuwab*) with 260 members elected by the people for five years. The royal prerogative is great. Ninety per cent of the population are illiterate, but there is a considerable intelligentsia. Next to the Crown and the islamic clergy, the forces most prominent in Egyptian politics are the large landowners, commercial interests and the intelligentsia. The nationalist movement, which previously had been Egyptian rather than All-Arabian, has recently developed stronger pan-Arabic

tendencies. An increasing current of opinion has demanded the assumption of the leadership of the pan-Arabic movement by Egypt. In 1945 Egypt joined the Arab League (q.v.). Occasionally the assumption of the caliphate (q.v.) by the King of Egypt was also suggested; apart from 1,000,000 Coptic Christians, the entire population is Moslem. The King pursues a policy of gradual modernization, without antagonizing the clergy and other influential conservative sections of the population. The masses are fanatical Moslems and hostile to foreigners; as in all Arab countries, social discontent is discernible behind their nationalism. There is an acute contrast between the people, living in abject poverty, and the small but extremely wealthy upper class. There is no middle class. Nationalism combines with class antagonism; thus, the political opponents of the upper class will point to the largely non-Arabic descent of its members, who are for a large part of Turkish and Greek origin: also the popularity of the monarchy is affected by the Turkish-Albanian descent of the royal house (whose members talk Turkish among themselves). While the ruling class, with an eye on the nationalist masses, insists on the withdrawal of British troops, it simultaneously fears that this withdrawal might give the signal for social unrest. Some observers hold this to be one of the factors explaining the endless procrastination in the Anglo-Egyptian negotiations on evacuation.

When the Egyptian Parliament was elected in 1945, the old progressive-nationalist Wafd Party (q.v.), which had held a large majority in the preceding Parliament, boycotted the election. It still claims to be in fact the largest party in the country. In 1948 it announced it would take part in the next election. The 1945 House was composed of 124 Saadists who are an offshoot of the old Wafd Party; 74 Liberal-Constitutionals who represent the upper class, the landowners and part of the intelligentsia; 30 deputies of the Wafdist bloc, also known as the Kotla Party (from the name of its newspaper, *El Kotla*) and another secession from the old Wafd, believed to be the 'Palace Party'; 7 deputies of the Watani or extreme nationalist party; and 26 Independents. In the Senate, the Wafd still holds 65 seats, while the Saadists hold 15, the Liberals, 15, the Wafdist bloc (not to be confused with the Wafd proper) 7, the remainder being mostly Independents appointed by the King. Egypt's government has in the last few years been mostly based on Saadists and Liberals, but sometimes also the Kotla Party was called upon to form a cabinet. Neither political parties nor the methods used in Egyptian elections may be measured by European or American standards. The parties are mostly groups of personal followers formed around a leader, and differences of programme are not always readily discerned.

Among the best-known Egyptian politicians are Nahas Pasha, the leader of the Wafd, who is regarded as an adversary of the 'Palace'; Ismail Sidky Pasha, the leader of the Saadists; and Mokram Ebeid Pasha and Maher Pasha, the Kotla leaders. The Liberals are led by Heikal Pasha, the Watanis by Ramadan Pasha. Fascist trends are displayed by the small Young Egypt Party (*Misr el Fatat*) and the large para-military Moslem Brotherhood (*Ichvan el Muslimin*), which was founded in 1930 by a teacher named Hassan el Bana. It numbered 500,000 members in 1948 when it was banned on account of terrorist activities.

In World War II Egypt remained neutral, even when the Axis Powers invaded Egyptian territory. The King himself was sympathetic to the Axis, and British tanks had on one occasion to surround the palace to enforce removal of a government obstructing the Allied war effort. On the whole, however, Egypt fulfilled her obligation to grant facilities to the British forces. When Egypt eventually declared war on Germany and Japan in February 1945, the acting Premier was assassinated. After the war Egypt demanded withdrawal of all British forces and a revision of the 1936 treaty. In 1946 and 1947 a number of British units were withdrawn from the Nile Delta and Cairo, and the British naval base at Alexandria was given up, but the bulk of the British forces are still in Egypt.

Egypt demanded the complete withdrawal of British troops within one and a half years—Britain offered five; Egypt wanted the restriction of her liability to aid Britain to be confined to cases of attack on 'bordering' countries and not on any 'neighbouring' one; Egypt demanded that Britain surrender the Sudan (q.v.)—Britain insisted that the Sudanese should be free to decide their own fate. In September negotiations reached a deadlock, and the Prime

Minister, Sidky Pasha, whose government had been joined by the Saadists, resigned. He returned to office, however, because the Wafd asked an exorbitant price for their accession to an all-party coalition. Negotiations were resumed and much progress was made; the British withdrew from Alexandria. In December the Governor of the Sudan made a speech rejecting Egyptian claims to that country. Sidky Pasha at once resigned. Nokrashy Pasha formed a new Saadist-Liberal government In January 1947 negotiations were broken off, after agreement had been reached on every point except the Sudan and immediate evacuation. Nokrashy, who refused to accept the advice of his fellow-ministers to compromise, appealed to the United Nations, which failed to agree on any recommendation. Negotiations were resumed.

In May 1948 Egypt took part in the invasion of Palestine (q.v.) by the Arab states. Differences on policy between Egypt and King Abdullah of Transjordania (q v.) developed, and while Egypt sponsored an Arab government for Palestine, established at Gaza under the former Mufti of Jerusalem (q.v.), Abdullah had himself proclaimed King of a united Palestine and Transjordania. Egyptian forces invading Palestine were held by the Israeli forces in the south. Premier Nokrashy Pasha was assassinated on 28 December 1948 by a student terrorist. Anti-foreigner and anti-Jewish riots had preceded. Abdul Hadi Pasha (Saadist) was appointed premier. The Moslem Brotherhood, believed to be responsible for Nokrashy's murder, was suppressed. Its leader, Hassan el Bana, was assassinated in February 1949. On 24 February 1949 an armistice was signed at Rhodes with Israel (for terms, see *Israel*). In July 1949 an all-party government, this time including the Wafd, was formed under H. Sirry Pasha to hold office until the election. It was later replaced by a caretaker government of officials under the same premier. The election was held in January 1950 and resulted in a Wafd victory. The House, whose membership was increased to 319, is composed as follows: Wafd 225, Saadists 28, Liberals 26, Nationalists 6, Socialists 1, Independents 33. Nahas Pasha formed the government.

EIRE, Republic of Ireland, in Erse now called *Poblacht na hÉireann*, the southern Irish country known from 1922 to 1937 as the Irish Free State (*Saorstát Éireann*), 26,000 sq. m., population 2,950,000, capital Dublin. It came into existence as a British Dominion in 1922 after the long Irish struggle for autonomy (see *Ireland*). For ten years the predominant party was *Fine Gael* (United Ireland) which was the party of those moderate republicans who were prepared to accept Dominion status as a prelude to eventual separation from the British Empire rather than continue waging war with Britain. The Prime Minister, W. T. Cosgrave, took several steps to stress the Free State's equality with Britain. In 1925 E. de Valera (q.v.), who had hitherto led the extreme republicans, decided to seek a republic by constitutional means rather than by violence. He formed *Fianna Fáil* (Soldiers of Ireland), a radical nationalist party aiming at the establishment of an independent Irish republic, which might, however, remain associated with the British Empire. In 1932 a general election resulted in *Fianna Fáil* coming to power, with De Valera as Prime Minister.

Between 1932 and 1937 De Valera put his policy into effect. In 1933 the oath to the Crown of members of the Legislature was abolished, as was the Governor-General's power of reserving bills for the royal assent and the right of I.F.S. citizens to appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the supreme court of the overseas Empire; in 1935 Irish citizenship was defined and separated from that common to the whole Empire, in 1936 the Senate, opposed to De Valera, was abolished, and later in the year he took advantage of the Abdication crisis, to have the Governor-General's functions divided between the Speaker and the government, and to obtain the enactment of the Executive Authority (External Relations) Act by which the Crown was to be used in external affairs so long as this would be convenient. Legal power to do all this had been given to the legislature by the Statute of Westminster (q.v.), which had enabled certain Dominions, including Eire, to amend their constitutions and other British Acts applying to them; but it was argued that this policy was contrary to the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1922.

Meanwhile the De Valera government had ceased the payment to Britain of the land annuities due as repayment of the

loans made through the British government to the Irish peasantry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to enable them to purchase their land. This violation of the Treaty caused Britain to impose a special duty on Irish goods, so as to recover the annuities; this was countered by an Irish tariff on British goods. The 'economic war' thus started continued until 1938, when the two governments solved the problems of the annuities and the naval bases retained by Britain in 1922 but regarded by the Irish as a threat to their freedom. All British Admiralty property and rights were transferred to the Irish, who agreed to pay £10,000,000 as a final settlement of the annuities and other debts (with certain exceptions). The economic war was ended: it had been only a part of De Valera's economic policy, which aimed at making his country more self-sufficient, by improving its agriculture and developing its manufactures.

Before the end of the 'war', the Free State had been replaced by Eire. In 1937 De Valera submitted to the people a new constitution which was accepted in the plebiscite by 54 per cent of the voters. The principal provisions of that constitution, which declares that it is given to the Irish people by themselves 'in the name of the Most Holy Trinity', are as follows. The name of the state is Eire, or in the English language—Ireland; it includes the whole island, but until union is achieved its legislature is to act only for the area of the old Free State; Eire is 'a sovereign, independent, democratic state'. Its President (*Uachtaran na hÉireann*) is elected by direct vote for eight years. The first President was Dr. Hyde, a distinguished scholar who had led the revival of the old Gaelic culture; in 1945 he was succeeded by S. T. O'Kelly, a member of *Fianna Fáil*. The legislature (*Oireachtas*) has two houses. The Senate (*Seanad*) is composed of 43 members elected by five vocational panels, 6 elected by the Universities and 11 nominated by the Prime Minister. The *Dáil* is elected by all adults on the basis of proportional representation; by an Act of 1947 its membership was increased from 138 to 147. The President appoints the *Taoiseach* (=leader, =Prime Minister) on the nomination of the *Dáil*. The term 'republic' was avoided, partly to conciliate the Northern Irish, whom De Valera hoped to persuade to join the new state; the constitution allows the use of the Crown as arranged in the 1936 External Relations Act. It was announced by the governments of Britain and the other Dominions that they did not regard the new constitution as altering Eire's place in the Commonwealth. But what that place was has not been clearly defined. The Crown was still used in external relations but Eire did not associate herself with the rest of the Commonwealth—she was not represented at Imperial Conferences (q.v.) and was neutral in World War II. As De Valera declared in 1947: 'As a matter of our external policy we are associated with the States of the British Commonwealth of Nations. We are not members of it. We are associates of the States of the Commonwealth, but if they regard the existence of the King as a necessary link, if they consider that it is the bond they have, then we have not got that bond.' This ambiguity satisfied neither the Northern Irish nor the republicans. In 1946 Sean MacBride founded the new Republican Party (*Clann na Poblachta*).

In the general election of February 1948 *Fianna Fáil* was defeated, the new *Dáil* containing representatives of the parties as follows: *Fianna Fáil* 68, Fine Gael 31, Labour 14, *Clann na Poblachta* 10, *Clann na Talmhan* (Farmers) 7, National Labour 5, Independent Farmers 4, Independents 8. De Valera resigned, and John Costello (q.v.) formed a coalition of 6 Fine Gael (of whom he is one), 2 Republicans, and one representative of each of the other parties. The Senate, elected in April, contains 39 supporters of the government and 21 members of *Fianna Fáil*.

The election had been fought mainly on the issue of domestic policy and the best means of reducing the cost of living. Constitutional issues had held a subordinate place. Nevertheless the new government decided to deal with Eire's relations with the Commonwealth. The *Clann na Poblachta* had been formed to hasten the establishment of a republic; *Fine Gael* had accepted the compromise of 1922 only as a temporary settlement. The government therefore introduced into the *Dáil* the Republic of Ireland Bill, designed to sever the last link with the British Crown. The Act was passed by the *Oireachtas* at the end of 1948. By it the External Relations Act was repealed and executive functions in external

affairs were assigned to the President of Eire. The name of the state was altered to *Poblacht na hÉireann* or in English, Republic of Ireland. A meeting between Irish, English and Commonwealth delegates had taken place shortly before in Paris, and especially Australia's Dr. Evatt had made every effort to persuade the Irish to stay in the Commonwealth. It was then announced from Dublin that the republic wished to continue close relations with Commonwealth countries and would welcome citizenship privileges. The British government, in agreement with Dominion governments, said that no special measures were considered necessary. Imperial preference would continue to apply to Eire for the time being and Irish citizens resident in the United Kingdom would continue to be regarded as British subjects.

The Ireland Bill, subsequently passed by the British Parliament, took cognizance of the establishment of the Irish Republic, stating that the Republic should not be regarded as a foreign state. It included a provision to the effect that Northern Ireland must not be detached from the United Kingdom without the consent of Northern Ireland's own parliament. This clause evoked violent protest from Dublin. Immediately after the passing of the Republic Bill by the *Dáil*, the Northern Irish Government held an election under the slogan 'King or Republic?', which resulted in a two-thirds' vote for the British connection and a large majority of unionists in the Northern Irish Parliament. (See *Northern Ireland.*) Partition remains Eire's principal concern, and the radical, underground Irish Republican Army, remnant of the body of civil war days, has threatened violent action to end it. Such Irish threats were the immediate cause of the British Government's inserting the guarantee to Northern Ireland in the Ireland Bill.

The Irish Republic was solemnly proclaimed on Easter Sunday 1949, the anniversary of the Easter Rising of 1916. The King sent a message of congratulation. The Irish Republic joined the Council of Europe, Eire having already earlier participated in the European Recovery Programme (both q.v.), but the Republic refused to join the North Atlantic Treaty (q.v.) so long as partition continued.

ELECTORAL COLLEGE, a body of persons other than the people who elect officers or representatives. In the United States (q.v.) the President and Vice-President are elected by a college consisting of a number of popularly elected representatives from each state equal in number to the total of Senators and Representatives returned by that state to the federal Congress (the total is now 531). The electors are mere delegates voting on party lines—the ballot by which they are elected usually does not name them but only the candidates for the two offices and their party classification. In many other American republics the president is similarly elected. In certain countries, e g. Eire and France (q.v.), the upper house of the legislature is elected by a college of representatives of vocational organizations and/or local government authorities.

ELLIOT, Walter, British Conservative politician, born 1888. He was Financial Secretary to the Treasury 1931–2, Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries 1932–6 (when he was largely responsible for the Marketing Boards—q.v.), Secretary of State for Scotland 1936–8, Minister of Health 1938–40, and Director of Public Relations at the War Office 1941–2. He was defeated at the General Election of 1945, but elected for the Scottish Universities in 1946.

EMERGENCY POWERS, in Britain powers conferred upon the government to deal with crises. During World War I the *Defence of the Realm Acts* (D.O R.A.) gave the government extensive powers for waging the war. In 1920 the *Emergency Powers Act* empowered the Crown to proclaim a state of emergency in the event of a threat to essential public services (food, water, fuel, light, transport), the government could then take action to supply these goods and services by virtue of regulations, but it could not introduce compulsory military or industrial service nor make striking illegal. This Act was designed to deal with strikes, and was used in 1926 against the coal-miners and in 1948 against the dockers. (See also *Trade Disputes Act.*) The *Emergency Powers (Defence) Acts* of 1939 and 1940 empowered ministers of the Crown to issue defence regulations for public safety and order, for the defence of the realm and the prosecution of the war—the 1940 Act, one of the first measures of the Churchill

government, gave especially great powers, for under it regulations could be issued requiring persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of the Crown. Among the more controversial regulations issued were 2c and 2d, empowering the government to warn and if necessary suppress newspapers injurious to the war effort, and 18b, empowering it to detain at pleasure any person whose freedom might be similarly injurious. These Acts lapsed at the end of the war, but the government still required extraordinary powers to deal with the transition to peace. By the *Supplies and Services (Transitional Powers) Act*, 1945, it could continue existing defence regulations to ensure a sufficient and equitable distribution of supplies and services, to facilitate demobilization and resettlement of members of the forces, to readjust industry and commerce, and to assist the relief of suffering and the restoration and distribution of supplies and services at home and abroad. This Act was to remain valid for five years; the Conservative and Liberal opposition wanted it to be restricted to two years, when the government could ask for new powers if it needed them. In 1947, however, the government found that it wanted new powers to deal with the economic crisis. By the *Supplies and Services (Extended Powers) Act*, it could use regulations to promote the productivity of industry, commerce and agriculture, foster and direct exports, reduce imports, redress the balance of trade, and ensure 'that the whole resources of the community are available for use, and are used, in a manner best calculated to serve the interests of the community'. This Act, especially the clause quoted, was vigorously opposed by the Conservative and Liberal Parties and some members of the Labour Party, who saw in it a threat to freedom.

EMPIRE FREE TRADE (Empire Customs Union), the removal of barriers to trade between the countries of the British Empire (q.v.) and the erection of barriers against foreign competition. By some it is regarded as the goal of Imperial Preference (q.v.), but in fact British farmers want protection against Empire agriculture and Empire industrialists want protection against British manufactures. Its chief advocate is Lord Beaverbrook (q.v.).

ENCIRCLEMENT, term coined in Germany as *Einkreisungspolitik* before World War I to denote the policy of an Anglo-French-Russian alliance against her; such a policy was ascribed to Edward VII of Britain because of his many visits to European courts. In fact those visits were not preparations for an alliance against Germany, and although the Franco-Russian alliance was directed against that country, it was explained that these two countries feared aggression by Germany herself, who eventually alienated Britain as well. The term was applied also to the inter-war French alliances with the states of eastern Europe. An encircling form of alliance is determined solely by geography, and by nature not more objectionable than an alliance taking the shape of, e.g., a compact bloc.

ENCYCLICAL, from Latin *bulla encyclica*, a circular letter on religious and political questions from the Pope to the Catholic Hierarchy. The opinions and directions contained in an encyclical do not have the status of dogma, but are authoritative and influential Issued only on important occasions and defining papal policies over a length of time, they are significant political documents. Encyclicals are known by their initial words. Famous political encyclicals include Leo XIII's *Rerum novarum* (anti-socialist), Pius XI's *Quadragesimo Anno* (for a Christian corporate state), and Pius XII's *Mit brennender Sorge* (in German; directed against the doctrine and religious policy of German Nazism).

ENGELS, Frederick, German socialist theoretician, and, together with Karl Marx (q.v.), the founder of Marxian or 'scientific' socialism, born 28 November 1820 at Barmen, West Germany, died 5 August 1895 in London. Engels was the son of a Rhenish textile manufacturer. While drafted into the Prussian Army in Berlin, he joined the radical Young Hegelians (see *Hegel*) and made the acquaintance of his later friend, Marx. He worked in his father's English business in Manchester afterwards. Though a manufacturer himself, he became interested in the working-class movement, and in 1845 published the famous book *The Condition of the Working Classes in England*, a description and analysis of the social conditions under early English capitalism. He renewed relations with Marx soon after in Paris,

and they developed into lifelong friendship.

The system known as Marxism (q.v.) is the joint work of both men; it is difficult to decide whose share was greater, though this is usually attributed to Marx. It is certain that Engels had independently developed some fundamental concepts of Marxism, especially the materialist interpretation of history, before his collaboration with Marx started. Both men wrote several works jointly between 1845 and 1847, including the famous *Communist Manifesto* (q.v.). In 1848 Engels worked with Marx on a radical newspaper in Cologne, then took part in the abortive revolution in West Germany, and returned to England, where he went on working in his father's firm until 1870. He supported Marx financially and enabled him to write his works. Engels himself was a prolific writer, apart from his constant contributions to the writings of Marx. Engels's works include *The German Peasants' War* (1850), the *Anti-Duhring* (1878), in which he argued against a prominent non-Marxian, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of German Philosophy* (1884), and *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884), an anthropological work trying to apply the Marxian method to prehistory and to describe the growth of these institutions out of a supposed state of primeval communism, largely following the researches of Lewis H. Morgan, an American anthropologist. Engels also wrote *Socialism; Utopia or Science?* (1893), one of the most widespread pamphlets in the European labour movement.

Like those of Marx, the writings of Engels have been distributed in vast editions by the socialist parties of many countries. After the death of Marx in 1882, Engels edited the last two volumes of Marx's great work, *Capital*. He took part in all political activities of Marx and continued them after his friend's death. From 1882 to 1895 he was the intellectual leader of the international socialist movement, attempting faithfully to interpret the work of Marx. Some believe he was at heart somewhat more moderate than Marx, in accordance with his more placid nature.

ENGLAND, Church of (Anglican Church), the reformed, Protestant episcopal Church created by the Tudor monarchs of England in the sixteenth century. Although there is full religious toleration in England, the Church of England is the official—the established—Church of that part of the United Kingdom, and the monarch is its Supreme Head and Governor. Only a small minority of the people are now active members of it, but it is intimately associated with the national life.

It is divided into two provinces, Canterbury and York; the Archbishop of Canterbury is Primate of All England, and the Archbishop of York is Primate of England. It is governed by the National Assembly of the Church of England, created in 1919 and consisting of a House of Bishops (the 2 Archbishops and the 45 diocesan bishops), a House of Clergy (344) and a House of Laity (344). A measure passed by the Assembly is submitted to the Ecclesiastical Committee of Parliament (15 Lords and 15 M.P.s) which reports to Parliament, which in its turn usually passes the measure into law. Each province has a Convocation consisting of an Upper House of bishops and a lower one of elected representatives of the clergy. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners (established 1836) and the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty (1704) control Church property—under a 1947 Act they are to be amalgamated. The Canon Law is about to be revised—an Archbishops' Committee reported in 1947.

There are Anglican Churches in Wales, Scotland and Ireland; they were disestablished in 1920, 1689 and 1871 respectively. The disestablishment of the Church in England has often been proposed, both by Nonconformists and by High Church and Anglo-Catholic sections of the Church itself. It has also been proposed that the representation of the Church in the House of Lords (q.v.) should be reduced—the 2 Archbishops and the 24 senior bishops now sit there; ministers of the Church of England (and Roman Catholic priests) may not sit in the House of Commons. The Anglican communion is world wide, and consists of a number of independent 'provinces' and churches, including the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. The bishops of all these churches meet in the decennial Lambeth Conference, of which the latest was held in 1948 and issued an Encyclical Letter on Christianity and the Church in the present age.

ENOSIS, Greek for 'union', a term applied to the union of Cyprus with Greece,

desired both by Greece and the Cypriot Greeks. (See *Cyprus.*)

ENTENTE CORDIALE, French for cordial understanding, a term coined for the political understanding reached between Great Britain and France in 1904. It provided for Anglo-French collaboration against Germany, for the recognition of British influence in Egypt and of French influence in Morocco. The term has been applied to subsequent Anglo-French political collaboration.

ERITREA. (See *Italian East Africa.*)

ERSKINE MAY, popular name of *A Treatise on the Law, Privileges, Proceedings and Usage of Parliament* by Sir Thomas Erskine May. The author was Clerk to the House of Commons and the first edition of the book was published in 1844. It at once became the authoritative exposition of its subject and has held this position, being revised from time to time to keep it up to date.

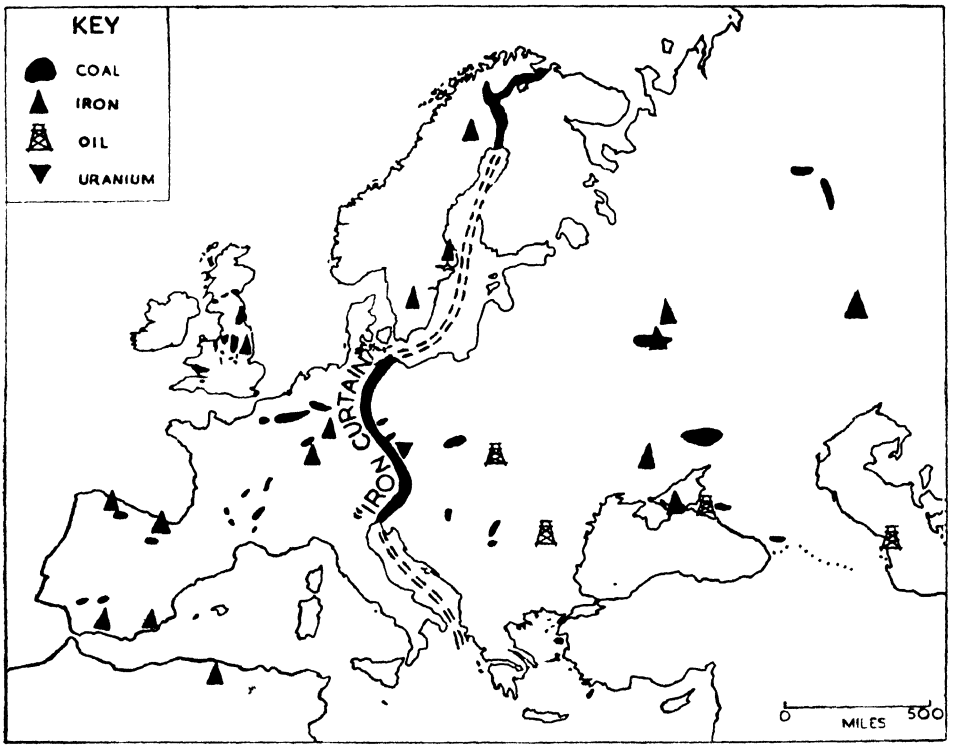
ESPERANTO. (See *World-Language.*)

ETHNOGRAPHICAL PRINCIPLE, the doctrine that all persons of the same language or race should be united in a common state, and that political boundaries should follow ethnographical lines. Also known as the principle of nationality. (See *Autonomy, Nationalism.*)

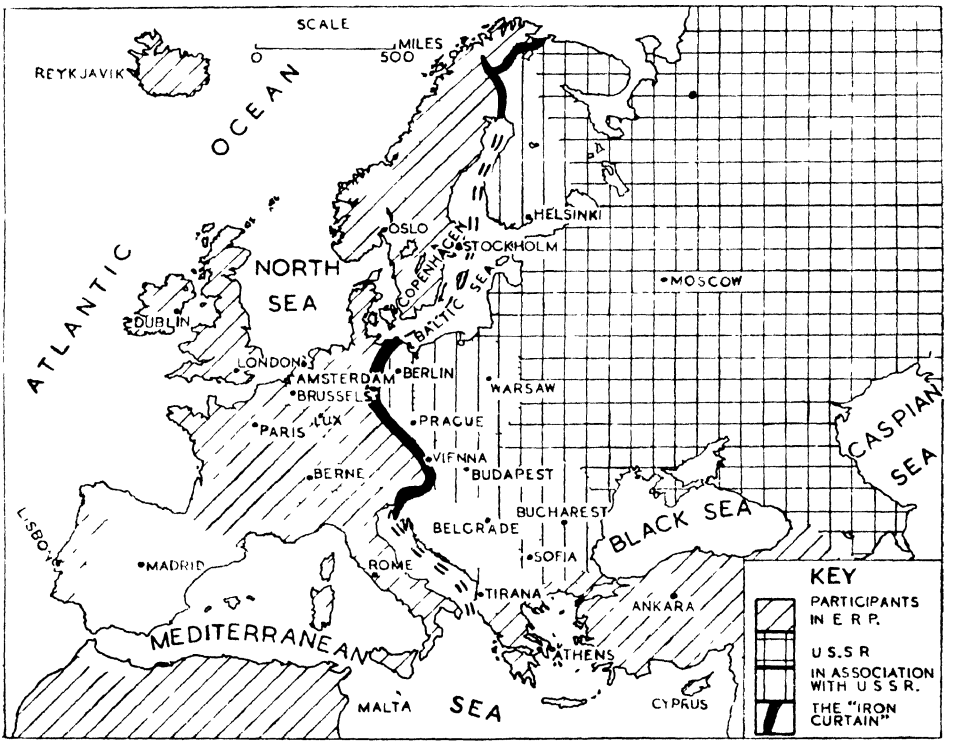
EUPEN-MALMEDY, a territory of some 400 sq. m., with a population of 65,000, on the German-Belgian frontier. The chief towns are Eupen, Malmedy and Moresnet. German until 1920, the area was ceded to Belgium under the Versailles Treaty. Its history had been variegated; until 1797 it belonged to the Austrian Netherlands which later became Belgium, then it became French, and in 1815 was joined to Prussia. A plebiscite was held under the peace treaty on 24 July 1920, and resulted in a majority for union with Belgium. The Germans maintained that the plebiscite, which was held under Belgian occupation, had not been conducted quite properly. The population is 99 per cent German in the Eupen district, 70 per cent German-speaking and 30 per cent French-speaking in the Malmedy district. In practice, the German population enjoyed minority rights in Belgium, including linguistic rights. Germany aspired to a return of the area, with the support of a considerable section of the population. The Belgian socialists favoured return, while the other parties and France were opposed to it. After the conquest of Belgium in 1940, Hitler re-annexed the region of Eupen-Malmedy; after the German defeat in 1945 it was re-incorporated in Belgium, and the previous state of affairs, including the former rights of the population, was restored. Belgium annexed small additional German areas between Eupen and St. Vith (see *Belgium, Germany*).

EUROPEAN RECOVERY PROGRAMME, a programme of American economic aid for Europe, popularly known as the Marshall Plan after its sponsor, Secretary George C. Marshall (q.v.), who inaugurated the programme in June 1947 by a statement that the United States was prepared to aid Europe's economic recovery if the countries concerned would agree on co-operation and state their needs. All west European countries accepted, while the Soviet Union denounced the plan as an instrument of American foreign policy. At a preliminary conference held in Paris immediately after the offer, the Soviet Union suggested that aid should be granted to the various countries individually and they should be free to use it as they chose. Against this, the United States insisted on a joint plan and the assumption of certain obligations on the part of those receiving aid. A conference of the nations concerned was held in Paris in July 1947, the Soviet Union preventing its satellites from taking part, though one or two of them would have liked to. In September 1947 the conference met again to establish the needs of Europe and suggest a figure for American aid. The countries participating were Britain, France, Italy, Western Germany (represented by Allied zonal governors), Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Austria, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Greece, Iceland, Eire and Portugal. Spain, though anxious to get aid, was not invited on account of its régime.

The Paris conference stated, in its report dated 22 September, that the combined deficit of the participating countries in their economic relations with the American continent for the four years 1948–51 inclusive would be $22,400,000,000, of which $19,300,000,000 would have to be subsidies



(a) Economic resources



(b) Political divisions

Map VIII. Europe To-day

rather than loans. This figure was reached on the assumption that by 1952 the participating countries would have reached the pre-war level in cereal production, slightly exceeded it in coal output, restored the merchant fleets to pre-war level, and have expanded electricity generating capacity by two-thirds, steel output by 20 per cent, oil-refining capacity by 150 per cent, and inland transport facilities by 25 per cent above pre-war level. It was assumed that most of the capital equipment needed for these expansions would be produced in Europe.

On 19 December 1947 President Truman asked Congress to vote $17,000,000,000 for the Marshall Plan, to be spent over a period of four and a quarter years to 30 June 1952, under the management of an Economic Co-operation Administration. $597,000,000 of this amount were to go at once to France, Austria and Italy as 'stop-gap' aid. While provision for repayment was to be made wherever possible, little doubt was left that most of the amount would be a downright gift.

The Economic Co-operation Bill, as the bill was at first called, was later renamed the Foreign Assistance Bill. A European Co-operation Administration (E.C.A.) was established, with Paul G. Hoffman as administrator. Countries receiving aid were obliged to pledge themselves to increase production, to act so as to restore confidence in their monetary systems, to use the aid efficiently, to co-operate with other participants and to reduce trade barriers. They had to conclude bilateral pacts with the United States to this effect. (Only Switzerland, which claimed no aid, was exempted.) Special aid for China ($460,000,000), Greece and Turkey ($250,000,000) was passed alongside with ERP, the Act providing for the expenditure of $5,300,000,000 in the first twelve months. The Act came into force in April 1948. The receiving countries were given the following amounts (in million dollars) during the first period from 1 July 1948 to 30 June 1949: Britain 1,239, France 980, Italy 555, Germany (West) 509, Holland 470, Belgium (with Luxembourg) 247, Austria 215, Greece 144, Denmark 109, Norway 83, Eire 78, Sweden 47, Turkey 40, Trieste 18, Iceland 5. Further amounts were spent under special headings, and the total distributed by 1 April 1949, was $4,953 million in grants and $898 million in loans.

The Foreign Aid Appropriation Bill, passed afterwards, provided for a total of $6,030,000,000 for the first period and empowered the President to decide whether this was for twelve or for fifteen months. There had been some opposition to the aid in the House of Representatives. Of the appropriation, $4,000,000,000 was earmarked for ERP except occupied countries, $1,300,000,000 for occupied countries (Germany, Japan, Korea), 400,000,000 for China, $225,000,000 for Greece and Turkey, and $100,000,000 for the International Refugee Organization and the United Nations Children's Fund. In March 1948 the receiving nations held another conference and signed an agreement on the creation of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation. The O.E.E.C. in Paris has an executive committee and a secretary-general, and its decisions are binding for the members contributing to making them. The bilateral pacts between the participants and the United States were duly concluded during 1948. There were some British misgivings because of a supposed menace to Imperial Preference (q.v.). On the political side, the programme had important effects. One of its avowed aims was to stem the progress of communism by improving economic conditions, and therefore Russia continued to decry it as an anti-Soviet move and a weapon of American imperialism. Various communist actions, including strikes and riots, in participant countries, were interpreted as Russian attempts to counteract ERP. In respect of Germany, the Act authorized the administrator to ask participant countries to abstain from dismantling German industries of which it was thought they would serve European recovery better if left in Germany. This resulted in a considerable curtailment of the dismantling programme for Germany (see *Reparations*).

The Organization for European Economic Co-operation in Paris set up at the ministerial level a Consultative Council of Eight, in February 1949, for the examination of important decisions to be taken by the Organization. The present chairman of both the Council and the Organization is the Belgian, van Zeeland.

EUROPE, COUNCIL OF, an organization of European nations set up in 1949 as a first result of the movement for a United

Europe (q.v.). The statute of the Council of Europe was signed in London on 5 May 1949, by Great Britain, France, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Ireland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark. It provides for discussion of questions of common concern and for agreements and common action in various fields. Matters relating to national defence do not fall within the scope of the Council. Members must accept the principles of the rule of law and of the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms by all persons under their jurisdiction. The seat of the Council is at Strasbourg, Alsace, France. Its official languages are English and French. It has two organs: the Committee of Ministers and the Consultative Assembly. Each member has one representative and one vote in the Committee of Ministers. Normally, members shall be represented by their foreign ministers. The Committee shall consider any action required to further the aims of the organization, the adoption of a common policy with regard to particular matters and the conclusion of agreements, doing so on the recommendation of the Assembly or on its own initiative. It may recommend appropriate action to the members and ask for information on the action taken by them. The Committee decides on the internal organization and arrangements of the Council. The Committee will report to the Assembly at each session on its activities. Resolutions require a two-thirds majority of all members, but resolutions relating to political recommendations, the report of activities, publicity and any matter the Committee may regard as sufficiently important for the purpose, require a unanimous vote of all representatives casting a vote and a majority of all members entitled to sit on the Committee. The admission of new members requires a two-thirds majority of members. The meetings of the Committee are held in private. They take place before and at the beginning of the session of the Assembly, and at such other times as the Committee may decide.

The Consultative Assembly may discuss, and make recommendations to the Committee of Ministers upon any matter within the aim and scope of the Council of Europe, provided such matter is referred to it by the Committee of Ministers or has been approved by the Committee for inclusion in the agenda of the Assembly on the latter's proposal. The president of the Assembly decides in case of doubt whether any question is within the agenda in accordance with these principles. Representatives are appointed by the governments concerned—Belgium 6, Denmark 4, France 18, Ireland 4, Italy 18, Luxembourg 3, Holland 6, Norway 4, Sweden 6, United Kingdom 18. The president of the Assembly does not vote or take part in the debate. The Assembly takes its decisions by a two-thirds majority of representatives casting a vote, except for certain technical matters. The Assembly meets once a year, its session not exceeding one month unless the Committee of Ministers concurs. Extraordinary meetings may be called only by the Committee of Ministers. The debates of the Assembly shall normally be held in public.

The Statute was soon ratified by the members and the first meeting was held at Strasbourg on 7 August 1949. As can be seen, the Assembly has no power to act and only limited debating power. Real decisions lie with the Committee of Ministers, but require unanimity for all practical purposes. The Council has been described as a sort of permanent ministerial conference. The organization has no coercive power over its members and is neither a federation nor an alliance. Besides full members, there may be associate members, entitled to sit in the Assembly only. New members are admitted by the Committee of Ministers. Greece and Turkey were admitted as full members at the first session.

EVATT, Herbert Vere, Australian labour politician, born 1894. A barrister, he was a Justice of the Federal High Court from 1930 to 1940, when he entered Parliament. From 1941 to 1949 he was Attorney-General and Minister for External Affairs.

EXCHANGE CONTROL, the control by a government of its country's international payments and receipts, designed to keep stable the rate of exchange between its currency and other currencies.

EXTERRITORIALITY, the legal fiction that foreign diplomats and diplomatic agencies (embassies, legations, etc.) are outside their country of residence, in spite of physical presence. Embassies, etc., form foreign islands, so to speak, within the territory of a state. They are not subject to its laws and may not be entered by its

officials, including the police. This applies also to the diplomats' private apartments and vehicles. Furthermore, diplomats receive all goods free of tax and duty. Diplomatic personnel may not be arrested by the host country's authorities. Breach of exterritoriality is regarded as a severe offence against international law. The custom embodies the ancient principle of the inviolability of envoys, and is also said to be a survival of the courtesy shown to visiting foreign kings in earlier times by considering them to be in their own country wherever they went. The principle has been applied also to the agents of the League of Nations and the United Nations.

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FABIAN SOCIETY, a society of British socialists, established 1883 by a secession from an ethical discussion club. Soon after its foundation George Bernard Shaw, Sidney and Beatrice Webb (see separate notes) joined the society, and became its leading personalities. From 1887 onwards the Fabians were unequivocally socialist. They propagated their ideas and commented upon current affairs in the Fabian Tracts. In contrast to the Marxian Social-Democratic Federation which previously dominated British socialism, the Fabians stood for a non-Marxian, evolutionary socialism. Their principle of cautious advance was implied in their name, which was derived from Q. Fabius Maximus, the circumspect Roman general known to history as *Fabius Cunctator*, the Hesitant.

Sidney Webb developed a theory of reformism and continuous evolution from capitalism to socialism, which also strongly influenced social-democratic movements on the European continent. Webb rejected the Marxian theories of impoverishment and inevitable economic cataclysm. The position of the workers, he taught, was improving even under the capitalist system, and socialism was growing up through social reforms already within the framework of capitalism, eventually to reach political consummation by democracy and the ballot. G. B. Shaw gave the Fabians their economic theory. This is not based on Marx, but on English liberal economics, primarily Bentham, J. S. Mill (q.v.), Ricardo and Jevons. As against Marxian labour theory of value, Shaw adopted Jevons's theory which derives value from utility. In analogy to Ricardo's theory of the rent he evolved a theory of profit as a differential rent, based on the monopoly of capital much as rent is based on the monopoly of land, while both monopolies rest on the principle of private property. Capital as well as land properly belong to society, he taught, and should be nationalized. The Fabians were opposed to Marxian materialism and the doctrine of class war. They were idealists and rationalists, expecting the coming of socialism from the propagation of its ideas among all classes of the people. Accordingly they took no special interest in the labour movement to begin with.

This changed in 1890, when the British labour movement appeared more perceptibly on the British political scene. Fabian policy now became associated with the trade unions and the political representation of the working class. This turn was especially due to the influence of Beatrice Webb. The Fabians won their first political success in local politics, sponsoring the election of socialists to town councils and the municipalization of public utilities. They participated in the foundation of the Independent Labour Party (1890) and the Labour Party (1900). Their literary production turned toward an empirical study of social conditions. They declined to adopt a class angle and went on regarding labour only as one section of the socialist movement, not its single bearer. The Fabians had numerous members also among the liberals, and so far from considering Fabianism incompatible with membership in non-socialist parties, they made it their policy to have as many adherents as possible in other parties. So Fabians or ex-Fabians were found in many places of English politics. The penetration and use of existing political institutions was a tactical principle of the Fabians. They published hundreds of studies and pamphlets, which had great influence on political developments in England, and had a substantial share in the great social reforms carried out before World War I under the Liberal administration.

Within the socialist movement the Fabians always stood on the right wing. In the South African War as well as in both World Wars they supported the British government, but urged generous peace

terms and the establishment of an international organization for the prevention of wars. They had a great share in the preparations for the foundation of the League of Nations. The Fabian Society went through repeated crises when groups of members attempted to lead it toward radicalism. In 1918 the Labour Party adopted an essentially Fabian programme which had been drafted by Sidney Webb.

The Fabian Society is affiliated to the Labour Party. It is one of the strongest intellectual influences in the labour movement and in British political life in general. Its former research department seceded from the society in 1918 under communist influence, and changed its name to Labour Research Department. In 1931 the New Fabian Research Bureau was set up to take its place. After a period of somewhat limited activity between the two wars, the Fabian Society took a new lease of life in 1939 as a centre for research and discussion within the socialist movement, and has in recent years again published a great number of important studies on current affairs, domestic, colonial and international. The Labour government's advent to power further enhanced the Fabian Society's position. Through an International Bureau the society also maintains relations with foreign socialists.

FADDEN, Arthur William, Australian Country Party politician, born 1895. He was Deputy Prime Minister 1940–1 and Prime Minister in 1941. In December 1949 he became Deputy Prime Minister and Treasurer.

FALANGE, in Spain (q.v.) the Fascist Party of General Franco (q.v.). Its full title is *Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juventudes Ofensivas Nacional Sindicalistas.* It was formed in 1937 from the original Falange of J. A. Primo de Rivera and monarchist groups. Franco, though not its founder, took control of the Falange during the Civil War. Tension between him and the more radical Falangist leaders has continued, and some of the latter were arrested in 1948. The Catholic Church is critical of the Falange.

FALKLAND ISLANDS, a group of islands in the South Atlantic off the Argentine coast, population about 3,000. They became partly French in 1764 and partly British in 1765, the British claiming the whole group. In 1766 the Spaniards bought out the French and forcibly removed the British. In 1771 the islands reverted to Britain, but were abandoned in 1774. They were without a master until 1829, when an Argentine colony was established on one of the islands, which were called *Islas Malvinas* by the Argentinians. The colony was burnt by a United States punitive expedition in 1831 in connection with the seizure of American fishing boats. In 1833 the British returned and expelled the few remaining Argentinians. In 1908 Britain annexed a large sector of Antarctica (q.v.) and attached it to the Falkland Islands as a Dependency. Argentina never gave up her claim to the islands, just as Britain had never given up hers before, and she renewed it in 1948, when she also raised claims to the Dependency. The islands are a British naval station.

FAROE ISLANDS, a group of islands in the North Atlantic between Scotland and Iceland, consisting of 18 islands with a total area of 520 sq. m. and 25,000 inhabitants. They have been Danish since 1380. The islanders are derived from Norse Vikings and speak Faroeic, a language akin to Icelandic and Ancient Norse.

Until recently the islands had a limited measure of self-government under a Danish governor. When the Germans occupied Denmark in 1940 the British occupied the strategically important islands for the duration of the war. After the war a section of the Faroeic population raised a claim for independence. Denmark offered far-reaching autonomy. A plebiscite held on 14 September 1946, decided by a very small majority to sever links with Denmark and establish an independent republic. (There were 5,650 votes for independence and 5,500 votes for autonomy under Denmark; one-third of the electorate abstained.) Thereupon the island parliament, known as the *Lagting*, proclaimed independence by a majority of one. The Danes replied that such a measure could be taken only after lawful negotiations, and the King of Denmark dissolved the *Lagting* for having exceeded its powers. A new *Lagting* was elected in which the pro-Danish Unity and Socialist Parties secured a majority of 4 seats and 2,047 votes over the secessionist People's Party. The *Lagting* adopted a bill on the future status of the islands on 18 March 1947, providing for enlarged auton-

omy under Denmark, a Faroeic flag, more rights for the Faroeic language, etc., and negotiations with Denmark were announced. On 26 March 1947 the *Lagting* chose a representative for the Danish Parliament, the separatists abstaining.

In April 1948 the Danish Parliament passed an Act which gave effect to the demands of the islanders. Laws relating exclusively to the islands are to be enacted by the island *Lagting* and signed by the King of Denmark; laws passed by the Danish Parliament will be valid in the islands only if approved by the *Lagting*. Faroeic is to be the official language and the Faroeic flag is to be recognized.

FASCISM, (*a*) Italian political movement, dictatorial, totalitarian, nationalist, created by B. Mussolini (q.v.), in power in Italy 1922–43; (*b*) collective term for similar movements and systems in other countries.

(*a*) Italian fascism was founded in 1919 by B. Mussolini with whose personal career its history remained closely bound up. (See article on *Mussolini.*) The first fascist groups called themselves *fasci di combattimento*, combat groups. The word *fascio*, actually meaning a bundle, had been used as a name for various radical political groups in Italy before. Later the literal *fascio* became the symbol of the movement in the shape of the ancient Roman lictor's bundle of rods, and the name *fascismo* was adopted. Fascism arose in opposition to left-wing radicalism which was rife in Italy after World War I, and also expressed nationalist resentment at the small gains Italy had obtained for its participation in the war. It proclaimed itself a movement for national rebirth. In 1919 the fascist movement obtained only 4,000 votes. It subsequently won a reputation for combating the left-wing radicals, gained support from the propertied classes, and grew fast. Owing to an electoral pact with the right-wing liberals it was able to obtain 38 seats in the Italian parliament in the 1921 election. After a Fascist Party rally in Naples, 40,000 fascists marched on the capital on 28 October 1922 (the 'March on Rome'), and Mussolini demanded power from the King. The weak Facta Government, which was in office at the time, yielded and King Victor Emanuel III appointed Mussolini Prime Minister. The first fascist government still comprised a few right-wing liberals and Catholic *popolari*. Socialist resistance was broken in short but sanguinary battles. In 1923 Mussolini made an electoral law allotting two-thirds of the seats in parliament to the party with most votes; at the election of 1924 this party was the Fascist Party. After the assassination of the socialist leader Matteotti by fascists on 10 July 1924 the opposition, consisting of socialists, communists, liberals and Catholic *popolari*, walked out of parliament. Mussolini, who styled himself *Duce* (leader), took dictatorial power by a *coup d'état* in 1925. The King was reduced to the position of a figurehead, though not quite without his acquiescence, for the monarchy supported fascism. In 1926 all other parties were suppressed.

The ideology of Italian fascism was created by Mussolini, who was influenced by the doctrines of Sorel (q.v.), Pareto (q.v.), and Nietzsche. Fascism was anti-liberal, totalitarian and authoritarian. According to Mussolini it rejected the 'materialist-utilitarian concept of happiness', the 'absurd' doctrine of the political equality of men and the majority principle, and the importance of the individual. To this fascism opposed the absolute value of the state, which was to be 'total' (see *Totality*), controlling the entire life of the individual, whose sole purpose it was to serve the state. The system rested on the principles of leadership and of government by an *élite*. The Fascist Party was a hierarchy. The will of the *Duce* was the law ('Mussolini is always right'). He was assisted by a Fascist Grand Council appointed by him. The ordinary party members had no rights. No elections were held; the idea of elections was declared 'ridiculous'. The system was supported by a party army, the *Milizia Volontare Sicurezza Nazionale*, and a secret police known as the OVRA. The opposition was suppressed by the most cruel methods; the instruments of government included arbitrary arrest, maltreatment, deportation, torture and murder. The fascists wore black shirts and used the ancient Roman salute with uplifted arm. Through monopolist youth organizations known as the *Avanguardia* and *Balilla* they extended control even to children.

Fascism proclaimed itself to be neither capitalist nor socialist. It denounced 'plutocracy' which it identified with democracy, and maintained that finance and the labour

movement amounted to the same thing, because they stood for the same materialism. Class war was rejected. In practice fascism controlled capitalism and did not allow it to operate freely. Labour parties and trade unions were suppressed and supplanted by fascist pseudo-unions whose purpose was the regimentation of the workers. A *Carta del lavoro* (Charter of Labour), announced in 1927, laid down a number of social rights, but most of them remained on paper. There was some labour legislation, but the general position of the working class lagged substantially behind that in countries with free unions. A complex corporate system was set up on a vocational basis and a new parliament known as the Chamber of Fasci and Corporations was convoked. Representation did not proceed from free elections, however, and the chamber had no real powers. The government was authorized to legislate by decree at any time, and all corporations were under the supervision of the party.

In foreign policy fascism stood for nationalism and expansion. It was ostentatiously warlike and militarist. Ancient Roman greatness was invoked and a 'Latin' racial myth was proclaimed. Roman state-consciousness was to be opposed to 'Teutonic individualism'. Italy's task was to revive the Roman Empire. Courage, will, faith and discipline were extolled, while criticism and independent thought were condemned. Until 1938 Jews were active in the Fascist Party, often in prominent positions; then an anti-semitic policy was adopted under German nazi pressure. However, it did not go to the same lengths as in Germany.

Italian fascism gave an example to similar movements elsewhere, above all to German national socialism (q.v.). It must be admitted that it was comparatively more civilized. Yet it was responsible for a long list of crimes in Italy, Spain, Abyssinia and other countries. The foreign policy of fascism led Italy to disaster. First it antagonized the Western Powers by the Abyssinian War, which proved to have been only a temporary success, then it made Italy intervene in the Spanish Civil War in favour of the kindred Franco system, and finally it drove Italy into World War II by the side of Hitler's Germany. This ended in the collapse of Italy and the fascist system, which was overthrown on 23 August 1943 by a *coup d'état* carried out by the King and Marshal Badoglio, when the Allies had already landed in Italy. Fascism continued with German aid in Northern Italy until the end of the War in 1945, when it lost its last stronghold. It had compromised the Italian monarchy to such an extent that the monarchy also was abolished in 1946. There are still ideological remnants of fascism in Italy, and also elements of an underground fascist organization, apparently existing in several groups; two new, small parties, *Uomo Qualunque* and Movimento Sociale Italiano, are overtly neo-fascist (see *Italy*).

(*b*) Although Mussolini said fascism was not for export, and opposed its German copy until 1935 as a matter of foreign policy, similar movements sprang up in other countries, later fostered by the Italian parent movement. Italian fascism sought to reserve the name of fascism to itself, but mainly owing to the propaganda of their left-wing opponents the term fascism became a collective noun for all kindred systems, whose enemies became known as the anti-fascists. Parties and governments of the fascist type came to power in Germany, Austria, Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Greece and Rumania (all q.v.). Fascist movements also started in Britain (Mosley), France (Croix de Feu), Belgium (Degrelle's), Holland (Mussert), Norway (Quisling), Hungary (Arrow Cross Party), Switzerland (the 'fronts'), but they remained rudimentary except in some countries, which came under German occupation in World War II, when fascist movements were fostered. That war was in one of its aspects a struggle between democracy and fascism. Though it ended in the defeat of the latter, there are still adherents of fascism in many countries. It has doubtless left mental traces and underground cells. (For neo-fascist groups in Britain, see next article.)

Fascism has appeared in the Americas also. In Canada the Social Credit Party has recently been voicing views reminiscent of fascism. In the United States related trends were associated about 1936 with the names of Father Coughlin and Huey Long, but gained no importance. Some observers discern fascist traits in the Perón system in Argentina (q.v.). The term 'fascist' is often applied by their opponents to authoritarian and military régimes in Latin America and other regions, even though those régimes have none of the specific attributes of fas-

cism. At one time communists called social-democrats 'social-fascists'.

There was something like a fascist international though it did not exist formally. It manifested itself in the political collaboration of fascist parties. It is true that sometimes they fought each other (e.g. Italy *v.* Greece). The international hallmarks of fascist movements include the wearing of coloured shirts and party uniforms; a paramilitary organization; the leadership principle; a claim to totality (the single-party principle), masked by the pretence of a non-party or super-party platform and the denunciation of all political parties; anti-liberalism and anti-communism (all fascist parties propound the fantastic theory of the identity of finance and bolshevism); the advocacy of violence and cruelty; a blend of conservative and revolutionary catchwords; vehement nationalism; since Hitler, also anti-semitism (q.v.), though this is not necessarily inherent in fascist ideology. Fascism is a modern form of absolutism and caesarism (see both), and the arch-enemy of democracy and all it stands for. It likes to attack 'reaction' and professes progressive, social and sometimes indeed egalitarian principles, claiming to represent the masses. Its ideology is an amalgam of the most diverse doctrines. It contains some modern elements and in some respects copies communism. It may be defined as a semi-popular dictatorship with a mass basis. It has been attempted to explain fascism psychologically as a reaction to the long period of liberalism and rationalism, to which it opposes an irrational, romantic, military style of life, based on instinct and emotion, and satisfying a longing for authority. The Marxian opponents of fascism explain it as an attempt by the ruling classes to destroy the labour movement in order to protect the propertied classes against socialists and trade unions. This theory stresses the sympathies which fascism has found in the recent past with big property and its political exponents. It sees the social basis of fascism in ruined and uprooted lower middle classes. Liberals are inclined to regard fascism and communism as twin brothers.

FASCISM IN BRITAIN. Before World War II there were several British fascist organizations, of which the chief was the British Union of Fascists, led by Sir Oswald Mosley. During the War fascist organizations were dissolved, and many of their leaders were detained under Defence Regulation 18b, which provided for the detention of persons who were believed to be of hostile origin or whose activities it was thought might be prejudicial to the war effort. That Regulation was revoked at the end of the war, and fascist activity is now legal, although the police exercise surveillance and the Public Order Act, 1936, forbidding uniforms and military organization and empowering the police to control or prohibit political demonstrations, is still enforced. The Labour and Communist Parties, the T.U.C. and other bodies have proposed that fascism be banned.

Since the war a number of neo-fascist organizations have developed, and their total membership has been estimated at 200,000. Sir Oswald Mosley has formed the Union Movement to advocate the establishment by constitutional means of a single-party régime which would organize the union of Europe and the development of Africa. With Oswald Pirow, leader of the South African 'New Order' group, he has formed the Enemies of the Soviet Union.

FEDERALISM, a political system in which powers are divided so that there are a general and several regional governments, each of which is within the sphere allotted to it by the constitution co-ordinate with and independent of the others. Thus the U.S.A. forms a federation, because the government of the union and the governments of the states fulfil this condition; the Union of South Africa is not a federation, but is instead an example of devolution, because the government of the union is superior to the provincial governments, whose powers can be increased, decreased or even abolished by the union parliament.

The exact division of powers between the federal and regional governments varies from federation to federation. But in all defence, foreign affairs, foreign trade and the regulation of trade between the regions, are subjects for the federal government. In some federations—the U.S.A., Australia and Switzerland (all q.v.)—the powers of the federal government are named in the constitution and all other powers (the residuary powers) belong to the regions. In

Canada (q.v.) the reverse is true. These four federations were formed before World War I, since when there have developed new social and economic problems, the solution of which has required action on a federal rather than a regional scale. Yet the constitutions of these countries allot to the regions (implicitly or explicitly) those matters—social services, control of the economy—which most require federal action. Constitutional amendments have to some extent re-allocated powers to meet new needs, but except in Switzerland amendments are difficult to enact and recourse has been had to co-operation between the federal and regional governments, largely based on the financial power of the former, which can raise money even for services it cannot administer and so can subsidize the regions, which in their turn submit to its guidance.

The term 'confederation' is sometimes applied to federations; this use of the word is now being abandoned and 'confederation' is reserved for a system in which several states establish a common government for certain purposes, but make that government dependent on those of the states. Such a government was established by the American colonies in 1777 but its inconvenience resulted in its being replaced by the truly federal system of 1787. But this distinction between the two terms is recent and often they are both used to describe a system like that of the U.S.A.

In the U.S.A. the Federal Party stood for the 1787 constitution in opposition to retention of the 1777 confederation; it disintegrated early in the nineteenth century. The essays written by Hamilton, Madison, Jay and Duer, known in their collected form as *The Federalist*, are an exposition of the principles of that party and the classic analysis of federalism.

(For movements to federate Europe, see *Federal Union*, *Pan-Europa*, *United Europe* and *Western Union*.)

FEDERAL UNION, a proposal for establishing a federation of the democratic nations of the world as a stage to later world federation. A Federal Unionist movement was formed in England in 1938. An analogous proposition was made by Clarence K. Strait, an American political writer, in his book *Union Now*, in 1939. The federation suggested was to comprise the United States, the British Commonwealth, France, Switzerland, the Low Countries and the Scandinavian countries. The constitution of the federation was to be similar to that of the United States, and colonies were to be placed under federal administration. Societies for the propagation of the idea were founded in America and England, but the plan was drowned in the flood of World War II. After the war most of the countries named in the plan associated in the North Atlantic Treaty (q.v.). (For other movements for an international federation, see *Pan-Europa*, *United Europe*, *Western Union* and *World State*.)

FELLOW-TRAVELLER, a communist sympathizer. The term originated in the 1930s from people who said some fifteen years ago that they were not communists but wished 'to travel part of the way' with the communists.

FEZZAN. (See *Libya*.)

FICHTE, Johann Gottlieb, German philosopher and political thinker, born 19 May 1762, at Rammenau, central Germany, the son of a hand-weaver, died 29 January 1814 in Berlin. At first he studied divinity, then turned to philosophy of which he became Professor in Iena in 1794. Five years later he was forced to resign on a charge of atheism. In 1810 he became the first President of the University of Berlin. His political views are laid down mainly in his books, *A Plea for the Restoration of Free Thought* (1793), *The Closed Economy* (1800), *A Discussion on Patriotism* (1804) and *A Theory of the State* (1813). Fichte was an enthusiastic adherent of the French revolution whose ideals were the basis of his life's work. His political views are a blend of liberal, social and nationalist thought.

Fichte's *Closed Economy* is the classical German *utopia* of socialism. It is based on general planning. The means of production are controlled by guilds, which make contracts with each other; later Fichte makes them into organs of the state. The state is to expand within its natural frontiers but then to renounce any further expansion and live in self-sufficiency. There should be no foreign trade because it leads to rivalry and war. The state guarantees employment and economic equality to every citizen. Fichte distinguishes three types of the state: the state based on convenience, the state based

on necessity, and the 'true' state, which is a synthesis between individualism and communalism, preserving the values of the personality within an organic community.

Fichte's best-known political work is probably the volume of *Addresses to the German Nation*. Under the impact of Napoleonic domination the philosopher turned patriotic. He linked his patriotism with a cosmopolitan humanism by reasoning that the individual is a member of humanity not directly but through the medium of his nation. The value of a nation depends on the degree in which it embodies universal human civilization. Fundamentally, Europe is the motherland of every civilized European, and this applies especially to the country most advanced in civilization. A large section of the *Addresses* is devoted to problems of education and the Swiss democratic educator Pestalozzi is held up as a model. On the evidence of the *Addresses* Fichte has often been declared the father of aggressive German nationalism. In fact, his nationalism as proclaimed in this work is purely cultural, though often extreme. His assertion that the Germans were 'the people most predisposed for human perfection and ordained to lead the advance toward it' may sound odd in the light of recent experience, but is, after all, only the German variant of an international *cliché*; all great nations have claimed to be the vanguard and sealkeepers of civilization. Fichte did not intend to derive a claim to conquest and world domination from his thesis. In the *Addresses* as well as in other works he argued against the idea of a universal empire, against power-politics and wars of conquest; in early writings as well as in posthumous notes he advocated a League of Nations, indeed a world-state. 'The legal executive guaranteeing the security of the states is to materialize in a League of Nations, equipped with power to enforce its will.'

In a pamphlet entitled *Machiavelli*, and published in 1807, the philosopher, however, professed different principles. It was designed to offer political advice to the King of Prussia. Like Machiavelli (q.v.), Fichte finds that the states incessantly strive for expansion and live in a permanent state of war with each other, be it open or concealed. Every state must therefore endeavour to maintain and expand its power, or perish. The balance of power (q.v.) is the best guarantee of peace. Only power decides between the states, and a ruler is not subject to the moral rules applying to the ordinary citizen.

During the War of Liberation (1813) he supported participation in the war against Napoleon, but wondered if this were a national or merely a dynastic war. True nationhood, he reiterated, implies government by popular representatives, equality, and mutual confidence between the government and the governed. Fichte said he would prefer the rule of a French general to that of an 'uncivilized, high-handed, brutal and arrogant German'. The ultimate aim of politics, he said, should be universal justice and love of peace in place of the spirit of war. Fichte then joined the Prussian Home Guard and died in an epidemic soon after.

Fichte's political ideas were taken up by socialists, liberals, and anarchists. He influenced Mazzini (q.v.) and Proudhon (q.v.), also such modern movements as syndicalism (q.v.) and guild socialism (q.v.). German nationalist and authoritarian movements, including national socialism, have also often invoked Fichte, and some commentators believe his teachings had their strongest effect in this field. But few passages in the works of this philosopher suggest that he would have approved of nazism.

FIFTH COLUMN, a term originating in the Spanish Civil War 1936–9, when the nationalists under General Franco attacked Madrid in four columns from the outside, while their adherents organized uprisings, espionage and sabotage inside. The nationalists referred to these helpers behind the lines as their 'fifth column'. The term has become a byword for all camouflaged groups working for an external enemy from the inside, and covers military as well as political activities.

FIJI. (See *British Pacific Islands.*)

FILIBUSTER, in the United States the tactic of obstructing the passage of bills in a legislature by endless speechmaking and other legitimate practices; the term is also used of the obstructor himself. In the House of Representatives the rules of debate prevent filibustering, since a simple majority vote can end a debate, but in the Senate debate cannot easily be stopped against the will of those who wish it to continue. As a result opponents of a measure filibuster in

the hope of obtaining its amendment or withdrawal, since a long filibuster will throw into confusion the legislative programme. (See *Closure.*)

FINLAND, Finnish name *Suomi*, 118,000 sq. m., population 3,900,000. The capital is Helsinki (Helsingfors). Founded in the early Middle Ages by Asiatic conquerors from whom the Ural-Altaic language of the Finns is derived, the country belonged to Sweden from 1154 to 1809, when it was ceded to Russia. A noticeable Scandinavian strain, a 10 per cent Swedish minority, and a cultural affinity to the Nordic countries are the heritage of long Swedish rule. Finland was an autonomous Grand Duchy within Russia until the Russian revolution, and declared her independence on 6 December 1917. A period of civil war and Russian intervention followed, Finland being supported by Germany. Eventually the Finnish 'White' Army under Field-Marshal Baron Mannerheim defeated the Russo-Finnish 'Red' Army at Tammerfors and Wiborg, and peace was made on the basis of Finnish independence. Mannerheim, who came from a Swedish family in Finland, and had been a general in the Tsar's army, was Regent till 1919 and ran for the presidency on the adoption of a republican constitution, but was not elected.

The Finnish parliament has only one chamber of 200 members, elected for three years on the basis of proportional representation. Government is parliamentary. The President is normally elected by the people through an electoral college for six years. Owing to exceptional circumstances, the President is at present elected by the parliament. The Swedish minority of some 350,000 people has full political equality. Finnish and Swedish are official languages, and the Swedes play a considerable part in the life of the country although their former dominant position has been reduced.

Anti-communist in principle, but otherwise neutral, Finland co-operated with the Scandinavian states politically to such an extent that it was often reckoned among the Nordic states. A fascist movement known as *Lappo* (1935) was short-lived, and at the 1938 election the social-democrats were returned as the largest party. In October 1939 the Soviet Union demanded strategic bases and the cession of some frontier territory from Finland. When part of these demands was refused, Russia attacked Finland on 30 November 1939, taking advantage of the European war. This action was much resented in the west, and the League of Nations expelled Russia for aggression. (This was the League's last act.) Finland received a limited measure of support by supplies and volunteers from Britain, France and Scandinavia, but no use was made of an official offer of military help from the Western Powers, and after three months' resistance, under the command of Field-Marshal Mannerheim, the Finns had to surrender to superior Russian forces. By the peace treaty of 11 March 1940 Finland ceded to Russia the Karelian Isthmus with the port of Viborg (Viipuri), the western shore of Lake Ladoga and the Fisherman's Peninsula in the Arctic, and leased to Russia the naval base of Hangoe She undertook to join no alliance directed against the Soviet Union. Most of the population of the lost territories was transferred to the interior of Finland. The population of these territories was purely Finnish. Russia put forward no other reasons than strategic ones for her claims.

The embitterment engendered by these events in Finland drove the country into the arms of Nazi Germany in spite of the Finns' disapproval of nazism. Finland joined the German campaign against Russia immediately after its start in June 1941. In the fall of 1941 Britain and America advised the Finnish government to end the war against Russia; at the time the Finnish armies had recovered the territory lost in 1940 and had penetrated deeply into Russia proper. Finland disregarded a suggestion that it should withdraw its forces to the 1939 frontier. On the other hand it avoided the admission of larger German armies on its territory and permitted no German interference with Finnish internal affairs. On 6 December 1941 England declared war on Finland on the strength of the Anglo-Russian alliance. Some other Allies followed suit, but the United States did not declare war. (American sympathies for Finland were of old standing) In the course of the Soviet offensive of 1944 the Russians ousted the Finns from the Soviet Union and entered Finland again. On 1 August 1944 Field-Marshal Mannerheim assumed the office of President at the request of the Finnish parliament. Negotiations for an armistice were opened, and on 19 Septem-

ber 1944 hostilities ceased. The armistice provided for the withdrawal of the Finns behind the 1940 frontier, the restoration of Russian bases, the cession of the port of Petsamo on the Arctic, an additional Russian naval base at Porkkala and $300,000,000 reparations in kind, to be delivered within six years. The Peace Treaty of Paris, 1947, confirmed these terms, save that Russia abandoned her base at Hangoe.

At the election of 18 March 1945 the social-democrats were reduced from 83 to 50 deputies, but remained just the strongest party, with the communists, now styled the Popular Democrats, a close second with 49 deputies. The moderately conservative Agrarians obtained 49 seats, the Conservative Union 28, the Swedish People's Party 15, and the Liberal Progressive Party 9 seats. On 19 October 1945 President Mannerheim resigned, and the conservative Premier Paasikivi was elected President in his place, again by the parliament. After long negotiations Paasikivi's place was taken by M. Pekkala, leader of the newly-formed Socialist Unity Party, composed of communists and social-democrats prepared to work with them in rapidly socializing the economy. The Agrarians and the Swedes also joined the government, as did some social-democrats who were soon disowned by their party.

The chief aim of the new government was friendship with the U.S.S.R. In May an agreement on trade and reparations was reached, the U.S.S.R. making concessions to the Finns. But the beneficial effect of these concessions on the Finnish economy was cancelled by the agreement of February 1947, which obliged Finland to pay to the U.S.S.R. her debts to Germany, to cede a power-station near Petsamo, and to accept the U.S.S.R. as the successor to the Germans in certain Finno-German firms. In February 1948 Stalin wrote to Paasikivi that Finland alone of Russia's ex-enemy neighbours had no treaty of mutual assistance with her against German aggression. The Socialist Unity Party accepted the Russian request, the socialists and the Swedes preferred a non-military friendship pact, and the other parties thought no treaty was necessary. Negotiations started in March and a treaty was concluded in April. The U.S.S.R. waived its demand that it should decide when Finland is threatened and when the treaty should come into effect, and the treaty is in general more limited in scope than Russia's similar treaties with Hungary and Rumania, allowing Finland more freedom of action, diplomatic and military, than was allowed to those countries. In June the U.S.S.R. halved the amount of reparations still due to be paid by Finland.

The government's second aim was the restoration of the Finnish economy, menaced by wartime destruction, reparations and inflation. In December 1946 and April 1947 cabinet crises occurred on this issue—the Agrarians wanted higher prices for agricultural produce but not the increases in the wages of urban workers wanted by the communists. But the government survived.

In May 1948 the Diet passed a vote of censure on the communist Minister of the Interior, Y. Leino, and he was consequently dismissed by the President. The Popular Democrats objected and organized protest strikes and demonstrations, which were condemned by the Trade Union Federation, which has a Social Democrat majority. The government was reorganized—another communist became Minister of the Interior, and Leino's wife, H. Kuusinen, a leading communist, entered the cabinet.

In July the general elections were held. They resulted in a victory for the moderates, which was due to the successful political and economic reconstruction, and to confidence that Russia would not intervene if the communists were defeated. The Agrarians became the largest party (56 seats), the Social Democrats obtained 55, the Popular Democrats 38, the Conservatives 32, the Swedes 14 and the Progressives 5. The Pekkala government resigned and a Social Democratic Minority government was formed by K. A. Fagerholm, leader of that party, after he had failed to form a coalition of the three largest parties and the Agrarians had decided not to join the socialists in a two-party cabinet. The negotiations had failed because the communists demanded five ministries, including the Interior, which Fagerholm refused. The Agrarians' decision was due to their belief that a Social Democratic government could survive left-wing criticism better than a two-party one. The other parties give qualified support to the government, which is opposed by the Popular Democrats alone. Their opposition has caused the U.S.S.R. to qualify its previously friendly attitude to Finland.

Ex-Foreign Minister Tanner and some other politicians, sentenced to prison for their wartime policies, were released in December 1948.

FIUME, a port at the northern end of the Adriatic, Venetian until 1797, Austrian until 1918. It was then to have gone to Yugoslavia, but the Italian nationalist poet Gabriel d'Annunzio and a gang of freebooters seized it and Italian possession was recognized in 1924. By the Peace Treaty of 1947 it was returned to Yugoslavia.

FIVE YEAR PLANS, in the Soviet Union (q.v.) the plans for industrialization. They have become examples of national planning, and many countries have adopted plans of various terms for national development.

FLEMINGS, a people of 4,600,000 inhabiting the north and west of Belgium (q.v.). The Flemish language is a variant of Dutch, both being very similar and for the greater part identical branches of the former common language of the Low Countries known as *Dietsch*. Flanders, the land of the Flemings, was segregated from the Netherlands when they seceded from the Spanish Empire in the sixteenth century, and had a different history afterwards. The Flemings are Catholics, while the Dutch are Protestants. From 1815–30 Flanders was reunited with Holland, but in 1830 the Flemings joined with the French-speaking Walloons to form the Kingdom of Belgium (q.v.) under the patronage of the Great Powers. The Flemings were formally equal to the Walloons from the start and both French and Flemish were made official languages. In practice, however, the Walloon section of the Belgian population was dominant. Up to 1914 the Flemings were considered more or less inferior; the educated classes of Belgium spoke French. A Flemish national movement started in the second half of the nineteenth century. It always had German sympathies, and German occupation in World War I strengthened it. After the war the Flemings achieved actual equality. In 1932 Belgium was divided into three linguistic districts, with Flemish becoming official in Flanders and for Flemish units of the Belgian Army. A radical *Vlaamsch National Verbond* (17 deputies) and a movement known as Dinaso (*Dietsche Nationalsocialisten*) combined nationalism with fascist tendencies. The majority of the Flemings voted for the Catholic Party. Flemish influence contributed to the termination of the French alliance by Belgium in 1936. Under the second German occupation (1940–4), the fascist Flemish movements were fostered. After the liberation of Belgium they were suppressed. German occupation had once more enhanced Flemish national consciousness, and the influence of the Flemish element in Belgian parties is strong. Some of the Flemings think of union with Holland, to be accompanied by the dissolution of the Belgian state (the French parts would probably go to France in that case). This tendency, known as *Dietsch*, receives no visible support from Holland; although it has sympathizers there, Dutch Protestants fear the Catholic majority which would exist in a united Netherlands. Other Flemings envisage autonomy within Belgium or indeed the attainment of a dominant position in the Belgian state, based on the fact that the Flemings are the majority in Belgium and have a substantially higher birth-rate than the Walloons. The recent close collaboration between Belgium and Holland meets Flemish wishes. An agreement between the Belgian and Dutch governments in 1948 unified Dutch and Flemish orthography. (See *Belgium, Netherlands, Benelux*)

FOUR FREEDOMS, the four rights which President Franklin D. Roosevelt (q.v.) declared basic human liberties in his annual message to Congress in January 1941: freedom of speech and expression, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear.

FOURIER, Charles, French utopian socialist, born 7 April 1772, at Besançon, died 16 May 1837 in Paris, a business clerk by profession, developed a system of ethical socialism based on abstract speculation and construction. There is hardly any reference to history in his writings. Fourier suggested the *phalanstère* as the unit of human society. This was to be a self-sufficient socialist settlement of 1 620 members with 5,000 acres of land. Members were to be selected on the basis of an 'analysis of passions' in such a way as to be complementary to each other in their characters. The inhabitants of these settlements were to prepare and eat their meals in common. Their economy was to be based on agriculture

and handicraft. One of Fourier's disciples, Victor Considérant, went to America in the 1820s and founded some *phalanstères* there, most of which were short-lived, while some survived but departed from the ideas of their inventor. Another of Fourier's disciples, Godin, founded a more successful *familistère* on the lines of modern co-operatives at Guise, France. Fourier's system contained many capitalist elements, such as interest, profit and inheritance. He promised high dividends to those who would invest in his settlements. Yet Fourier's ethical and economic criticism of the capitalist system had a long-lasting effect and exerted great influence on later socialist schools, including Marxism and the co-operative movement.

FOURTEEN POINTS, the U.S. President Wilson's terms for the ending of World War I, stated in a message to Congress in January 1918. They were, in brief:

1. Open covenants openly arrived at—the end of secret international understandings,
2. Freedom of the seas;
3. Removal as far as practicable of all barriers to international trade;
4. General reduction of armaments;
5. Impartial settlement of all colonial claims;
6. Evacuation of Russia, which was to be left free to decide her future;
7. Evacuation and restoration of German-occupied Belgium;
8. Evacuation and restoration of German-occupied France; return of Alsace-Lorraine to France;
9. Readjustment of Italy's frontiers on lines of nationality;
10. Free autonomous development of the peoples of Austria-Hungary;
11. Evacuation of German- and Austrian-occupied Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania; free access to the sea for Serbia; friendly settlement of Balkan frontiers on lines of nationality;
12. Autonomous development of the non-Turkish peoples of Turkey; free passage through the Dardanelles;
13. Establishment and guarantee of an independent Polish state with access to the sea;
14. A general association of nations, guaranteeing the integrity of all states.

Points 3, 4, 5, and 9 were not fulfilled. The others were wholly or partially fulfilled; points 10 and 12 were, indeed, over-fulfilled.

FRANCE, 212,600 sq. m., population 42,000,000; the capital is Paris. The constitution of the Fourth Republic (First Republic, 1792–1804; Second Republic, 1848–52; Third Republic, 1871–1940) was passed by the Constituent Assembly on 29 September 1946 and adopted by a referendum on 13 October 1946. It starts with the reiteration of the Rights of Man of 1789 (liberty, property, security, resistance to oppression) and adds a number of new fundamental rights and principles. These include equal rights for women; the right to employment; the duty to work; the right of employees to unionize, to strike, to participate in the establishment of the conditions of work and in the management of industry; the right to social insurance, old-age pensions, and recreation; the nationalization of industries assuming the nature of monopolies or of public services; the renunciation of wars of conquest; the readiness to accept limitations of national sovereignty if other nations do the same.

The French parliament consists of the National Assembly and the Council of the Republic. All power is vested in the National Assembly (the Lower House), while the Council (the Upper House) is but a shadow of the former Senate, although from December 1948 its members have been styled 'Senators'. The National Assembly is elected by the people on the basis of proportional representation for a period yet to be fixed by law. The Council of the Republic is elected indirectly through 100,011 electors chosen by local councils under a system favouring small towns. There is no proportional representation except in Paris and eleven densely-populated districts, and the local councils may have been elected at a much earlier date. Thus the composition of the Council may differ from that of the Assembly as well as from the popular mood prevailing on election day. Of the 320 members of the Council 253 are elected in metropolitan France, 14 in Algeria (q.v.), and 53 in the overseas territories (but by French citizens only). The term of the Councillors is 6 years, half vacating their seats every three years. The 1946 consti-

tution also adopted female suffrage. The President of the Republic, whose functions are almost purely representative, is elected for seven years by both Houses in joint session. The President is now the socialist, Vincent Auriol, elected 16 January 1947. The President nominates the Prime Minister who must first present himself with his programme and list of ministers to the National Assembly; only when the Assembly has approved him by a majority, may he be appointed by the President. Government is parliamentary, the cabinet must resign after a vote of no confidence. If the National Assembly passes two votes of no confidence within eighteen months, the government may dissolve it; but this applies only after the first eighteen months of the period of the Assembly. The ministers are collectively and individually responsible to the Assembly. Only the National Assembly may decide on a declaration of war. The Council of the Republic has no veto on legislation, but may return bills to the Assembly for a second reading; if they are adopted they become laws. However, if the Council has rejected a bill by an absolute majority, the bill must be passed in the second reading in the Assembly by an absolute majority also. The President has no veto either, but may return bills to parliament for reconsideration; if parliament insists, the bills become laws. There is also an advisory Economic Council, chosen on a vocational basis.

The French colonial empire is integrated with France in the *Union française* (French Union); the French President is also President of the Union. The Union is to comprise France, French possessions overseas, and other states or territories that may join it. The Union is represented by the Union Assembly, one-half of whose members are delegated by France. The structure of the Union is to be defined by later laws. (See *French Union.*)

Up to 1940 the constitution of the Third Republic, adopted 1875, was in force, providing for a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate with equal rights. The Senate, chosen indirectly, was dominated by the Radical-Socialist Party and exerted a conservative influence. Government was parliamentary and changed frequently; the average life of a French government was eight months. There were 108 governments in 70 years; however, the members of a new government had often served in the previous one. The last Chamber was composed of 155 socialists, 116 radicals, 73 communists, 102 right-wing republicans and 172 deputies belonging to some 30 small parties, most of them right wing. The radicals, a liberal middle-class and peasant party, held a key position in French politics. Social tension grew in France prior to World War II. A Popular Front (q v.) composed of socialists, communists and radicals was in power from 1936 to 1938 and effected a series of social reforms, some of which were repealed by the subsequent government based on radicals and conservatives On 3 September 1939 France declared war on Germany on the strength of the Franco-Polish alliance. The French Communist Party opposed the war in accordance with instructions from Moscow (this was the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact) and was suppressed. On the other hand, large sections of the propertied classes saw a greater danger in the French Left than in Hitler's Germany. So the war effort was sabotaged from the left and the right, and in June 1940 the French armies collapsed under the German offensive after a few weeks' fighting.

Eighty-five-year-old Marshal Pétain assumed government and concluded an armistice on 22 June 1940, disregarding British calls to continue the war (indeed full union of England and France was offered). The northern half of France, with Paris and the west coast, were occupied by the Germans, while Pétain's government took its seat at Vichy in southern France, and set up an authoritarian state of the fascist type. Pétain became Hitler's puppet, but he made attempts to play for time, and to keep North Africa and the remnants of the French navy outside Hitler's control. The larger units of the navy, with the exception of a few which went over to the British, were made unserviceable by British naval action to prevent their use by the Germans. After the Allied landing in North Africa in November 1942 the Germans also occupied southern France.

Immediately after the 1940 collapse General Charles de Gaulle (q.v.) proclaimed himself 'Chief of the Free French' and continued the fight at the head of a Free French National Committee formed in London. The governors of some French colonies joined him, and he organized Free French

Forces out of remnants of the French army and navy that had escaped to England. In France, General de Gaulle did not have many followers to begin with; the French army followed Pétain. With the progress of the war, however, an increasing number of French politicians and officers went over to De Gaulle, whose Committee was recognized by the Allies as the Provisional French Government at the end of 1943. A resistance movement co-operating with De Gaulle developed inside France and drew into its ranks adherents of all parties.

After the expulsion of the Germans from France, General de Gaulle returned to Paris in September 1944 at the head of the government. The elements of the resistance assumed the leadership of French politics, while a great number of 'collaborators' who had worked with the Germans were tried and sentenced. Pétain was imprisoned for life. The more conservative, Catholic section of the resistance formed a party known as the M.R.P. (*Mouvement républicain populaire*), which was initially the party of De Gaulle. In October 1945 a Constituent Assembly was elected. General de Gaulle resigned in January 1946, and there has since been a succession of governments under socialist or Catholic leadership. The coal mines, the big banks, the Bank of France, the insurance companies, public utilities, the airways and two automobile works were nationalized.

In April 1946 the Constituent Assembly submitted to the people a draft constitution resembling the present one, but providing for only one House. The right-wing parties, especially M.R.P., opposed the draft, demanding more power for the President and an Upper House. The draft constitution was rejected by a referendum in May 1946 by 10 million to 9 million votes. A new Constituent Assembly was elected which presented a new draft constitution in the autumn, providing for a consultative Upper House. Although the alterations were on the whole insignificant, the M.R.P. now came out in support of the constitution, which caused General de Gaulle to break with the M.R.P. He favoured a strong President on the American model. The General refused to run for the presidency under this constitution, and founded his own party, the *Union Gaulliste*. The constitution was adopted by referendum on 13 October 1946, by 9·1 million to 8 million votes, no fewer than 7·9 million voters abstaining.

On 10 November 1946 the first National Assembly of the Fourth Republic was elected. The French political pattern changed considerably in comparison with pre-war days. The radicals were reduced to a small group, though later they regained some of their influence. They were replaced as the strongest party by the communists, led by Thorez, Duclos and Cachin. The new moderate Catholic Party, the M.R.P. became the second strongest party. Its social programme is influenced by its strong labour wing. Its leaders are Bidault (q.v.), Schuman (q.v.) and Gay. Its relations with De Gaulle became cool in 1946 as a result of the constitutional dispute, but the General still has many adherents in the party, especially on the right wing. When De Gaulle formed his own movement in 1947 (see below), it attracted electoral support from the M.R.P. and became the strongest party, though for the time being outside the Assembly. The socialists, much weakened in comparison with the pre-war period, are led by Leon Blum (q.v.), Ramadier, Vincent Auriol and Daniel Mayer. They have a pro-communist left wing, known as the *communisants*, and a right wing favouring co-operation with the Catholics. The radicals, led by Herriot (President of the Assembly), Marie, Queuille, Bastid and Steeg, are associated with a similar group, the *Union démocratique socialiste et radicale*, in the *Rassemblement des Gauches* (left-wing gathering); they still use the old name of radical-socialists, but are not socialist. They advocated return to the 1875 constitution, and may be described as right-wing liberals. Parties of the right proper include the P.R.L. (*Parti républicain de la liberté*) which embraces the *Alliance démocratique* under Reynaud; the Union Gaulliste: a small peasant party now affiliated to the M.R.P. and the *Union démocratique républicaine* under the old conservative leader, Louis Marin.

General de Gaulle launched a new movement called *Rassemblement du Peuple Français* (R.P.F.) in 1947. It claimed to be above the parties and accepted also members of different party affiliation. It demanded 'a coherent, ordered, concentrated state, capable of choosing and impartially applying the measures demanded by the public good, and in which the executive

power will emanate from the nation and not the parties'. At the municipal elections in October 1947 the R.P.F. obtained about one-third of the vote. De Gaulle's victory had been gained mainly at the expense of the M.R.P. About 80 deputies, many of them M.R.P., formed a parliamentary 'Intergroup' with Gaullist sympathies. The communists, and not a few others, denounce the Gaullist movement as fascist, while others believe it to be authoritarian but not totalitarian. De Gaulle demanded dissolution of the Assembly, but the coalition of M.R.P., socialists and radicals decided to remain the 'Third Force' between the communists and the Gaullists and refused the General's demand. De Gaulle won another victory in the election of the Council of the Republic in November 1948, from which his movement emerged as the strongest party with 40 per cent of the seats. The communists and the M.R.P. were reduced to small groups in the Council. (But see the mode of election of the Council in the opening section of this article.)

The National Assembly elected on 10 November 1946 is composed as follows: communists 182 (including 13 members of the group of Pierre Cot, known as the *Républicaine et Résistants* and affiliated to the communists); socialists 101; *Rassemblement des Gauches* 66 (of whom 43 radicals and 23 U.U.S.P.); M.R.P. 163; P.R.L. 35; right-wing republicans 27; Peasant Party 6; Gaullistes 9; Algerian Moslem Independence Party 8; others 10. The Council of the Republic was first elected on 25 November 1946 and newly elected on 8 November 1948. Its composition is as follows (previous representation in brackets): De Gaulle's R.P.F. 107 (0); communists 21 (93); M.R.P. 19 (81); socialists 62 (61), Rass. des Gauches 65 (47); right-wing republicans 9 (28); others 37 (10). Of the 107 R.P.F. members, only 57 were elected as such, the others are members of other parties (chiefly radicals, P.R.L. and right-wing republicans), who attached themselves to R.P.F. by personal contact.

The French political scene is dominated by the struggle between the communists, acting on orders from Moscow, and the other parties, mainly the coalition of M.R.P., socialists and radicals, and De Gaulle's rally. The original three-party coalition of communists, socialists and M.R.P. broke up in May 1947, and the M.R.P.-socialist coalition that followed had to rely on support from more right-wing parties for a majority. Its first government, that of Ramadier (Soc.), resigned in November 1947 when communist strikes and riots were rife, and was succeeded by a government under Robert Schuman (M.R.P.), which broke the strike wave. The communists had previously controlled the labour unions, but now a considerable section seceded from the *Confédération Générale du Travail*, the unitary federation of unions, to form the *Force Ouvrière* under the C.G.T's former general secretary, Jouhaux (Soc.); this group of unions is sympathetic to the Socialist Party. Catholic workers had formed their own unions at an earlier date.

Schuman's government continued to grapple with the problems of economic reconstruction and inflation, meeting with constant communist opposition. In August 1948 it was succeeded by the short-lived administration of André Marie (radical), which was in September followed by the Queuille government, based on the same parties. The communists organized a new wave of strikes and riots, ostensibly for higher wages, but it was believed that Russian policy was behind it, wishing to weaken France because she had become a partner in the European Recovery Programme (q.v.) and the organization of Western Europe. The government once more took firm action. Elections for the General Councils in March 1949 brought no substantial change in the strength of the parties, whose shares of the poll were: communists 23·5 per cent; socialists 16·8 per cent; R.P.F. 23 per cent; radicals 11 per cent; right-wingers 12 per cent. (The General Councils of the *départements* into which France is divided are elected primarily to advise the *préfets* and have little political power.) In October 1949 the Queuille government resigned and was succeeded by an essentially similar administration under Bidault.

Because of the events of 1940 France has virtually lost her former leading position in Europe, although she is treated again as a Great Power and is trying hard to recover her former status. In 1944 France concluded a twenty-year alliance with the Soviet Union. The alliance with Great Britain (the old *entente cordiale*) was renewed for fifty years in March 1947, by the Treaty of Dunkirk

(q.v.). In February 1948 France joined Britain in the inauguration of Western Union (q.v.), and in April 1949 she joined the North Atlantic Treaty (q.v.). France advocates the greatest decentralization and weakening of Germany, but a trend favouring co-operation with Germany has recently been in evidence also. France has joined Britain and the United States in the reorganization of Western Germany (see *Germany*). A customs union treaty between France and Italy was signed in Paris on 26 March 1949. One year after its coming into force a unified tariff is to be applied by both countries, and goods exchanged between them will pass duty-free. Full economic union is to be achieved within six years. One of France's problems is the low birth-rate, which has caused the population to remain almost stationary for the last fifty years. The government has announced plans for large-scale immigration, especially from Italy, as a means of increasing the population. (For the French colonial empire, see *French Union.*)

FRANCO, General Francisco, Spanish general and dictator, born 1892, became a colonel in 1926, Chief of Staff in 1935, afterwards Commander-in-Chief in Spanish Morocco whence he organized the military uprising of 18 July 1936, which developed into the Spanish Civil War. Actually General Sanjurjo was designated to lead the uprising, but after his death, in an air accident at the beginning of the action, Franco took his place. After the defeat of the Spanish republicans he made himself dictator of Spain under the title of *Caudillo*; his system of government is fascist-totalitarian. He is the head of the fascist *Falange Española.* There has been an international demand for his removal since World War II. In the spring of 1947 Franco proclaimed Spain a monarchy, the throne to be filled only after his death or in case of his disability, and by a prince nominated by himself, on condition of maintaining falangist principles. (See *Spain.*)

FRASER, Peter, New Zealand labour politician, born 1884. A waterside worker and trade-union leader, Fraser was Education, Health, Marine and Deputy Prime Minister 1935–40 and was Prime Minister from 1940–49.

FREEMASONRY, a world-wide order, or rather a variety of orders with an essentially liberal and humanitarian programme, practising a peculiar, partially secret ritual. Freemasonry had its origin in England, where four 'masonic lodges' in London united under Anthony Sayer in 1717. The lodges were derived from actual builders' clubs known as lodges, which had been established by builders' guilds in the Middle Ages for the religious and ethical education of members. Later they also accepted members from other trades, and these became the majority, but the name of masonic lodge and various customs originating in the building trade were preserved. Eventually the name of Freemasons was adopted and was given symbolic significance (building a better humanity), but in fact it sprang from the real mason trade. Compasses and protractors, both builders' tools, are widespread masonic symbols to this day. The movement soon changed in social composition and became the centre of the enlightened aristocracy and middle class. It spread quickly over all Europe and America. In the nineteenth century it became largely an upper-middle-class movement, with part of the aristocracy among the members in some countries. In Protestant countries, such as Prussia and the Scandinavian states, the monarchs often became freemasons. In Britain members of the Royal Family have been freemasons—King George VI was one until his accession—and the Duke of Gloucester is Grand Master of English Freemasonry. The United States has the largest Freemasonry in the world.

In the eighteenth and the greater part of the nineteenth century Freemasonry was a liberal, progressive movement supporting democratic and constitutionalist trends. Many famous reformers and statesmen were masons. In Germany, and partly also elsewhere, the lodges gradually assumed a more conservative character, or split into a liberal and a conservative section. The classical masonic programme is based on humanism, solidarity, toleration, freedom of conscience and a broad deism. The true mason believes in an architect of the universe and in the ideals of humanity; he rejects group-hatred, chauvinism and intolerance. Atheists and materialists are excluded from most lodges, except the French; the lodges accept only male members, but in Anglo-Saxon countries there

are a few women's lodges. Becoming a member of a masonic lodge is difficult, a fact which enhances the prestige of the lodges. At their meetings masons practice a ritual interwoven with a programme of lectures, discussions and meditation. Party politics and (again with the exception of France) direct political pronunciations by lodges are banned. But the lodges offer important social meeting-places for influential men from all walks of political, economic and cultural life. What influence is exerted on the shaping of politics by talks within the precincts of masonic lodges, or by the general orientation they give to their members, it is difficult to estimate. Fantastic claims have been made in the course of the last 150 years concerning the secret political power of Freemasonry. It was one of the pet bugbears of fascist movements. German Nazism said the lodges were instruments of Jewish world domination. In fact the number of Jews in masonic lodges has always been rather small; most Prussian and Scandinavian lodges were closed to Jews. Neither has programmatic masonic toleration been observed too strictly in other instances. American lodges, e.g., do not accept negroes. British lodges excluded members of enemy extraction in World War I and a long time after. A normal amount of patriotism is compatible with Freemasonry, but numerous lodges and even more individual member politicians have displayed a chauvinism hardly reconcilable with the masonic principles. On the other hand, after World War I the French lodges protested against the Peace of Versailles, which they thought was too harsh.

The Roman Catholic Church condemns Freemasonry, while there is an affinity of masonry to the liberal side of Protestantism. Only in France, and to some extent in a few other Latin countries, has Freemasonry been distinctly anti-clerical. Masonic organization is rather loose, and the powerful, stern hierarchy sometimes described in sensational publications is a product of fancy. Masons are organized in local lodges, which associate in one or several Grand Lodges in each country. These sometimes have romantic names, such as *Grand Orient de France*. In Germany there were about twelve Grand Lodges of varying political colour, recognizing each other but mutually independent. In America there is a Grand Lodge in each state, while England has a central Grand Lodge. The authority of the Grand Lodges over the member lodges is limited, apart from recognition, and masonry is a matter of club life rather than the formidable political organization for which it has sometimes been made to pass. Lodges are not secret societies as a rule, but their ritual and proceedings are kept secret. Still much has become known about their habits through publications by ex-members, known as 'Traitors' Tracts'. Most lodges have several degrees of membership, from apprentice to master.

The number of Freemasons in the more important masonic countries was in 1928: United States 3,300,000; England 430,000; Germany 80,000; France 57,000; Italy 25,000, Sweden 21,000; Norway 10,000; Greece 10,000; Holland 8,000; Denmark 7,000; Switzerland 4,800; Belgium 4,000. Freemasonry was suppressed in Russia by the communists, in Italy by the fascists, in Germany by the Nazis. The lodges are now being reformed in the two last-named countries. There is no real masonic international, but there are two international associations uniting lodges of some countries, viz. the *Ligue Internationale des Francs-Maçons* and the more important *Alliance Maçonique Internationale* in Geneva (established 1921), composed of the lodges of Latin countries, Switzerland, and some smaller states.

About 120 or more years ago Freemasonry was definitely a political factor of great importance. It has grown enormously in numbers since, but its influence has not increased in proportion. Many members are attracted less by the humanitarian platform than by the magic of masonic secrecy and by the elevation of social prestige which is still often connected with membership. Since World War I not much humanizing influence seems to have emanated from the masons, and they are probably overrated as a political force. The lodges have positively no power over the actions, political or otherwise, of their members. On the other hand, the lodges are, at least in theory, centres for the preservation of the liberal and humanist spirit. A variety of similar orders have sprung up in the course of time, both national and international, such as the Rotary Club, the Odd Fellows, etc., most of them more easy of access. None of them has gained the prestige of Freemasonry.

FREE PORT, an area of a port reserved for duty-free transit of goods to and from another state, which can use the port as if it were its own. Thus Poland has made Stettin a free port for Czechoslovakia.

FREE TRADE, the system of unlimited international commerce without protective tariffs or other discrimination against foreign goods in favour of domestic products. The free-trade doctrine was proclaimed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in protest against the policy of mercantilism, which closed the frontiers and wanted to produce everything at home, and against the trade monopolies of chartered companies. It became politically associated with liberalism (q.v.). Britain came to be the classic country of free trade after Peel's low tariff legislation and the repeal of the Corn Laws in the 1840s. Free trade was the prevailing system until the last quarter of the nineteenth century when general industrialization resulted in the desire of many countries to protect their industries by high tariffs. They argued that the English doctrine of free trade was designed to maintain a British monopoly of manufacturing industries. Germany (1878) and the United States (1890) became the leading Powers of 'protectionism' or high-tariff policies. A high-tariff movement in Britain was defeated in the 1906 election, which went in favour of the free-trade liberals. After World War I, protection was vastly extended everywhere, fostered by nationalist sentiment and military considerations coupled with vested interests, and the world became divided by tariff walls. None the less world trade reached new peaks, since devices were evolved to climb over the tariff walls; for instance, by selling cheaper abroad than at home. Finally even Britain adopted a moderate protective tariff in 1932, combined with imperial preference (q.v.) under the Ottawa Agreements. The other traditional free-trade countries, Holland, Belgium and the Scandinavian states, also adopted moderate tariffs but sought, like Britain, to maintain a fairly liberal trade policy. The United States began to advocate greater freedom of trade, and Cordell Hull's Trade Agreements Act of 1934 authorized the President to make reciprocal arrangements for the reduction of tariffs up to 50 per cent, insisting on the most-favoured nation clause (q.v.). After World War II the United States sponsored the international trade conference at Geneva in 1947, which resulted in some reductions in tariffs, and an International Trade Organization (q.v.) based on an International Trade Charter.

Free trade is advocated on the ground that if each nation produced what it could produce more economically (i.e. with less expenditure of resources) than other countries, and if all states freely exchanged their products, then all would prosper. Against this several objections are raised—to rely on foreign sources of supply would be dangerous in time of war; by protecting new—'infant'—industries until they were able to compete freely one would benefit oneself and other nations also; to protect domestic industries would be to safeguard the employment of one's own citizens against the competition of the foreigner; protection is the only remedy against foreign 'dumping'—the sale of surplus goods at low prices which would perhaps be raised when the home production of the importing country had been ruined by the unfair competition; protection would enable preferences to be given to one's colonies or allies or to countries which made reciprocal concessions. In the inter-war years, however, the chief motives for protection were a desire to increase home production for defence reasons or to maintain employment, and the desire to keep a favourable balance of trade by reducing imports.

FREE VOTE. (See *Whip.*)

FRENCH UNION, the union of France, her colonies, protectorates and mandates, established by the constitution of 1946. The organs of the union are—the President, who is the President of France, the High Council, representative of the governments of France and the associated states (the protectorates), and the Assembly, half of whose members represent France and half the colonies, protectorates and mandates. The Assembly may have up to 240 members. Of these, 50 are elected by the French National Assembly and 25 by the Council of the Republic on proportional representation, in both cases only by the members representing metropolitan France. These also elect a further number of members of the Union Assembly equal to the number of members allotted to the associated states, the maximum for the latter being 45. This

would mean an additional 30 deputies and 15 councillors from metropolitan France. Seventy-five members of the Union Assembly are elected by French overseas *départements* and territories, 12 of these are to represent the Algerian *départements*. The overseas members sit for 6 years, one-half retiring every 3 years. The members of the union are:

1. *France*, with the three northern departments of Algeria (q.v.) and the overseas departments of Martinique, Guadeloupe (both in the West Indies), Guiana in South America, and Reunion in the Indian Ocean;
2. *West Africa* (Senegal, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, French Sudan, Niger, Upper Volta, and Mauretania), area 1,816,000 sq. m., population 16,000,000, capital Dakar (q.v.), chief products: ground-nuts and oil, palm-nuts and oil, coffee, cocoa;
3. *Equatorial Africa* (Gabun, Middle Congo, Ubangi-Shari, Chad), area 959,000 sq. m., population 4,127,000, capital Brazzaville, very undeveloped;
4. *Madagascar* (q.v.), the Comoro Islands and other islands in the Indian Ocean;
6. *Somaliland*, area 9,000 sq. m., population 45,000, capital Djibouti, important as the outlet for Ethiopia, there being a railway between Djibouti and Addis Ababa;
7. *Establishments in India*—12 enclaves and 5 ports, of which the chief is Pondichery. In 1947 the enclaves were ceded to the Dominion of India and plebiscites are to be held in the ports;
8. *New Caledonia* and dependencies in the South Pacific Ocean, area 9,500 sq. m., population 70,000; New Caledonia has rich mineral resources;
9. *Settlements in Oceania*, several scattered archipelagoes, of which the chief is the Society (Tahiti) Islands, total area 1,500 sq. m., population 56,000;
10. *St. Pierre and Miquelon*, two fishing bases off Newfoundland;
11. the former German colonies of *Togo* and *Cameroon* in West Africa; these colonies were divided between Britain (see *British West Africa*) and France as League of Nations mandatories and are now under trusteeship from the United Nations, total area of the French share 188,000 sq. m., population 3,738,000, chief exports: palm-kernels, ground-nuts, coffee, cocoa;
12. *New Hebrides*, an Anglo-French condominium in the South Pacific;
13. the *associated states* of Morocco, Tunisia and Indo-China (see separate entries).

FRITALUX, the proposed economic grouping of France, Italy and Benelux (q.v.). The Benelux countries have agreed on economic union among themselves, and France and Italy signed a treaty on a future customs union in 1949. Experts of France, Italy and Benelux initialled an agreement in December 1949, providing for all parties to eliminate quotas on 75 per cent of their mutual trade before the end of 1950, and all the rest on 1 July 1951; and for the pooling of E.R.P. 'drawing rights' and a common monetary fund.

FUEHRER, German for leader, a title assumed by the German dictator A. Hitler (q.v.). The *Fuehrer Prinzip* was the principle that the fuehrer had the right to command and the people the duty to obey him.

FULL EMPLOYMENT, a state of affairs in which all of a country's workers are always employed. Such a condition is subject to reservations because some tasks are seasonal and because the demand for goods, and therefore for workers producing them, changes with technical advance and improvements in the standard of living. Therefore other definitions have been given, e.g. 'such a state in which everybody who wants work can find it at established rates of pay'.

Before World War II almost every country suffered from widespread unemployment, and in war-time discussions of the post-war social and economic order, the need for full employment, the old socialist 'right to work' was generally recognized, but the methods by which this aim is to be achieved remain a matter of controversy, as, indeed, does the extent to which it is possible and to which it should have priority over other social aims, such as the maintenance of individual freedom. Two main policies have emerged: first, that of increasing and maintaining the demand for goods, and therefore for workers, by means

of the country's government increasing the purchasing power of the people by grants and tax remissions without special regard to the use made of that purchasing power; second, the same policy modified, the government regulating the economy to ensure that the purchasing power is used in ways it deems desirable. In practice the second policy is prevailing, especially where there are socialist governments desirous of using national resources for certain purposes, but the first policy is being increasingly advocated by liberal economists who claim that the second involves distortion of the economic system and a dangerous increase in the powers of the state. Socialists insist that only centrally directed economic planning can safeguard full employment, while recurrent, if not permanent, unemployment is believed to be inherent in the capitalist system. Advocates of the latter believe, among other things, in the possibility of steering employment to some degree by means of monetary policy. In this connection, the following concepts have developed. (See *Beveridge, Keynes.*)

Inflation (q.v.) is an excess of purchasing power over what can currently be produced —it leads either to high prices or, if prices are controlled, to shortages as stocks are sold. Deflation (q.v.) is a deficiency of purchasing power, resulting in unemployment. Disinflation (q.v.) is a reduction in purchasing power in a time of inflation so that it is in equilibrium with current production. Reflation is an increase of purchasing power in a time of deflation until it is in equilibrium with what can be produced and unemployment is thus eliminated. (See also *Trade Cycle.*)

G

GALLACHER, William, British communist politician, born 1881. He was Chairman of the Clyde Workers' Committee 1914–18 and has been a leading member of the Communist Party since 1920. Since 1935 he has been communist M.P. for West Fife.

GAMBIA. (See *British West Africa.*)

GANDHI, Mohandas Karamchand, LL.D., Indian national leader, born 2 October 1869, at Pobandar, Kathiawar, India, the son of a prominent member of the merchant caste, educated at Rajkot and London, Barrister-at-Law (Inner Temple), practised law in Bombay and South Africa, where he championed the rights of Indians living there. During the South African and Zulu wars, Gandhi organized an Indian Ambulance Corps, and after his return to India he did the same in World War I. In 1919 he assumed the leadership of the Indian national movement, introducing new methods. He rejected armed rebellion and recommended the overthrow of British rule through the peaceful methods of non-co-operation and non-violent civil disobedience (*satyagraha*). The Gandhi movement spread to a considerable extent, though it was not followed by anything like the whole Indian population and did not seriously impair British administration. The idea had a tremendous propagandist effect, however, and promoted Indian national aspirations. In 1922 Gandhi was sentenced to six years' imprisonment, but released in 1924. He was elected President of the Indian National Congress for that year. (See *India.*)

His suffering and his ascetic life won great prestige for him among the Hindu population, and his followers honoured him with the title *Mahatma* (Great Soul). From 1925 to 1929 Gandhi kept in the background, though he remained the actual leader of the Indian movement. He propagated spinning in every Indian home as a means of achieving independence from the English textile industry. In 1930 he started the famous salt *satyagraha*, violating the unpopular salt monopoly by publicly distilling salt from sea water on the shore. He was promptly arrested by the waiting police, but released again in January 1931 to take part in the Round Table Conference in London which laid the foundation for the India Act of 1935. Following new unrest in India, Gandhi was once more arrested in January 1933 but released after a few months. In 1934 he left the National Congress, saying he wished to retire from politics. He went to live with a few disciples in the village of Wardha, Central Province, spending the time in spiritual exercise and philosophical discussion. During this period he evolved the method of entering upon a fast in protest against certain public injustices; this hunger-strike tactic varied in effect. Gandhi showed some inclination toward the right wing of Congress and did not always agree with his most prominent disciple, Nehru (q.v.), the leader of the left wing. In 1937 he reappeared on the scene to mediate between the government and the Congress Party on the question of participation in provincial government.

On the outbreak of World War II Gandhi condemned Hitler's methods of violence. He continued to urge Indian freedom but apparently did not wish to impede seriously the British war effort. Having caused rejection of the Cripps offer of Dominion status, he led a disobedience campaign in 1942; he had intended that this should be non-violent, but it was marked by outrages. He was imprisoned but released for health reasons in 1944. Between 1944 and 1947 he took an active part in the negotiations that led to the British transfer of power in August 1947. That transfer was marked by extensive communal violence and Gandhi used his great influence with the masses, Moslem as well as Hindu, to restore peace, and was largely, though not wholly, successful.

On 31 January 1948 he was assassinated by N. V. Godse, a member of the Hindu Mahasabha, an organization which wanted the Hindus to dominate the Muslims, and had criticized Gandhi's efforts to conciliate the latter.

In the thirty years between World War I and his death Gandhi was the leading Indian. In that period he worked for an independent united India. Largely as a result of his efforts India achieved her independence. The Mahatma's other ideals —general acceptance of non-violence (*ahimsa*) and the maintenance of a non-industrialized India—were not realized.

GASPERI, Alcide de, Italian Catholic politician, born 1881. A member of the Catholic popular party, he was in 1926 sentenced to four years' imprisonment for anti-fascist activities. During World War II he was a member of the resistance movement and was a leading founder of the new Catholic party, the Christian Democrats. He was Minister without Portfolio in 1944, Foreign Minister in 1944–5, and has been Prime Minister since 1945.

GATT, initials of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, concluded at Geneva in 1947. (See *International Trade Organization, Imperial Preference.*)

GAULLE, Charles de, French General and statesman, born 1890, educated at the military school of St. Cyr, fought at Verdun and became a prisoner of war in World War I, served as a major under Weygand in the Russo-Polish war of 1920, became Professor of Military History at St. Cyr, later at the *École de Guerre*; went abroad in various military missions; colonel of an armoured regiment 1939; unsuccessfully urged mechanization of the French army in the years preceding World War II; was appointed general during the military crisis of 1940, refused to acknowledge France's surrender under Pétain, and proclaimed himself 'Chief of the Free French' in London. At the head of a Free French National Committee he continued the fight against Germany and organized Free French Forces, later known as the Fighting French. He had a fairly small following at first, and when he took an expedition to Dakar in French West Africa in September 1940, he was repulsed by the Vichy forces. But with the progress of the war the number of his adherents grew, and the interior resistance movement in France also recognized him as leader. In 1944 he returned to France at the head of the provisional government. In a speech at Bayeux, Normandy, he advocated a new French constitution providing for a strong president on the American model. The left ascribed dictatorial plans to the General. In January 1946 he resigned. He opposed the French constitution of 1946, which left no power to the president, and broke with the Catholic M.R.P. Party (see *France*) over this question. He also refused to run for the presidency under the existing constitution. The General, who continues to be on the active list but gives all his time to politics, founded his own party in 1946, known as the *Union Gaulliste*; it obtained only 9 seats in the 1946 election. In April 1947 he founded another movement known as the *Rassemblement de Peuple Français* (R.P.F.), which was reported to have 300,000 members after a few weeks, and gained victories in the 1947 municipal elections and the 1948 elections to the Council of the Republic. In the first it secured 30 per cent of the vote and in the second 40 per cent of the seats. De Gaulle is an advocate of a France united at home and strong abroad. He criticizes the political parties as disruptive of national unity. He is especially opposed to the communists on account of their domestic policy and their desire to associate France with the Russian group of states. As an opponent of communism he supports the Western Allies and European unity, but opposes the Anglo-American policy of restoring Germany, which he regards as dangerous to France. He has been denounced as a fascist; although he is supported by conservatives who previously supported Pétain and although some of his speeches seem anti-democratic, this charge is rejected by others who know the General.

GENOCIDE, the wholesale extermination of peoples or races, and measures conducive to it. Under the impression of racial persecution practised by Germany's Nazis and the mass-murder of the Christian Assyrians in Irak (q.v.), Professor Lemkin of Poland began to advocate the international outlawry of such policies in 1933. He coined the term genocide. When he had to flee from Poland in 1939, he continued his propaganda in America as professor at Yale. It is due to Professor Lemkin's work

that the United Nations proclaimed genocide a crime in 1948. An agreement to this effect was adopted by the General Assembly at Paris on 10 December 1948, by all votes except South Africa and two Central American states which absented themselves. The agreement must yet be ratified. The United Nations will study the question of organizing an International Court of Genocide. The agreement outlaws mass-murder for racial, national, political or religious reasons, and the following measures: (1) Serious physical or intellectual injury to human groups. (2) Deliberate worsening of living conditions for groups with a view to their reduction or extermination. (3) Measures aiming at preventing the reproduction of a group. (4) Forcible transfer of children from one group to another.

GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT, an informal international agreement based on a verbal exchange or correspondence, without a treaty or convention being signed. It is expected to be observed like a formal agreement.

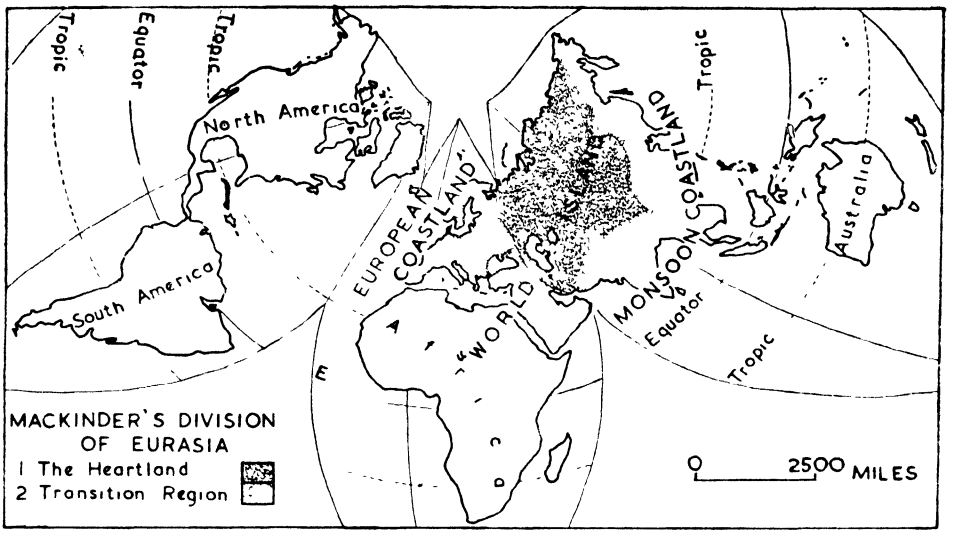
GEOPOLITICS, name of a German school of applied political geography, founded by General K. Haushofer in 1923. It is ultimately derived from the German F. Ratzel's *Political Geography* (1897); the term geopolitics was coined by a Swedish scholar, Kjellen, a pupil of Ratzel. Kindred theories, without the name, had arisen in the early twentieth century in Britain (Mackinder, Pearson, Fairgrieve), the U.S.A. (Admiral Mahan, Brooks Adams), and France (Vallaux, Demangeon).

The most influential of Haushofer's predecessors was Sir Halford Mackinder (1861–1947). In *Democratic Ideals and Reality* (1919) Mackinder advanced the theory that the three contiguous continents of Europe, Asia and Africa form the 'World-island', in relation to which other 'islands', such as North and South America, Australia, and the 'islands' of eastern Asia are satellites. The 'World-island' contains the 'Heartland', stretching from the Volga to the East Siberian mountains and from the Arctic Ocean to the Himalayas—most of the area occupied by Russia, Persia, Tibet and Mongolia. The glacis of the 'Heartland' is Eastern Europe, from the Volga to the Flensburg-Trieste line, and including Eastern Germany and Austria, with both Berlin and Vienna. Whoever dominates one of these regions will inevitably covet the other as well. Mackinder says: 'Who rules East Europe commands the Heartland: who rules the Heartland commands the World-island: who rules the World-island commands the World.'

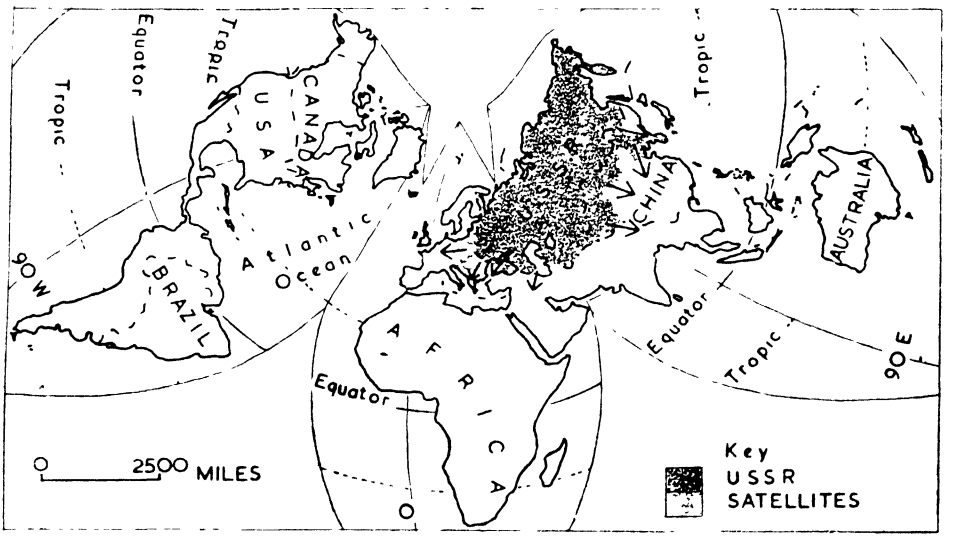
That this theory contains an important element of truth seems to have been shown by events since 1933. From Germany Hitler attempted to gain control of Europe and then the Heartland. Russia seems to rely even now on the strategic value of the glacis of the Heartland, of which she has been gaining control since 1939, regardless of the development of air-power, the atomic bomb and long-range, self-propelled missiles. Some observers think these technical developments will affect traditional geopolitical concepts. (See Map IX.)

Mackinder's teaching influenced German geopolitics. The German school conceived of nations or states as supra-individual organisms engaged in a perpetual struggle for life. The earth is by its natural formation divided into a number of 'spaces' which form the geographical background for the struggle of the nations. This makes politics space-bound, following definite laws, which are independent of human influence and to which all nations appearing in historical succession in a given space are subject. Examples of such spaces are the Atlantic, Pacific, Danubian and Mediterranean spaces. There are large continental and oceanic spaces of a dominant character, and 'intermediate spaces' or 'stress-spaces' which provide a meeting-place for the conflicting aspirations of larger regions. The nations' strife makes the spaces into 'fields of force' cut by 'lines of force' on physical analogy. Geopolitics sets out to supply guidance for the application of the laws of space to foreign policy, basing itself on the study of geography and history. Its assumptions include a never-ending strife of the nations among themselves and the primacy of external policy over internal. Political ideologies and constitutional systems are explained as weapons for national survival and expansion in a given set of geographical conditions.

Geopolitics never denied being an *ad hoc* science. It offered to supply 'equipment for political thought and action', and Haushofer wrote in 1928: 'Geopolitics comes into its own only after a political ideal has



The World according to Sir H. Mackinder



The World To-day as viewed from the West

Map IX. Geopolitics in theory and practice

(For method of projection, see note on the coloured Map of the World in this volume)

been set up by a conscious act of valuation.' It follows that much room is left for wishful thinking in the interpretation of geographical facts, and that geopolitical theories will as a rule tend to promote the policies of the writer's country. This is indeed the case in the geopolitical writings of all nations. Haushofer accepted Ratzel's law of the territorial growth of nations and the striving for ever larger spaces. He spoke of 'space-fate' and coined the much-quoted catchword of 'living-space'.

The German geopoliticians of the early period 1923–32 pointed to Germany's vulnerable 'boxed-in' position in the middle of Europe and warned their countrymen against an adventurous foreign policy. They taught that Germany was a 'stress-space' like India and China, and was bound to remain a second-rate Power. The 'Pacific Age' was dawning after the 'Atlantic Age', they said, and the centre of world politics was shifting to the Pacific. (Haushofer was the intellectual engineer of the German-Japanese alliance.) Later the geopolitical school developed the 'continental doctrine' establishing Germany's claim to control of Central and Eastern Europe, the doctrine of the necessity of splitting the 'swollen' Russian space, and the theory that Germany was called to the succession of England in world politics and should inherit the British and French colonial empires. An Institute of Geopolitics was established at Munich in 1923. Haushofer exercised great influence on large numbers of German historians, economists and strategists, whose detailed studies of the politics and social problems of the world in terms of the geopolitical theory provided the basis for Hitler's plans of world-conquest.

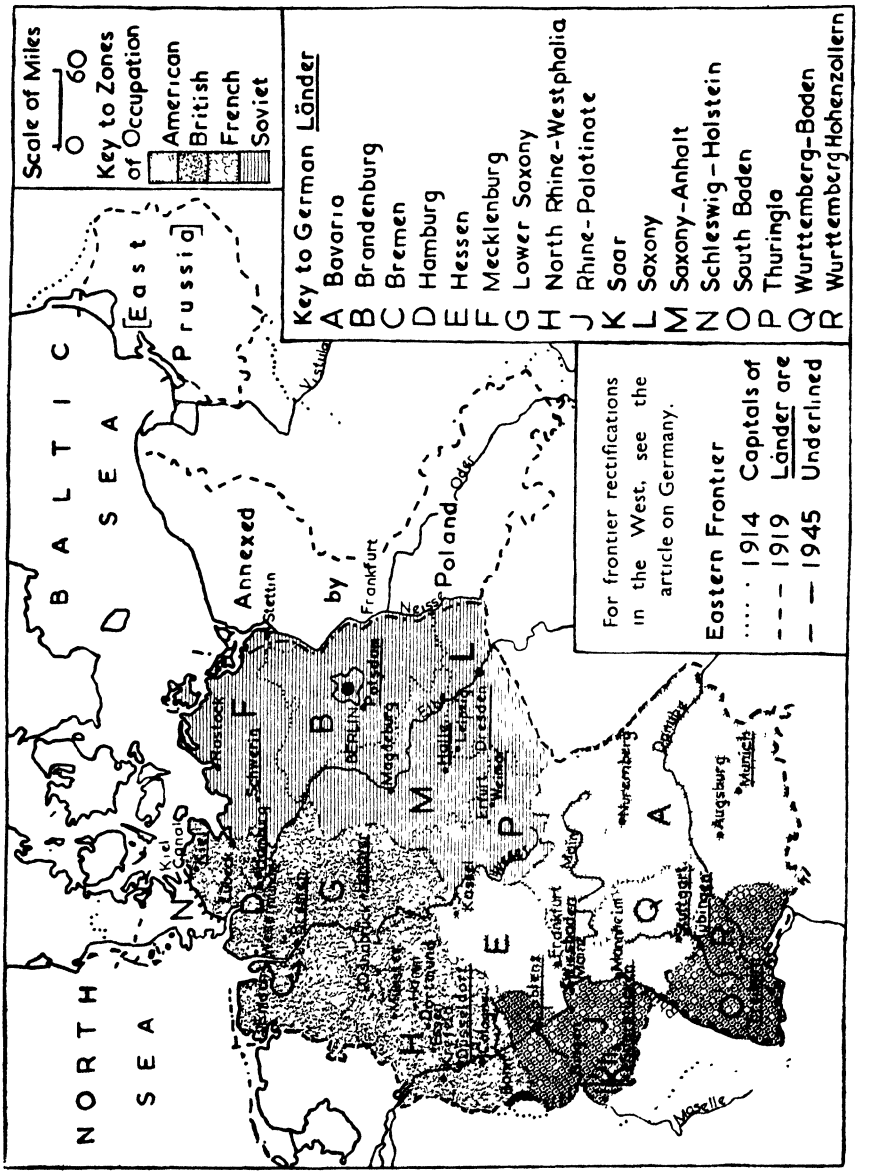
Applied political geography can provide aids to political thought and policy. The geographical factors recognized by the geopoliticians are undeniable. What is, however, deniable is the interpretation given to these factors. The concept of states as competing organisms is a political, not a geographical, idea—an opinion rather than a fact (see *Organic Theory*).

GERMANY, Federal Republic of, area 95,650 sq. m., population about 45,500,000. The temporary capital is Bonn. The federal republic comprises the British, American, and French occupation zones of Germany, while the Soviet zone is administered separately by an East German Government set up under Russian auspices. (See later.) On 1 January 1938 the area of all Germany was 180,000 sq. m., and the population nearly 70,000,000; on 1 January 1939, after the incorporation of Austria (q.v.) and the Sudetenland (q.v.) the territory was 209,000 sq. m., with a population of 80,000,000.

After the dissolution of the ancient Holy Roman Empire, of which Germany had been the core, in 1806 and after the downfall of Napoleon, Germany was in 1815 reorganized as the German Confederation, a loose association of the Austrian Empire, the Kingdom of Prussia and a number of other German kingdoms and principalities. Austria, whose Habsburg emperors had been the sovereigns of the old empire, presided over the confederation. The federal authority was weak. Austria and Prussia struggled for supremacy; in the war of 1866 Prussia under Bismarck ousted Austria from Germany. The unification of Germany under Prussian leadership was completed by the Franco-German war of 1870–1. From 1871 to 1918 Germany was a federal empire under the Prussian kings of the Hohenzollern dynasty, consisting of 25 states, of which 22 were monarchies under their own kings and dukes, and 3 were city republics. After its defeat in World War I, Germany became a federal republic. The constitution adopted in 1919 by a National Assembly gathered in the town of Weimar (see *Weimar Republic*) was democratic and provided for a *Reichstag* (federal parliament) elected directly by the people on the basis of proportional representation, and a Federal Council consisting of delegates of the state governments. The President was elected every seven years by the people. Government was parliamentary. The number of states known as the Lands was now 16; they had their own diets known as the *Landtage* and their own governments in whose hands was most of the administration. The usual powers, especially defence and foreign relations, were reserved to the federal government.

German democracy was hampered by the survival of authoritarian traditions, resentment against the Peace of Versailles (q.v.) which had coincided with its birth, and an inclination toward both left-wing and right-wing radicalism based on rigid ideologies rather than on practical political thinking.

Yet democracy was consolidated for a time, mainly during the period of prosperity from 1925 to 1930, which was enhanced by an influx of foreign, especially American, loans. The bearers of German democracy were in less so in years of prosperity than in those of unemployment. National socialism (q.v.) existed only in a rudimentary form prior to 1930. Germany's international position improved gradually; she was admitted to the



Map X. Germany

The British, American and French zones now form the Federal Republic of Germany, while the Soviet zone has been organized as the German Democratic Republic.

the first place the social-democrats (moderate socialists), the liberals (who later vanished almost completely) and the Catholic Centre Party. The nationalist parties of the right favoured restoration of the monarchy, but co-operated in republican governments after 1923. Communism was strong, but

League of Nations (1925), achieved a reduction of reparations (q.v.) for World War I (1924, 1939), and earlier evacuation of the Rhineland which had been occupied by the Allies (1930). German policy aimed at a revision of the Versailles Treaty. Its principal opponent in Europe was France,

while Britain and America gave Germany a measure of support, and there was fairly close German-Russian collaboration.

The great slump of 1930, which threw 6 million people out of employment in Germany, initiated the end of the first German republic. It led to radicalization of the masses which resulted in a rapid rise of Hitlerite national socialism, concurrent with an upsurge of communism. The growth of the antidemocratic parties on the left and right made it impossible to form a working majority in parliament. A period of 'presidential cabinets' ensued. The President was conservative Field-Marshal von Hindenburg, who had been elected by the parties of the right in 1925 and been re-elected, despite his age of 85, by the democratic parties in 1932 because they hoped his authority would stem the rising tide of Nazism. The conservatives promoted Hitler in the hope of using him as their tool; the communists played into his hands by undermining the democratic republic; and the policy of the democratic parties remained weak. In 1932 the slump reached its bottom; the same year brought the final cancellation of reparations and the recognition of Germany's claim to equality by the disarmament conference (q.v.). The Nazi movement seemed about to ebb when a conservative clique headed by ex-chancellor von Papen persuaded the aged President on 30 January 1933 to appoint Hitler chancellor (prime minister).

The conservatives had hoped to keep control of Hitler, but he soon outwitted them. He established a dictatorship and made Germany a totalitarian Nazi state ruled by means of a secret police, party troops, concentration camps (q.v.) and propaganda. He restored full employment by rapid rearmament (which was tolerated, if not fostered, by the Western Powers because they saw in Hitlerite Germany a bulwark against Soviet Russia and communism). Hitler effected remilitarization of the Rhineland (1936), the annexation of Austria (1938), the Sudetenland (1938) and Memel (1939). (On details of German history during his rule, see *Hitler* and *National Socialism*.) The annexation of the Czech territories in March 1939 marked the end of the policy of appeasement (q.v.) which had made his successes possible, and when Hitler turned against Poland later in the year, England and France made an alliance with Poland. Hitler's invasion of Poland on 1 September 1939 led to World War II (1939–45), ending in the defeat of Germany after tremendous initial German successes, and its occupation by the victorious Allies. (Unconditional surrender on 7 May 1945 after Hitler's death on 30 April 1945.)

No new central German government was appointed for the time being. In accordance with the decisions of Teheran (q.v.) and Yalta (q.v.), the Allies divided Germany into four zones of occupation under military government. Berlin, situated in the midst of the Russian zone, was occupied by all the four Allies and divided into four sections with a common *Komandatura* (Russian for 'commandant's office'). The areas and populations of the zones and Berlin were:

	Area (sq. m)	*Population*	*Density (pop per sq. m.)*
American zone	41,500	17,255,000	416
British ,,	37,710	22,303,000	592
French ,,	16,440	5,933,000	360
Russian ,,	41,380	17,314,000	418
Berlin	340	3,200,000	9,412
Total	137,370	66,005,000	480

The concentration of population in the British and American zones (shown by the density figures) is a sign of the industrialization of these zones and the influx of refugees, and has caused the two powers great difficulties in feeding the people. The Russian zone contains Germany's principal agricultural regions. The German territories east of the Oder-Neisse line (q.v.) with an area of 43,000 sq. m were annexed by Poland (a part of East Prussia went to Russia) and the German population of about 8 millions was expelled; so were about 3 million Sudeten-Germans (q.v.) whom the Czechs drove out of the Sudetenland. These people came as refugees to the rest of Germany.

Supreme power in each zone was given to the military governor of the occupying army; a joint Allied Control Council in Berlin, composed of the four governors, was intended to act as the temporary government of Germany as a whole, but due to the political differences between the Allies, which soon developed, the Council operated only on a very limited scale, and ceased to function in 1948. Allied policy toward Germany was laid down at the Con-

ference of Potsdam (q.v.) in August 1945, which also agreed on taking reparations (q.v.) by the dismantling of German industries. The German war-time leaders were tried for the enormous crimes committed under Nazi rule (see *Nuremberg Trial*), some were executed, others were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

Germany's division into Lands (states) was partly altered under Allied occupation. The American zone now comprises the old state of Bavaria, a new state of Wurttemberg-Baden composed of the American-occupied halves of the old states of Württemberg and Baden respectively, and a new state of Greater Hesse composed of the old state of Hesse and some adjacent areas. In the French zone, two new Lands were organized out of fragments of old states: Hohenzollern-Sudbaden, consisting of the French-occupied parts of Wurttemberg and Baden, and Rhineland-Palatinate, while the Saar (q.v.) was detached from Germany. In the north, the large state of Prussia was split into a number of states, of which North Rhine-Westphalia (with the Ruhr), Lower Saxony (with Hanover and Oldenburg) and Schleswig-Holstein (q.v.) are in the British zone, while Lands in the Russian zone comprise the old states of Saxony, Thuringia and Mecklenburg, and the new states of Brandenburg and Saxony-Anhalt (ex-Prussian provinces). The old *Hansa* cities of Hamburg and Bremen (in the western zones) were made states again. All German *Lands* have their own governments and diets (the *Landtage*).

While all Allied governments declared in favour of a unified Germany and restoration of German democracy, zonal policies quickly drifted apart. The Russian zone was largely assimilated to the Soviet bloc and economically geared to the Russian system. A large proportion of East German industry, in so far as the Russians had not dismantled it, was put under Soviet administration or nationalized. A sweeping land reform was effected and some 500,000 German farmers, partly Germans driven out of the eastern territories, were settled on the estates of the landed aristocracy formerly known as the *Junkers*. A communist dictatorship under Soviet auspices, though veiled as a coalition of allegedly different parties, became the actual form of government. In the American and British zones, the economic system was not essentially altered; democratic elections on the state and local levels were held at early dates and a measure of democracy was restored, as far as this is possible under a system of occupation. The formation of democratic and comparatively independent German parties was encouraged. German state governments were given increasing powers. French policy in the French zone, while likewise admitting German state governments and political parties, tended to restrain German autonomy.

The Moscow Conference in the spring of 1947 and subsequent inter-Allied talks failed to produce agreement between the Western Allies and Russia on the unification of Germany, reparations (q.v.) and other fundamental problems of the peace treaty. The Western Allies began to envisage the establishment of a West German government as a temporary expedient. The British and American zones had been merged economically as from 1 January 1947, and now a German bi-zonal Economic Council was created at Frankfurt with an amount of legislative powers over the Lands of the Bizone. It consisted of 54 members chosen by the Land governments.

In 1948 preparations for the organization of a West German state made further progress. Many Germans were reluctant to co-operate in what they believed was bound to seal the partition of Germany, but on the basis of the decisions of the London Conference in June 1948 the conference of the prime ministers of the eleven German states of the western zones (including the French zone) agreed to the programme outlined by the Allies, though with certain reservations. The London Conference, in which the United States, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg had taken part, had agreed on calling a constituent assembly for Western Germany to draft a constitution (subject to certain directives from the Allied military governors) and to submit it (on approval by the governors) to a referendum; on the internationalization of the Ruhr (q.v.); on the promotion of economic recovery in Western Germany; and in fact on Western Germany's association with the incipient Western Union (q.v.). The incorporation of Western Germany in the European Recovery Programme (q.v.) had been envisaged from the start, and Western Germany had indeed been represented, if only by the Allied governors, at the Mar-

shall Plan Conference in Paris in 1947. The West German constituent assembly known as the 'Parliamentary Council' and composed of delegates of the Land parliaments, met at Bonn on 1 September 1948 under the chairmanship of Dr. Adenauer (q.v.).

Occupation Statute. On 8 April 1949, the three Western Powers signed an occupation statute for Germany. It transferred authority to the German Government to be set up subsequently, but the Allies reserved powers in the following fields: disarmament and demilitarization, restrictions on industry, control of research; reparations, decartelization, Ruhr control, discrimination in trade, foreign interests in Germany; foreign affairs; displaced persons and refugees; occupation costs, the security and prestige of the occupation forces; respect for the constitution; control over foreign trade and exchange; control over internal action to the minimum extent necessary to reduce to a minimum the need for external assistance to Germany; treatment of prisoners sentenced by Allied courts. The occupation authorities reserve the right to resume the exercise of full authority in Germany. The Germans may legislate and act in the fields reserved to the Allies unless the Allies direct otherwise. Any amendment of the German constitution requires Allied approval. German legislation and any agreements made between Germany and other governments will become effective 21 days after receipt by the Allied authorities unless previously disapproved by them. After 12 to 18 months the statute will be reviewed with a view to extending German jurisdiction.

The Allied High Commission, which subsequently replaced Allied Military Government, consists of General Sir Brian Robertson (United Kingdom), J. McCloy (United States) and A. François-Poncet (France). The High Commissioners take their decisions by a 2 : 1 vote, but amendments to the constitution require unanimity. If a majority decision affects an international agreement or is incompatible with the principles laid down for Germany's foreign relations, with the German constitution or the security of Allied forces, the High Commissioner voting against it may demand that the matter be referred to the three governments. If the decision merely affects an international agreement, such an appeal may not delay its execution for more than 30 days. Decisions not relating to reserved domains are taken by majority, and a minority appeal will not delay execution for more than 21 days. Decisions on foreign trade and currency are taken by a vote based on the extent of the financial engagements of the Allied Powers in Germany, which in practice means decisive American influence.

An Allied Military Security Board was established with powers to inspect any installation, organization, etc., in Germany with a view to ensuring disarmament and demilitarization. (See also *Ruhr.*)

Frontier rectifications in the west. On 23 April 1949, a number of frontier areas were transferred to Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg, subject to the final peace settlement. Holland took 28 sq. m. with a German population of some 10,000, despite German protests and heavy misgivings in Holland itself. Belgium was allotted 17 s.q. m. with 5,000 people, but took only 8 sq. m. with 800 people for the time being. Luxembourg took only a small frontier forest without inhabitants. A village of 2,000 people went to the Saar.

The Bonn Constitution. The Parliamentary Council at Bonn adopted an organic law for the German Federal Republic on 8 May 1949 by a vote of 53 : 12. The Council, presided over by Dr. Konrad Adenauer, was composed as follows: Socialists 30, Christian Democrats 28, Liberals 6, Centre Party (Catholic) 2, German Party (nationalist) 2, Communists 2. The constitution provides for the usual civic rights and bans racial or political discrimination. Parties must have internal democratic constitutions. Parties intending to abolish democracy are unconstitutional. The German flag is black-red-gold as under the Weimar republic. The constitution extends for the time being only to the 11 states of Western Germany, but the other states may accede to it. The federation may transfer sovereign rights to international institutions, and may join a system of collective security and accept limitations of sovereignty conducive to a peaceful and permanent order in Europe. The preparation of aggressive war is an offence. Arms for warlike purposes may be made, transported, and sold only with the approval of the federal government. Federal law overrides state law. The federal government may take executive action against states not fulfilling their federal duties.

The federal parliament consists of a federal diet or *Bundestag*, and a council of states or *Bundesrat*. The diet has 400 members popularly elected for 4 years, 60 per cent being elected in constituencies and 40 per cent on proportional representation on national lists. The federal council consists of delegates of the state governments, the states having from 3 to 5 votes according to their populations. The council takes its decisions by simple majority. It has no veto on legislation, except in certain cases affecting the position of the states. It may protest to the diet regarding any bill passed by the latter, but the diet may dismiss the protest by simple majority, whereupon the bill becomes law.

The German federal president is elected by a special federal assembly, composed of the members of the federal diet and 400 delegates chosen by the state diets (*Landtage*). If two ballots fail to result in an absolute majority for a candidate, a relative majority is sufficient in the third ballot. The powers of the president are not great, and real power is concentrated in the hands of the federal chancellor (title of the prime minister). The president represents Germany in international relations; he appoints and discharges federal judges and officials, and promulgates the laws. He nominates the chancellor, who must be elected by the federal diet, whereupon the president appoints him. The diet may choose a candidate of its own instead. If no absolute majority is reached, the president may either appoint a candidate chosen by a relative majority only, or dissolve the diet, ordering a new election The president appoints the ministers on the advice of the chancellor. The chancellor is the general director of policy and is responsible for it. The diet can pass a vote of no confidence only if it presents a successor. Otherwise the diet may be dissolved. Forty-eight hours must pass between a motion of no confidence and the vote to be taken on it. If the federal diet is not dissolved after a vote of no confidence and fails to present an alternative chancellor, then the president may, with the consent of the council of states, proclaim a state of legislative emergency, and laws may be passed by the council of states even if the federal diet has rejected them. The emergency may not last longer than six months under the same chancellor.

The federation has the sole right of legislation on foreign affairs, nationality, immigration and emigration, currency, customs duties, foreign trade, federal railways, air transport, post, and certain police powers. Concurrent powers include most other affairs, which are reserved to the states as long as the federation does not legislate on them. The constitution may be amended by a two-third's majority of both Houses. The federation may give directives to states on the administration of federal laws. Any state may ask for police forces of other states in an emergency, and if the state concerned is unwilling or unable to deal with the emergency, the federal government may assume command of the police forces of that state or other states. The federation has powers over the revenue of states if it needs it for the payment of subsidies to other states. A federal constitutional court will have considerable powers. The federation is the successor of the bizonal administration. The organic law expires when a new constitution, accepted by the German people in a free decision, comes into force.

The intention of holding a referendum on the organic law was dropped, and it was approved by the Allied governors. The first federal diet was elected on 14 August 1949, 78·5 per cent of the electorate taking part. The results were as follows: Christian Democrats 7,357,579 votes, 139 seats; Social Democrats 6,932,272 votes, 131 seats; Free (Liberal) Democrats 2,788,653 votes, 52 seats, Bavarian Party 986,606 votes, 17 seats; German Party 940,088 votes, 17 seats; Communists 1,360,443 votes, 15 seats; Economic Reconstruction Party (Bavaria) 681,981 votes, 12 seats; Centre Party (Catholic) 727,343 votes, 10 seats; German Right Party (neo-Nazi) 428,449 votes, 5 seats; Independents 1,134,466 votes, 3 seats; South Schleswig Assoc. (Danes) 75,387 votes, 1 seat. The federal assembly met on 12 September 1949 to elect the first federal president. The chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party, Professor Theodor Heuss, was elected at the second ballot by a vote of 416 out of 804. On 20 September 1949 the first post-war German Government was formed as a coalition of the Christian Democrats, the Liberal Democrats and the German Party, with Dr. Adenauer as federal chancellor. The socialists went into opposition.

Four major parties heve emerged in Germany: the Christian-Democratic Union (C.D.U.) led by Dr. Adenauer, a conserva-

tive party composed of both Protestants and Catholics, and containing an influential labour section; the Social Democrats (S.P.D., standing for *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*), led by Dr. Schumacher (q.v.) and W. Ollenhauer, a socialist labour party with the usual labour programme, advocating especially the nationalization of the Ruhr industries and land reform, but antagonistic to communism; the communists known as such in the west but as the Socialist Unity Party (S.E.D., meaning *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands*) in the east—the unity party was formed by a merger of the communist and socialist parties in the Russian zone, which was effected under strong Russian pressure, the principal leaders being W. Pieck (com.) and O. Grotewohl (ex-soc.); and the Free Democratic Party, a liberal party led by Dr. Theodor Heuss. The old Catholic Centre Party was revived in North Rhine-Westphalia, while it has elsewhere merged with the C.D.U. In Bavaria the C.D.U is known as the Christian-Social Union (C.S.U.).

Minor parties include the German Party, whose basis is in Lower Saxony, originally founded with a view to restoring statehood to Hanover, but later transformed into an all-German nationalist and conservative party, the Bavarian Party, a conservative and Catholic party demanding semi-independence for Bavaria and a confederation of German states rather than a federal republic (see *Federalism*); the Economic Reconstruction Association, also a conservative Bavarian party; the German Right Party, which is believed to be neo-Nazi and is allied to a kindred party, the German Conservative Party. The National Democratic Party is a nationalist party which allied itself with the Liberal Democrats (which are rather right-wing) during the 1949 election. Denazification (q.v.) proved largely a failure, due to much mishandling by both Allies and Germans.

It has been alleged that the C.D.U. is favoured by the Americans and to some extent the French, while the socialists are believed to have British Labour support; and the communists are, of course, favoured by the Russians.

As preparations for the establishment of the West German state progressed, tension mounted between the Western Allies and Russia. The latter refused to take any part in the Western scheme, although repeatedly invited. Vague Russian plans seemed to envisage a German state with a fairly centralist system of government, to be soon evacuated by the Allies but placed under Four-Power control in accordance with the Potsdam decisions. Great differences between the Russian and Western views existed also concerning Germany's eastern frontier and reparations. Russia seemed to evade any discussion of the adoption of democratic methods in the Soviet zone, which would no doubt have ended communist rule. While Russia denounced Western plans as aiming at making Germany a colony of 'Western imperialism' and a base for war on the Soviet Union, the Western view was that Russia was aiming at bringing all Germany under communist control. On 20 March 1948 the Russian representative left the Allied Control Council in Berlin, which has since been defunct. When the Western Powers introduced a new currency in Western Germany, to end inflation, and announced the London programme, Russia retaliated by imposing a blockade on Berlin, a move interpreted as an attempt to cause the Western Allies to leave the old capital of Germany. Britain and America organized the 'air lift' to supply Berlin through an air corridor provided by earlier agreements. Repeated conferences in Moscow and Paris failed to produce agreement, but the Paris conference of June 1949 resulted in the lifting of the Russian blockade of Berlin and the ending of the 'air lift'. When the German Federal Republic had been organized in the West, the Russians set up a German Government in the eastern zone on 7 October 1949. (See later.) The Western Powers denounced this government as illegal, while Russia continued to refuse any recognition to the West German Government.

Berlin. In the 1946 municipal election, the social democrats obtained 1,000,000 votes as against 400,000 for the communists, but the Russians made it afterwards difficult for the city administration to function, and in September 1948 the latter had to move from the Soviet sector to the Western-occupied sectors of Berlin to escape communist mob interference. The Russians set up a communist city administration in their sector under F. Ebert, communist son of Germany's first socialist president of 1919, while the city administration in 'Western' Berlin is headed by the socialist, Professor

Reuter. On 5 December municipal elections were held in the 'Western' sector, boycotted by the communists and, of course, banned in the Soviet sector. 86·2 per cent of the electorate voted, and the vote was as follows: social democrats 64·5, Christian democrats 19·4, and Liberals 16·1 per cent. The Four-Power *Komandatura* in Berlin also became defunct in 1948, and a Three-Power Command for the city was set up in the 'Western' sector. The Berlin conflict continues to manifest itself in a variety of ways.

Eastern Germany. The Soviet zone was initially governed by the Soviet Military Administration with the aid of 25 German departments. On 13 February 1948 the Russians set up a German Economic Commission in the zone, the counterpart of the Economic Council in the west. The Commission was enlarged from 36 to 101 members on 27 November 1948, and 17 of the zonal ministries were placed under it. In 1948, a 'people's congress' had been elected under communist auspices, and it had in turn chosen a 'people's council' to act as a permanent organ. On 3 August 1948 this council approved a draft constitution for all Germany, providing for a 'German Democratic Republic' with a 'people's chamber' and a chamber of states. The people's chamber, elected by the people, chooses the prime minister who is then appointed by the president. The people's chamber is to act as the supreme court. There are no safeguards against arbitrary arrest. Self-government of the five states of the zone is rather limited. The third 'people's congress' was elected popularly in May 1949. According to official (communist) sources, participation in the election was 95 per cent. There was only one list of candidates, that of the communist-controlled 'national front'. It was reported to have received 7,953,000 votes or 66·1 per cent, while 4,080,000 voters or 33·9 per cent were reported to have rejected the list. 863,000 blank ballots had also been cast.

On 7 October 1949 a 'provisional government of the German democratic republic' was set up in East Germany. The people's council elected itself the first people's chamber of the parliament, and popular elections were announced for October 1950. The 5 state diets elected a chamber of states. The draft constitution of 1948 was put into effect. W. Pieck, veteran communist leader, was elected president of the republic, and Grotewohl became the first prime minister at the head of a communist-controlled coalition. The Soviet Military Government was converted into a civilian control commission, and envoys were exchanged between Russia and the East German Government. Under Russian auspices, considerable German armed forces known as police had meanwhile been built up in the Soviet zone. The new East German Government endorsed the Oder-Neisse frontier.

East Germany has an area of 41,380 sq. m. (not counting territory east of the Oder-Neisse line) and a population of 17,314,000. The zone is in fact governed by the Socialist Unity Party, which is actually the communist party, under Russian supervision. The social democrats, or rather that section of them which refused fusion with the communists, are banned in the Soviet zone. The S.U P. is officially reported to represent nearly 60 per cent of the vote, but elections are on the communist pattern and the real proportion of pro-communists is believed to be much lower The rest of the vote is divided between three other admitted parties whose leaders are, however, picked by the communists and closely collaborate with them, viz. the Christian democrats, the liberal democrats and the national democrats. The last were founded mainly to rally former Nazis.

Simultaneously with the currency reform in Western Germany, a new currency was introduced in the Eastern zone. Its initial parity was the same as that of the western mark, but subsequently it dropped to a fraction of the latter

As for the peace treaty, the Allies laid down a first outline of the peace terms in the Potsdam decisions (q.v.) of 1945, but much of them seems obsolescent. As far as can be seen, the following measures are envisaged or have indeed been carried out in a preliminary manner: (1) Large cessions of territory by Germany in the east, where Poland, supported by Russia, demands the Oder-Neisse line (q.v.) as its new frontier. As mentioned before, some 8 million Germans have been expelled from the territory east of this line. America and England favour a frontier substantially farther east. (2) In the west, the economic and semi-political incorporation of the Saar (q.v.) in France and the frontier rectifications mentioned above. (3) Disarmament of

Germany and a substantial reduction of German industry, the latter to be linked with the payment of reparations (q.v.) and a number of controls and restrictions in various fields.

The Petersburg Agreement, signed in November 1949 by the Allied High Commissioners and the German chancellor, Dr. Adenauer, provided for the entry of the German Federal Republic into international bodies, the establishment of German consulates abroad, German construction of larger ocean-going ships, and the cessation of dismantling (see *Reparations*) at a number of important German plants. In return, Germany accepted membership of the Ruhr Authority (q.v.) and promised full co-operation with the Military Security Board. Germany made a treaty with the United States concerning Marshall Aid (see *European Recovery Programme*) and joined the O.E.E.C. (q.v.) as a full member. The federal government promised to eradicate all traces of Nazism and to prevent the re-creation of any armed forces. There was, however, some international discussion of a future German contribution to the defence of Western Europe.

GERRYMANDERING, the art of drawing the boundaries of electoral districts with a view to fragmentation or isolation of the opposition, and to securing as many representatives as possible for the party in power. Known in Europe as 'electoral district geometry'. In 1812 Governor Gerry of Massachusetts had the state redistricted in favour of his own party, and the chequered map which resulted was represented by a cartoonist as a salamander. The species then became known as a 'Gerrymander'.

GESTAPO, short for German *Geheime Staatspolizei* (Secret State Police), the secret political police of the Nazi régime in Germany. It was created by Goering after Hitler's advent to power in 1933 to suppress all opposition to the new government; later Himmler assumed control of it. Its methods were espionage upon the citizens, arbitrary arrest, torture and killing. When the Germans overran Europe in 1939–45 it extended its sphere of operations to the occupied countries, whose peoples it terrorized as it had terrorized the Germans. In 1946 it was declared a criminal organization by the International Tribunal on War Crimes at Nuremberg. (See also *Concentration Camps, Nazism.*)

GIBRALTAR, British naval base in southern Spain, area 2 sq. miles, civilian population about 21,000. Spain has long wished to regain it, either by force, as proposed by some Falangists in World War II, or by exchanging for it Ceuta in Spanish Morocco. There is a municipal council and a Legislative Council was formed in 1948, but the two councils may be fused to avoid over-government.

GOLD COAST. (See *British West Africa.*)

GOLD STANDARD, a currency system in which bank notes are changeable into gold at a fixed rate at any time. There are three forms of it: (1) the full gold standard—the central bank is bound to redeem its notes in gold coin and to buy and sell gold at a fixed price; (2) the gold bullion standard—no gold coins are in circulation, there is no redemption of notes, but the central bank is bound to buy and sell gold at a fixed price; (3) the gold exchange standard—the central bank does not buy or sell gold but only drafts in foreign currencies on the gold or gold bullion standard.

Owing to the fixed relation to gold, a currency on the gold standard is stable, or, more precisely, as stable as the value of gold. The issue of bank notes (i.e. expansion or restriction of credit) is linked with gold. If the gold standard is abolished, the currency is adrift, its value being determined by day-to-day transactions, but may be kept more or less stable by means of intervention in the market—systematic buying and selling with a view to regulating the prices. Given adequate reserves of gold and foreign exchange and restraint from inflation, this may provide for satisfactory stability in the value of money.

Until 1914 the gold standard in one form or another was adopted by almost every civilized state. In 1914 Britain suspended gold payments and did not resume them after the war. In 1925 she returned to gold, but to the gold bullion standard and at too high a rate of exchange, the pound sterling being given too great a value in terms of gold. In 1931, during the slump, she went off gold altogether. The U.S.A., France, Holland, Belgium and Switzerland remained on the gold bullion standard—the last four only until the start of the war, but

reduced the gold value of their currency units (see *Devaluation*).

The gold standard has been much criticized as a cause of restriction of economic activity, since the volume of money which together with other factors determines the relative prosperity or depression of the economy is related under it to a fixed quantity (the gold value of the currency) which must be maintained at all costs. Free exchanges have therefore been suggested as a means to full employment (q.v.). The Bretton Woods Agreement (q.v.) signified a partial return to gold, but failed to safeguard currency stability. A new wave of devaluation swept the non-dollar world in 1949, although the new parities remained, via the dollar, linked with gold.

G.P.U., also known as the O.G.P.U., the N.K.V.D. and the M.V.D., the secret political police of the U.S.S.R. (q.v.); the initials stand for *Gossudarstvennoye Politicheskoye Upravlyeniye* (political administration of the state)—the 'O' sometimes found in front stands for *Obshcheye* (general). The G.P.U. was founded in 1918 under the name of Cheka (short for *Chrezvchaynaya Komisia*—extraordinary commission) to suppress opposition to communist rule; later it became the instrument of the ruling faction in the Communist Party for combating opposition factions within the party itself. Its methods—espionage on the people, arbitrary arrest, torture and killing—have been imitated elsewhere. In 1934 it was incorporated in the *Narodnyi Komisariat Vnutrennych Dyel* (N.K.V.D.—Soviet Commissariat for Internal Affairs); since 1944 M. (for *Ministerium*—Ministry) has been substituted for N.K. In 1941 the N.K.V.D. was divided into two commissariats (ministries now); one kept the name of N.K.V.D., the other became N.K.G.B. (*Narodnyi Komisariat Gossudarstvennoy Bezpechnosti*), and later M.G.B., Ministry of National Security. The old chief of the G.P.U., L. Beria, is in charge of the police departments of both ministries. M.V.D. has developed a large system of labour camps, believed to contain from 8 to 10 million political prisoners. These labour camps are an important factor in the Soviet economy. M.G.B. is in charge of mass deportations and transfers of population.

GRAND MUFTI. (See *Mufti.*)

GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND, United Kingdom of, 94,270 sq. m., population about 50,027,000 (of whom 1,500,000 live in Northern Ireland). The capital is London. The throne is hereditary in the House of Windsor (q.v.), with mixed succession. Reigning King: George VI, born 14 December 1895, ascended the throne 10 December 1936. Heiress-presumptive: Princess Elizabeth, born 21 April 1926, married to Lt. Philip Mountbatten, formerly Prince Philip of Greece and Denmark, now Duke of Edinburgh.

The historical parts of Great Britain are the ancient Kingdom of England, the core of the realm, comprising 85 per cent of the population and 57 per cent of the territory, which has given to the country the name commonly used in unofficial language and abroad; the ancient Kingdom of Scotland, with one-third of the area but only 10 per cent of the population; the Principality of Wales; and the territory of Northern Ireland (q.v.). Of these, only Northern Ireland possesses self-government (which is rather involuntary in that particular case, being a result of the Anglo-Irish conflict; see *Ireland*), apart from a limited autonomy for the Isle of Man (q.v.) (which has its own parliament known as the *Tynwald*) and the Channel Islands (q.v.). The other parts of the country are only historical units, although noticeably different in character and marked by distinct regional feeling. England and Wales form an administrative unit, while Scotland has its own, though not autonomous, administration of justice and some other affairs, and also has laws of its own, which are, however, made by the London Parliament. There are a Secretary of State for Scotland (with cabinet rank) and a Solicitor-General for Scotland in the British government. There have long been trends of Scottish and Welsh autonomism in evidence (see articles on the Scottish and Welsh nationalist movements). A certain national consciousness is enhanced in Wales by the fact that about one-half of the population speak Welsh, a Celtic language; but within this section some 800,000 people are bilingual (English and Welsh), and only 200,000 persons speak no other language than Welsh. There are schools in which Welsh is the language of tuition, as well as newspapers and radio programmes in Welsh. In Scotland about 130,000 persons in the Highlands still speak Gaelic, also a

Celtic tongue, but with the exception of 6,000 they all speak English also.

Constitution and Government; The British constitution is largely unwritten and rests on tradition and precedent. It is none the less strictly adhered to. There are several fundamental laws, successively laid down in the course of the centuries and still valid, but they do not form a systematic code comparable to the written constitutions of other countries. The most important constitutional laws are the following: *Magna Carta* (1215), providing for annual parliaments, some basic liberties, and the equal administration of justice; the *Petition of Rights* (1628), reserving to Parliament the sole right of taxation and codifying certain civic liberties; the *Habeas Corpus Act* (1679), securing personal liberty and protection from arbitrary arrest; the *Bill of Rights* (1688), resuming the foregoing rights and principles; the *Act of Settlement* (1701), providing for the Protestant succession to the throne; the *Union with Scotland Act* (1707); the *Union with Ireland Act* (1800), partly repealed in 1921; and the *Parliament Acts* (1911, 1949) limiting the Lords' veto.

Britain is a constitutional monarchy—government is by the monarch acting through ministers responsible to the popularly elected House of Commons (q.v.) of the legislature. Laws passed by the Commons are sent up to the House of Lords (q.v.). The Lords have no right of veto on financial bills, however, and only a temporary veto on other bills. The royal assent is the final step in legislation. The King's veto is regarded as obsolete for all practical purposes. Theoretically the royal prerogative continues to exist in the background, but it has been customary for a very long time that no use should be made of it. The King acts on the advice of ministers responsible to Parliament. The British government consists of the 'Cabinet' (q.v.) which comprises the most important ministers, known as the Cabinet Ministers; of ministers of Cabinet rank, slightly inferior in position: of ministers of non-cabinet rank; and of a number of 'parliamentary secretaries' also known as Junior Ministers, i.e. Members of Parliament assigned to various Government Departments. Political careers usually begin with such secretaryships. The Prime Minister is the virtual leader of the government; he determines its policy and compiles his list of ministers for royal approval. If he resigns, he customarily advises the King on whom to send for as his successor.

The House of Commons (q.v.) has 640 members, elected by male and female suffrage; as from 1950 the number will be 625. There is no proportional representation, and the distribution of seats in Parliament does not usually reflect the actual distribution of the vote. Not infrequently, minorities according to votes have supplied parliamentary majorities. The normal term of the House of Commons is five years. The House of Lords (q.v.) has about 850 members, consisting of the Lords Spiritual (bishops) and the Lords Temporal. The latter are created by the King (on the advice of the Prime Minister) and their office is hereditary in the majority of cases. If the Lords veto a bill passed by the Commons, it nevertheless becomes law if the Commons uphold it in two successive sessions within one year. A financial bill becomes law even without the consent of the Lords if such consent is not given within a month. The chairman of the House of Lords is the Lord Chancellor, who is a member of the government. Three Cabinet Ministers must be taken from the House of Lords. The House also acts as the Supreme Court. Although the House of Lords was deprived of most of its legal power by the parliamentary reform of 1911, it still embodies the element of aristocracy which has been traditionally contained within British democracy, at least until 1945. This element has exercised its influence in various ways even outside the Upper House. Some of the families which habitually send their members to the House of Lords (and through party connections usually also to the House of Commons) have for generations supplied Great Britain's leading statesmen, though not exclusively. They are largely conservative in outlook (apart from a smaller number of liberals). While they were displaced from office by the labour victory of 1945, their position in the social, economic and intellectual life of the country does not so far appear to have been substantially affected by the ascendancy of labour.

Political Parties; The traditional two-party system of England has changed in composition. No longer do conservatives and liberals (the ancient 'Tories' and 'Whigs') confront each other as used to be the case for centuries, but the polarity is one

of conservatives and labour. The liberals have been reduced to a small centre party.

The Conservative or Unionist Party (the Tories) governed the country from 1924 to 1929 and again from 1931 to 1940. In the 1930s together with some smaller parties which coalesced with it, it formed a National Government backed by some 53 per cent of the vote.

The opposition was composed of the Labour and Liberal Parties. The Labour Party, founded in 1900, is moderate, non-Marxian and evolutionist (see *Fabian Society*). By 1918 it had replaced the liberals as the second largest party. In 1924 and 1929–31 it held office, under Ramsay Macdonald, with liberal support. Between 1916 and 1932 the Liberal Party was rent by continued dissensions between its leaders, Asquith, Lloyd George, Samuel and Simon. In 1931 Simon and others seceded to form the National Liberal Party, which has remained allied with the conservatives ever since. Minor opposition parties were the Independent Labour Party, a left-wing, Marxian social-democratic party based on Scotland, the Communist Party, which was very active in the marches of the unemployed in the 1930s, and the Scottish, Welsh and Irish nationalists.

During World War II an all-party coalition government was formed under the conservative leader Winston Churchill (q.v.), with the conservatives remaining the dominant factor. That ministry was dissolved in May 1945, when Germany had been defeated, and Churchill formed a new national government of conservatives, national liberals and independent nationals.

The first post-war election, held on 5 July 1945, resulted in a large parliamentary majority for the Labour Party, which consequently took office, its leader, Clement Attlee (q.v.) becoming Prime Minister. The Labour Party obtained 48 per cent of the total vote; together with some minor socialist parties, almost precisely 50 per cent of the British electorate (in fact a small fraction more) voted for socialism. The votes were (in millions): labour 12, conservatives 9, national liberals and nationals 0.9, liberals 2.2, independents and minor parties 0.8. The 1945 House of Commons was composed as follows: labour 393, conservatives 189, Ulster unionists (conservatives from Northern Ireland) 10, nationals 2, national liberals 13, liberals 12, I.L.P. 3, communists 2, Common Wealth (a new middle-class socialist party) 1, Irish nationalists 2, independents 14. (Articles on each of the British parties will be found elsewhere in this volume.)[1]

Labour nationalized the Bank of England, coal, power and transport; a law nationalizing steel is to operate from 1 October 1950. No fully-fledged socialist economy was introduced, however; rudimentary planning agencies were set up under the name of development councils for various main industries (see *Working Parties*), but on the whole, the British economic system has so far remained one of liberal-cum-trade-union capitalism with a large carry-over of war-time controls. American influence has been said to be working against the adoption of more socialism. The economic and political situation existing after World War II makes the American attitude an important factor in British deliberations.

British domestic policies are marked by the absence of radicalism and by universal agreement on democratic methods. A deep-seated liberalism, centring around the freedom of the individual, permeates all compartments of British political life. Other features often held to be typical of British policies include a preference for empiricism and common sense, coupled with a dislike of doctrines and abstractions; a certain traditionalism and a disposition for compromise and gradual evolution.

Domestic Problems; The last hundred years have been marked by an almost continual increase in Britain's national wealth and by social reform and collectivist economic legislation to which all parties have contributed. As a result, the standard of living of the majority of the people has greatly improved, despite depressed areas and recurrent general slumps. But the expanding capitalist economy to which this was due was badly damaged by World War I, by the restrictive financial and trading policies of most countries in the inter-war years, and by World War II. The British economy is now unbalanced, many of its industries badly equipped (partly because of inter-war restrictionism, but mainly because during World War II industries not required for equipping the forces and satisfying the essential material and psychological

[1] For information about the 1950 General Election see page 469.

needs of civilians were contracted and their re-equipment deferred), and the income it used to receive from abroad as interest on and gradual repayment of the loans made in past decades reduced by the sale for war materials of many of these foreign assets —indeed, Britain is now a net debtor (see *Sterling Balances*). Now these industries have to be re-equipped, export markets regained and increased in spite of foreign competition, and the deferred demands of consumers satisfied. In 1945 about £1,100,000,000 were borrowed from the U.S.A., and it was hoped that this aid would enable the British economy to be restored in about five years (see *American Loan*). This hope was not fulfilled—by the summer of 1947 the loan was almost exhausted but the economy was still not balanced. The new financial and economic policy of Cripps (q.v.) and further American aid (see *European Recovery Programme*) are intended to restore the economy by 1952.

Foreign Policy, Britain's foreign policy is determined by her double position as a European Power and the centre of a great overseas empire. (See *British Empire.*) She cannot turn her back on the European continent and devote herself exclusively to the development of her empire, as has sometimes been suggested, nor can she act with an eye on Europe only. The European side of British policy would seem to have proved its principal aspect. Traditionally, Britain is opposed to the domination of the continent by any single power. Since World War II, Great Britain's policy has been bent on co-operating with the United States and the countries of Western Europe in order to reconstruct the economy of Western Europe and protect that region from communist aggression. (See *European Recovery Programme, North Atlantic Treaty, United Europe, Western Union*—to all of which Britain is a party.) That policy is criticized by sections of the Conservative Party, which consider that Britain should concentrate on imperial development, and by the left wing of the Labour Party and the communists, who want closer collaboration with the Soviet Union and its satellites and dissociation from capitalist America. The classical tendency toward the restoration of the balance of power in Europe also lingers on. Great Britain has a 20-year defensive alliance with the Soviet Union, concluded 1942, against the foes from World War II. The alliance with France was renewed for fifty years by the Dunkirk Treaty of 1947. For all practical purposes, the close collaboration between the British Commonwealth and the United States of America, a special relationship based on community of language, outlook, and culture (see *Anglo-Saxons*), may be regarded as a fundamental constant in world politics. It is supported by all responsible politicians on both sides of the Atlantic. The increasing emancipation of some parts of the British Empire, and developments in the Middle East create further problems for British policy. (*Note.* numerous special articles on subjects relating to British politics are to be found elsewhere in this volume.)

GREECE, Kingdom of, 50,000 sq. m., population 7,700,000. The capital is Athens. King Paul I, who succeeded his brother George II after the latter's sudden death on 1 April 1947, is the fifth ruler from the Danish dynasty of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glucksburg, upon which the Greek throne was conferred in 1862. The constitution of 1911 provides for a limited monarchy. Under the leadership of Eleutherios Venizelos, a Cretan by birth, Greek policy was very successful in the two Balkan wars 1912–13. Venizelos then led Greece into World War I by the side of the Allies, while pro-German King Constantine was forced to abdicate. After the death in 1920 of his second son Alexander, whom the Allies had enthroned instead of Crown Prince George, King Constantine returned and embarked on a campaign against Turkey in order to conquer the Greek-inhabited areas of Asia Minor. The Greek army was defeated by Kemal Atatürk (q.v.) and the Asiatic Greeks were expelled to Greece. King Constantine abdicated again in 1922 and died soon after. He was succeeded by George II, but the prestige of the monarchy had been affected by the Asiatic disaster to such an extent that the King had to abdicate a year later, and a republic was proclaimed. George II lived in London for twelve years afterwards. In Greece a period of *coups d'état* and revolutions ensued, in which Venizelos also participated; he was exiled in 1935 and died one year later in Paris. Monarchist Admiral Kondylis organized a plebiscite for the restoration of the mon-

archy in 1935 (97·5 per cent), and the King returned. He tried to rule constitutionally at first; but the first free election yielded a republican majority, notwithstanding the plebiscite figures. Early in 1936 a Greek Popular Front was formed with communist participation, whereupon the King set up a dictatorship under General Metaxas. The General dissolved parliament and the parties, established a totalitarian system, and was appointed Prime Minister for life in 1938.

In World War II Greece tried to remain neutral. Metaxas was pro-German, while the King was pro-English. Greece was dragged into the war by Italy. Ever since World War I Italy had been in friction with Greece over the Dodecanese (q.v.), Albania, and general Mediterranean policies. On 19 October 1940 Mussolini sent an ultimatum to Athens, demanding strategic bases and other concessions which would have made Greece an Italian dependency. Greece regarded the ultimatum as a declaration of war and for a long time successfully resisted the subsequent Italian aggression; indeed the Greeks conquered part of Albania from the Italians. Metaxas died in January 1941. In April 1941 Hitler came to the help of Mussolini, attacking Greece via Yugoslavia and Bulgaria in the course of his Balkan campaign, and despite British help Greece quickly succumbed. The King went to England. During the Italo-German occupation an Axis-sponsored Greek puppet government under General Tsokakoglu was installed, while on the other hand a Greek resistance movement took shape. From the start it was divided in two factions, one royalist and one communist. The communists organized a Greek National Front of Liberation (E.A.M.) with a partisan army known as E.L.A.S. The conflicting aspirations of the Allied Powers in the Eastern Mediterranean mingled with internal Greek strife at an early stage. E.A.M. had Russian, the conservative resistance wing Anglo-American support. But the Western Allies aided both wings in their struggle against the occupying forces. A Greek coalition government with E.A.M. participation was formed in exile, but had to be reorganized repeatedly.

When the Allied zones of influence were fixed at Teheran and Yalta, Greece came into the Anglo-American zone. The British landed in 1944, while the Germans partly surrendered, partly withdrew northwards. On 2 December 1944 E.A.M. left the government and attempted an uprising which was quelled by the British. On 30 December 1944 a regency was set up under the Archbishop of Athens, Damaskinos, to govern until a plebiscite on the question of monarchy or republic. In spite of the Varkiza Truce of February 1945 sporadic fighting continued between the government forces and the E.A.M., which continued to hold some northern mountain districts. The socialists (S.K.E.) and the popular democrats (E.L.D.) broke with the E.A.M., to which they had previous adhered, and E.A.M remained an essentially communist movement with a few other left-wing followers.

On 31 March 1946 an election was held but boycotted by the E.A.M. About 60 per cent of the electorate took part, and the election resulted in a right-wing majority. The royalist Populist Party, led by Tsaldaris, and the conservative groups allied with it, polled 556,000 out of 1,000,000 votes; about 700,000 voters abstained. The Populist Party secured 132 out of 354 seats in the chamber. A centre bloc known as the National Political Union consisted of the moderate Social Democrats under Papaandreou (30 seats), the National Union led by Kanelopoulos, and the Venizelist liberals (36 seats) led by Sophocles Venizelos, junior, the son of the important Greek statesman. The other liberal faction, led by 83-year-old Themistocles Sophoulis, premier at the time, polled 142,000 votes and obtained 48 seats. The extremely right-wing National Resistance Party led by General Tservas, exleader of the royalist resistance forces, obtained 20 seats. The traditional polarity in Greek politics is that of populists and liberals—sometimes, though not quite correctly, referred to as monarchists and republicans. Venizelos, senior, was a liberal. Later the liberals split into a right-wing faction under Venizelos, junior, and a left-wing faction under Sophoulis. Greece lacks the broad middle class which usually supplies the basis for liberalism.

The Sophoulis government, which had been in office since November 1945, resigned and Tsaldaris became premier at the head of a monarchist coalition. On 1 September 1946 a plebiscite was held, resulting in 1,200,000 votes for the monarchy and 500,000 for the republic, with many absten-

tions. King George II returned to Greece, and the 1911 constitution was renewed. The anti-monarchist opposition insisted that undemocratic methods had been used by the government during the referendum. Guerrilla warfare in the north flared up again and considerable military operations developed. The Greek government stated that the communist forces were supported from the neighbouring, communist-dominated countries, Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria, and a United Nations Commission was despatched to Greece in May 1947 to investigate the events. Greece gave all facilities to the commission, whose work was, however, obstructed by the three neighbouring countries. A majority report by 9 out of its 11 members confirmed the charge that the communist guerrillas were receiving support from the three neighbouring states, while a minority report by the Russian and Polish members denied that charge. (The majority report also censured the Greek government for persecution of political opponents.)

The Soviet veto blocked action by the Security Council. The United States announced its intention to take other measures to protect Greece from 'totalitarian encroachment'. (See *Truman Doctrine.*) American financial and technical aid to Greece was increased. The withdrawal of British forces from Greece was announced on 5 August 1947, but no date was given for it. American influence in Athens grew in accordance with American aid. The Greek government, now headed by populist Maximos, and General Tservas as minister of security, announced the discovery of a 'communist plot' on 9 July 1947, and arrested thousands of left-wing oppositionists, not all of them communists. Numbers were deported to islands in the Aegean Sea. Then the government split over the suppression of the Communist Party and resigned on 23 August 1947, to make room for a populist-liberal coalition under Th. Sophoulis. Many observers in Britain and America had complained of the reactionary complexion of the Greek governments sponsored by the Foreign Office and the State Department, and American representatives in Athens urged inclusion of the Sophoulis liberals, so far in opposition, in the government. The two liberal factions under Sophoulis and Venizelos, junior, had meanwhile united. They split again in November 1948, when the Venizelists refused further collaboration with the populists. Sophoulis continued as premier with some right-wing support, and in January 1945 the Venizelists re-entered the government, which was joined also by the monarchist New Party of Markenzinis and by the National Union. Sophoulis died in June 1949, and was succeeded by A. Diomedes (non-party), with Tsaldaris and Venizelos as vice-premiers.

The guerrillas derived from E.A.M. now called themselves the Greek Democratic Army and their leader, Markos Vafiades, became known as 'General Markos'. In December 1947 the communists formed a Provisional Democratic Government of Greece under Markos. They denounced the terror methods used by the government in Athens which they described as fascist and a tool of the Anglo-Saxons, while the government denounced the terrorist methods of the communists and described them as pawns of Russia. The internal strife in Greece is indeed interwoven with the antagonism of the Great Powers in a region lying at the boundary of their zones of influence in south-east Europe. Wholesale executions of communists by the government during 1948 led to protests from America and Britain, and some were later postponed. Meanwhile the government forces succeeded in ousting the communist armies from most of their positions in the north; but they held out in some strongholds in Greece, and operations continued. The United Nations Assembly in Paris, in November 1948, condemned Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania for aiding the Greek communist forces; the vote was 48 : 6, the six against being the Soviet bloc. General Markos was dismissed by the communists in February 1949 and succeeded by J. Joannides, who was succeeded by D. Partsalides in April. The communists were driven back during 1949, and held only a few small frontier areas in October, when they announced that they would cease operations. British troops were leaving Greece in November 1949; there had been only 3,000 of them.

The scene of the frontier war is largely in the Greek section of Macedonia (q.v.). Both Yugoslavia and Bulgaria have shown aspirations to parts of this region. A Yugoslav-sponsored autonomist movement in Greek Macedonia was reported in 1947.

Bulgaria (q.v.) also covets parts of the Greek province of Thrace in the east with a view to regaining an outlet to the Aegean Sea. On the other hand, Greece would like some Bulgarian territory north of the Rhodope mountains, and the Albanian Northern Epirus, while Albania (q.v.) demands the Greek Southern Epirus. The Peace Treaty of Paris, in February 1947, left the Greek land frontier unchanged, but Greece obtained the Dodecanese (q.v.) from Italy. The only Greek-inhabited territory outside Greece is now Cyprus (q.v.), a British colony whose Greek population demands union with Greece.

GREENLAND, Arctic island, a Danish possession since 1774, area 770,000 sq. m., of which only 30,000 sq. m. are ice-free, the rest being permanently ice-clad. The population consists of 400 Danes and 16,000 eskimos. On 9 April 1941 the Danish minister to Washington made an agreement with the United States, authorizing the establishment of American bases in Greenland for the duration of 'the present danger to the American continent'. The Danish government, under duress from Nazi occupation, repudiated the agreement at the time, but tacitly agreed to it later on. In 1947 and 1948, however, it asked the United States to withdraw American forces from Greenland and to abolish the Agreement of 9 April 1941. The United States refused to do so as long as the peace of the Americas was endangered, and kept bases and installations in Greenland, although a few minor stations were abandoned. The island is held to be of strategic importance for the defence of America; it is a base on the shortest air route between Europe and North America and a centre for meteorological observations. It comes within the region of western hemisphere defence as defined by the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro (q.v.) in 1947. The island's position was discussed again in 1949 in connection with the North Atlantic Treaty (q.v.). The United States continued to refuse cancellation of the 1941 agreement.

Denmark announced a five-year-plan of development for the island in 1946, and further plans in 1948, providing for more rights for the local population.

GUATEMALA, Central American republic, 45,000 sq. m., population 3,300,000, of whom 54 per cent are Indians, the rest largely mestizos known as *ladinos*, while the ruling classes are of European descent. The capital is Guatemala City. The principal industries are coffee- and banana-growing. United Fruit interests are considerable.

The constitution provides for a one-chamber Congress elected for four years, with one half rotating every two years. Illiterates must vote publicly. The President is elected for six years. He may not succeed himself; if he attempts to do so, the right of rebellion is constitutionally sanctioned. This clause was inserted in the 1945 constitution adopted after the overthrow of the long dictatorship of General Ubico (1931–44), who was succeeded by General Ponce (six months in 1944) and the present President, Dr. Arevalo, elected in 1945 as the candidate of a *Partido Acción Revolucionaria*. Guatemala has a traditional but not serious antagonism to Mexico.

In September 1945 Guatemala revived her claim to British Honduras (q.v.). By a convention of 1859, modified in 1863, Britain promised to build communications between Guatemala and the Atlantic Ocean. This she had not been able to do, and Guatemala now claims that the convention is therefore void and that her recognition in it of Britain's rights to the territory is not effective. She agreed to submit her case to the International Court of Justice, but did not do so. In February 1948 the British government, fearing that Guatemalan extremists would attack the colony, dispatched warships and troops. Guatemala protested to Britain and the United Nations. At the Bogota (q.v.) conference of the pan-American states (q.v.) she supported the motion condemning European colonies in America.

GUIANA. (For British, Dutch and French Guiana, see *British West Indies*, *Netherlands*, *French Union* respectively.)

GROUNDNUTS, a vegetable from which can be made margarine and vegetable oils, and which is produced in large quantities in Africa. The world shortage of fats caused the British government to decide in June 1945 that the production of groundnuts in British Africa should be greatly increased. An inquiry mission was sent to East Africa, and its report was accepted by the government in February 1947. 3,210,000 acres are to be developed in British East Africa (q.v.); in the first six years £24,000,000 will

be spent; by 1950–1 about 600,000 tons of groundnuts p.a. were to be produced—this total was to increase to 800,000 later. A public corporation was created. In June 1947 the government decided to send a similar inquiry mission to British West Africa (q.v.). It advised that 2,750,000 acres be cultivated in this region at a cost of £25,000,000 capital expenditure; an annual production of 225,000 tons within ten years was envisaged. The East Africa scheme was held up by technical and other difficulties. At the end of 1949 only a small proportion of the land had been cleared, and production was a fraction of the quantity which had been planned for that year. Expenditure was much higher than estimated, and the auditors reported that the books of the corporation had not been properly kept, some leading officials were dismissed, others resigned, and there was a debate in Parliament on the affair.

GUILD SOCIALISM, a socialist school developed in England 1907–14 by A. J. Penty, S. G. Hobson and G. D. H. Cole. The original founder of the school was Penty, a Christian medievalist, while the Fabians, Hobson and Cole, gave a more modern form to the idea. Fearing the omnipotence of a state bureaucracy in the event of nationalization of industry, the guild socialists advocated the taking over of industry by the trade unions. In this they were a variant of syndicalism (q.v.). Later they evolved the idea of the guilds, of which the trade unions were to be only one element. The guilds were to comprise all the persons working in an industry on the national territory, including managers, technicians and office workers. The state was to nationalize the means of production, but to hand them over to autonomous guilds for administration. Fifteen guilds were provided for England, one for each major industry or group of industries. They were to form a Federation of Guilds, with a Congress of Guilds as the supreme organ. This was to be the organization of producers, while the state as such was to be preserved as the organization of consumers. Both together were to regulate production and consumption on an equitable basis. This was different from syndicalism, which aimed at the abolition of the state. The Guilds Congress was to legislate on production, Parliament on all other matters; there was also to be a Super-Parliament on a national basis to decide disputes between the two legislatures. The movement grew rapidly, and in 1915 the National Guilds League was set up with the support of a number of trade unions. In 1920 the National Guilds Council was formed and guild socialism seemed well on the march, when the movement embarked on large-scale building enterprise. A nation-wide Building Guild was organized to construct houses, but it collapsed after a short time. This was the end of the movement and the Guilds League was dissolved in 1925. No guild-socialist movement has existed since, but the basic idea of guild socialism, the administration of nationalized industries by autonomous public corporations with trade union partnership, has left traces in English and Continental European socialist thought. (See also *Corporatism.*)

H

HABEAS CORPUS ACT, an English law of 1679 empowering courts of law to direct anybody detaining a person to bring the prisoner to the court and state the cause of the arrest. If the court holds the cause insufficient, the prisoner must be released. The law thus ensures judicial intervention and the elimination of arbitrary imprisonment, since the courts will not countenance the latter. The writ addressed to the detaining person is known as the writ of *habeas corpus*, the Latin words being taken from the original and meaning 'thou mayest have the body'. The Act did not create the right to be safeguarded from arbitrary arrest—the English common law had long provided remedies against it and of these remedies the *habeas corpus* writ was one. The Act revised the procedure and extended its application. English historical anecdote has it that when the bill had been passed by the Commons and sent to the Lords, the upper house was equally divided on it. The Lord Chancellor ordered a recount and one particularly fat lord was counted for seven. Thus the Act was passed. From time to time the Act has been suspended to deal with actual or threatened rebellion. In the two World Wars it was not formally suspended but the government was empowered to detain persons if it saw fit so to do and a statement that it had so seen was accounted a sufficient answer to a writ. The Act was adopted by the American colonies which later became the United States and *habeas corpus* thus applies to the United States as well as to British territories.

HABSBURG, often misspelt Hapsburg, the former Austrian dynasty, by its full name the House of Habsburg-Lorraine. Of Swiss origin, the Habsburgs were, with some intervals, Holy Roman Emperors from 1273 to 1806. When the Holy Roman Empire was dissolved, they assumed the title of Emperor of Austria. The last Habsburg Emperor, Charles I, abdicated in November 1918 and died in exile in 1923. Austrian and Hungarian legitimists wish to restore the Habsburg monarchy under his son Otto, born 1914. The Dollfuss and Schuschnigg movements in Austria (1934–8) ultimately aimed at a Habsburg restoration. The Nazis suppressed Habsburg movements during their control of Austria (1938–45) but in 1945 some monarchist organizations were formed. In 1946 the Austrian government suppressed them. During World War II the pretender, Archduke Otto, lived in the United States. He was last reported living in Rome, where he is said to have the sympathies of the Vatican. He declared himself in favour of a Danubian Federation.

HAITI, a negro republic in the Caribbean, covering the western portion of the island of Hispaniola. (The eastern portion is covered by the Dominican Republic, q.v.) Area 10,000 sq. m., population 3,300,000, of whom 90 per cent negroes, the descendants of the former slaves, and 10 per cent mulattoes. There are no whites except foreigners. The capital is Port-au-Prince. The official language is French; the population speaks a mixed dialect known as Creole. (Haiti was a French colony until 1801, then a negro monarchy until 1820, when it became a republic.) The mulattoes form the ruling class. Coffee and bananas are Haiti's principal products. The population lives in extreme poverty. The constitution provides for a popularly elected Chamber of Deputies and a Senate partly elected by the Chamber, partly appointed by the President. The President is chosen by both Houses in joint session for seven years. The actual government has for a considerable time been a succession of military and other dictatorships. A military uprising in January 1946 made Colonel Levaud acting President. He called an election for a national assembly, in which three-fourths of the seats went to the Democratic Party. J.

Estimé was elected President in August 1946.

United States occupation (1915–34) and United States control of customs revenue has ended, but the influence of American diplomacy and American business interests remain substantial. The Catholic Church is powerful, and there is French cultural influence.

HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN, new name of Transjordania (q.v.).

HATAY. (See *Alexandretta.*)

HAVANA, Declaration of, a resolution of the pan-American Conference held at Havana, Cuba, in July 1940, that no transfer of an American colony of one non-American state to another non-American state would be recognized. If a transfer was attempted, the colony affected could be placed under the common administration of the American republics, its ultimate fate would be decided freely by the colonials. If in connection with such a transfer a threat to the security of the American continent was threatened, any American republic could take the steps necessary for the defence of itself or the continent. The resolution, sponsored by the U.S.A., was designed to prevent the annexation of the French and Dutch colonies by Germany occupying France and the Netherlands. (See *pan-Americanism.*)

HAVENGA, Nicolaas Charles, South African lawyer and politician. As a nationalist he was a member of the Provincial Council and Executive Council of the Orange Free State, 1910–15. In the Union, he was Minister of Finance in General Hertzog's Nationalist and United Party governments, 1924–39. When the United Party split on the war issue in 1939, Hertzog and Havenga resigned from both the government and the party, and formed the Re-united Nationalist Party with Dr. Malan (q.v.). In November 1940 Hertzog and Havenga left the Re-united Party because they opposed its policy of discriminating against the English in South Africa and using an ordinary parliamentary majority to establish a republic. In 1941 they formed the Afrikaner Party, of which Havenga is now leader (Hertzog died in 1943). After the general election of 1948 Havenga became Minister of Finance in Malan's government.

HAWAII, a group of twenty islands in the mid-Pacific; area 6,500 sq. m., population 500,000, of whom 11,000 are pure Hawaiians, 61,000 part-Hawaiians, 172,000 whites, 163,000 Japanese, 30,000 Chinese, 46,000 Philippine Islanders, 7,000 Koreans, 9,000 Puerto Ricans, capital Honolulu. There is little communal strife and considerable racial inter-marriage. English is the language of the schools and the lingua franca of most of the population.

The islands were an independent kingdom until 1895, when a republic was established. In 1898 the legislature asked for Hawaii to be annexed by the U.S.A. Since 1900 it has been a U.S. Territory, with a Governor appointed by the President, a Senate of 15 and a House of Representatives of 30. At the election of 1940 about 46,000 voters desired Hawaii to become a state of the U.S.A.; 22,000 opposed. In 1943 a plan for the admission of Hawaii as a state was drafted, but action has not yet been taken by Congress.

The naval base of Pearl Harbour, attacked by Japan in 1941, is on the chief island of Oahu, on which is also the capital, Honolulu.

HEGEL, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, German philosopher and political thinker, born 27 July 1770, at Stuttgart, the son of an official, died 14 November 1831, in Berlin; first studied divinity, worked as a tutor in Bern and Frankfurt, then turned to history and philosophy. Initially he sympathized strongly with the French Revolution; later he transferred this sentiment to its successor, Napoleon. His first political writings were a pamphlet against the aristocratic system of government in Bern, Switzerland, and *The Constitution of Germany* (1802), in which he called for a new German national state instead of the crumbling Holy Roman Empire. This patriotic concept did not prevent Hegel from admiring Napoleon; he hailed the French victory at Iena (1806) as 'the convincing proof that civilization vanquishes crudeness', and when he saw Napoleon riding through the streets he wrote: 'I have seen the world-soul on horseback'. Until 1806 Hegel was Professor in Iena; then he became principal of a high school at Nuremberg and simultaneously editor of

a newspaper promoting Napoleonic policies in Bavaria. He scoffed at the 'North German patriotism' of Napoleon's German enemies. Indeed he opposed the war of liberation in 1813, and Napoleon's downfall came as a great shock to him. In 1816 he became Professor in Heidelberg, in 1817 in Berlin. With the onset of reaction his views changed in accordance with the political philosophy of the period of restoration. He evolved a philosophy of the deification of the state, described the Prussian monarchy as the highest ideal of political organization, and advocated a corporate state governed by an absolute king and officialdom, while a corporate diet was to have only the right of discussion. Toward the end of his life, Hegel refuted a liberal interpretation of his many talks about liberty; he rejected the French Revolution of 1830 and wrote an article against the English Reform Bill in 1831. Indeed he now approved the suppression of the (democratic) German national movement by the conservative princes. Yet despite his conservatism he celebrated the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille with a bottle of wine every year until the end of his life.

Apart from his early writings, Hegel's political thought is laid down mainly in his *Philosophy of History* (1817) and his *Outline of the Philosophy of Law* (1821). History is to him a theodicea, the process of self-realization of a 'world-spirit' conceived along pantheistic lines. The world-spirit materializes through ideas following each other in a pattern according to the laws of the 'dialectic' (see below) In stages they all move toward freedom and reason as the ultimate goal. History is a logical process with a happy end, everything makes sense, and even the apparent interference of blind passion is part of the world-spirit's plan (the 'cunning of Reason'). Every period of history is represented by a particular idea or principle. Individuals are only significant as bearers of this principle. 'Political genius is the capacity of identifying oneself with a principle'. In every historical period the world-spirit is embodied only in one people, compared with which the others count for little (Greeks, Romans, Teutons). Still every nation possesses a national edition of the world-spirit, its *Volksgeist* or national spirit, which governs its development, though not all these *Volksgeists* seem of equal value. Protestant Christianity is the highest expression of the idea of freedom.

Hegel views every period of history with all its thought, institutions and way of life as a coherent whole. Organic growth is the essence of history, and abstract construction is unnatural in politics. Continuity and the 'inertia of the past' are important historical factors. With these suggestions Hegel laid the foundation of the historical method in the social sciences, but throughout his life he wavered between this empirical approach and his earlier *a priori* rationalism in the interpretation of history. He attempted to bridge the gap by the *dialectic*. This is based on the abolition of the law of contradiction. The affirmative and the negative are not mutually exclusive in the dialectical system, but form a 'pair of opposites' out of which grows something new. Everything is mysteriously bound up with its own contrary, and every existing condition has an inherent tendency to develop into the opposite. Thus every historical idea, the thesis, of necessity develops into its antithesis, until this opposition is resolved in a *synthesis* (Hegel's triad). All history follows this dialectical rhythm, and so historical prediction becomes possible. This approach overcomes the contras between ideal and reality; if the idea says that something *shall* happen, it follows by means of the dialectic that it *will* indeed happen. For instance, reason will realize itself: 'Reality is reason, and reason is reality.' All that is required is the right approach: 'The world looks reasonable to him who looks at it reasonably.' The historical judgments and predictions of Hegel and his successors, among whom Marx (q.v.) is most important, stand and fall with the dialectic, which its critics reproach with mysticism and vagueness.

'Freedom' is one of the words most often used by Hegel. 'A people having the consciousness of freedom builds its life on this principle,' he said. He rejected dictatorship because 'in the sphere of despotism fear alone is the governing category'. Freedom develops by stages: 'In the orient, only one person is free, the despot; in Greece a few are free; the law of Germanic life is that all are free, i.e. man as man is free.' Yet with the aid of the dialectic he found that true freedom consists just in obedience to the state: 'The state is the realization of freedom. The state is the divine idea as it

exists on earth. The conflict of freedom and necessity disappears in men's subjective wills submitting to the laws, as the state, the fatherland, is conceived as a community of life. What is reasonable is necessary, and by acknowledging it as a law we become free.'

This and similar sentences were seized upon by the spokesmen of later authoritarian systems, as were Hegel's views of the mutual behaviour of states. He taught that the states lived in a 'state of nature' in respect of each other, i.e. without law or ethic, and not subject to any moral code. A state need not even keep agreements, and great men embodying the state are allowed to be amoral. War is good and necessary, according to Hegel, and prevents the degeneration of national character. History is a trial in which 'Providence' judges the nations.

Hegel's influence on political thought was as great as his influence on philosophy. The contradictions in his teaching with its queer combination of rationalism and irrationalism have led to the most diverse schools being derived from him. In Germany he has been invoked by conservative, religious and totalitarian-nationalist movements. But soon after his death the Young Hegelian school was formed to build on the critical and atheist passages in his works (Bruno Bauer, Strauss); the materialist, Feuerbach, stressed the positivist aspect of Hegelian thought. Out of these elements Karl Marx construed his system of dialectical materialism and scientific socialism, which is founded on Hegel but substitutes a materialist conception of history for his idealist one. (See *Marxism.*)

HEJAZ. (See *Saudi Arabia.*)

HENRY VIII CLAUSE. (See *Delegated Legislation.*)

HISPANIDAD, 'Spanish-ness', the fact and consciousness of Spanish origin and/or culture in Spanish-speaking America, and —to some extent—the Philippines. In Spain there is a Council of Hispanidad to promote cultural and political relations with Spanish America and the Philippines.

HITLER, Adolf, German national-socialist leader and dictator, born 20 April 1889, at Braunau, Austria, believed to have died 30 April 1945, in Berlin. Hitler was the son of an Austrian customs official, went to school in Austria and wanted to be a painter. He failed, however, in the entrance examination of the Vienna Arts School and worked in odd jobs afterwards. In his Austrian youth Hitler was influenced by two currents: pan-Germanism rife in his provincial school town, and anti-semitism rampant in Vienna about the turn of the century.

In 1911 he went to Munich, Bavaria, where he lived as a painter. At the outbreak of World War I in 1914 he volunteered for the German Army, and served as an orderly throughout the war, reaching only the rank of lance-corporal. In 1919 he returned to Munich where the German *Reichswehr* employed him as a secret agent for the supervision of political meetings. In this capacity he got in touch with a 'German Workers' Party', and quickly made himself its leader. The party soon grew and adopted the name of Nationalist-socialist German Workers' Party. (See *National Socialism.*)

The party fast became known for its extreme nationalism and anti-semitism, but remained a local affair to begin with. In November 1923 Hitler attempted an uprising in Munich, which was suppressed by the army. Hitler was sentenced to five years' imprisonment in a fortress, but with the aid of friendly nationalist authorities he was released after eight months. During his imprisonment he wrote the first volume of his work *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle). After his release he devoted himself to the reconstruction of his party, now already known to its enemies by the nickname of *Nazi*, and wrote the second volume of his book from 1925 to 1927.

Hitler's ideas Hitler's programme centred around a racial myth According to him, a uniquely valuable 'Aryan' race has in the course of history subdued inferior peoples and created all existing civilization. But cross-breeding with the subject races has led to racial and social decay. (See *Race, Aryans.*) There is a sinister power aiming at the destruction of the Aryan world: the Jews. One of their main weapons is the systematical adulteration of Aryan blood by cross-breeding. Jewish finance is assisted by communism, which like all socialist movements is only a mask for the Jewish striving for world domination. Communists, socialists, freemasons and democrats are all just tools of Jewry. Hitler feels he is called

upon to save Germany and the world from this danger. Germany must fight the Jews and expand on the European continent, mainly in the east. In 100 years there will be a German Empire of 250 millions in Europe, and then Germany can become a World Power.

In speeches and talks with his collaborators in the inner circle of the party, Hitler further elaborated his ideas. The intellectual sources on which the half-educated Nazi leader drew included Nietzsche, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Gobineau, Machiavelli (q.v.), Spengler (q.v.), Moeller van den Bruck (see *Third Empire*), Haushofer's Geopolitics (q.v.), Le Bon's mass psychology, and the obscure nationalist and antisemitic literature produced in Germany during the first quarter of the century. Italian fascism (q.v.) became in many points his model, and he also avowed having learned much from his communist adversaries.

Hitler rejected the entire thought of Christianity, liberalism and humanism. He repudiated the rights of man, the concept of equality, the value of the individual, freedom of opinion and rational thinking. To democracy he opposed the ideal of the master class. He envisaged a hierarchical society: a god-like leader at the top, then a high aristocracy consisting of the party caucus, a lower aristocracy bred on biological principles, a middle class formed by the ordinary party members, then the mass of the people, 'born to serve for ever', and on an even lower level the slave class of subject peoples. Christianity was to be eradicated as a 'Jewish racket', designed to create weaklings.

When in power, Hitler systematically promoted the abolition of the notions of humanity. He encouraged the unspeakable cruelty of the concentration camps (q.v.). He rejected scientific biology which was opposed to his racial theories, and demanded its replacement by his pseudo-biology. His profoundly antirational attitude (in fact the culmination of a trend which had been for long noticeable in German thought) also governed his propaganda which aimed at destroying the habit of logical thinking in men.

The way to power: In 1928 the Nazi Party obtained only 800,000 votes and 12 seats in the *Reichstag*, the German Parliament. Its hour came with the great economic slump of 1930. With the aid of colossal propaganda financed by Ruhr industrialists whom he had promised protection from communism and suppression of the labour unions, Hitler's party won a spectacular success at the polls. It secured 4,600,000 votes and 106 seats. Hitler skilfully exploited the despair created by mass unemployment and the national inferiority complex dating from the Versailles Treaty. At the election of 31 July 1932 his party polled more than 13,700,000 votes. The next election on 6 November 1932 resulted in a fall of the Nazi vote to 11,700,000 and Hitler's star seemed on the wane. But a reactionary German politician, von Papen, helped Hitler to power by an intrigue. It was easy to induce the 85-year-old President von Hindenburg to appoint Hitler Chancellor (Prime Minister). On 30 January 1933 the 'Third Empire' began.

One of Hitler's first acts was the organization of the Reichstag Fire (q.v.) of 27 February 1933, which he ascribed to the communists and used as a pretext for the persecution of the opposition. At the election of 5 March 1933, which was neither free nor fair, yet the last to deserve the name until 1945, Hitler's party obtained 17,270,000 votes. Still this amounted only to 44 per cent of the total vote, and Hitler could form a majority only with the aid of the Nationalist Party which controlled another 8 per cent of the vote. He forcibly expelled the communists and various other opponents from the *Reichstag*, whereupon the rump parliament (against the vote of the social-democrats) voted him a far-reaching empowering bill which made him dictator for all practical purposes. He now proceeded to the removal of the last vestiges of democracy. He established a tyrannical system of government based on a secret police known as the Gestapo (q.v.) and his party troops, the SS (*Schutz-Staffel*, protection squad) and SA (*Sturm-Abteilung*, storm-troop). Oppositionists were put in concentration camps (q.v.). Trade unions were dissolved, all other parties were suppressed, newspapers and literature were 'co-ordinated', and the first laws and actions against the Jews were initiated. Also the conservative nationalists who had believed they would be able to use Hitler as their tool were eliminated. In the autumn of 1933 Hitler wrecked the disarmament conference (q.v.) at Geneva and declared Ger-

many's withdrawal from the League of Nations. On 30 June 1934 he suddenly ordered the arrest and shooting of a large number of leaders of his party force, the SA, alleging a conspiracy which was never proved; also Schleicher, his predecessor in office, was murdered. The SS became the dominant party force in place of the SA.

When the aged President von Hindenburg died on 2 August 1934 Hitler declared the offices of President and Chancellor united in his hands, and made the army take an oath of allegiance to him. Hitler held a controlled plebiscite in order to obtain confirmation of his action; this was the first of a series of pseudo-referenda. Also sham elections to the *Reichstag* were held, in which only the Nazi Party was allowed to vote.

The era of appeasement In March 1935 Hitler announced the adoption of compulsory military service in Germany. He had meanwhile secured a great measure of political support from many conservatives of Western Europe, especially of Britain, who regarded his government as a bulwark against communism. The era of appeasement (q.v.) began. American isolationism, strong at the time, also worked in effect in his favour. At home his greatest success was the termination of unemployment although this was almost entirely due to rapid rearmament. In September 1935 he made the Nuremberg laws against the Jews who had been the object of increasing oppression and persecution all the time. (See *Anti-Semitism.*)

In 1936 Hitler reoccupied the demilitarized Rhineland, established the Axis Rome-Berlin (q.v.), and supported the anti-democratic rising of General Franco (q.v.) in Spain. On 12 March 1938 he occupied and annexed Austria (q.v.). The next step was the annexation of the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia by the Munich Agreement of 30 October 1938, carried out with the support of the Western Powers. These triumphs finally paralysed the underground opposition to Hitler in Germany which had vainly looked to the democratic powers for support. On 15 March 1939 Hitler annexed the Czech territories of Bohemia and Moravia, and made them into a German 'protectorate'. A few days later he annexed the Memel territory, lost by Germany in 1918, from Lithuania.

The road to war. Now resistance to Hitler's expansive policy was called for in the west, especially in Britain. Hitler replied that he would ascribe any war to international Jewry and would retort by the extermination of the Jewish race in Europe. Attempts by a small clear-sighted group of German generals and politicians to induce the army leaders to overthrow Hitler in time failed. Hitler now turned against Poland from which he demanded the return of the Corridor (q.v.) and Danzig (q.v.). The British Government gave a guarantee to Poland. Yet when Hitler, on 23 August 1939, succeeded in obtaining a pact of friendship with the Soviet Union which contained secret clauses on the fourth partition of Poland, he believed the peril of a two-front war eliminated. When the British Ambassador reminded him of the responsibility for a war, he replied: 'I am now fifty, I prefer war now to when I shall be fifty-five or sixty.' After turning down some offers of mediation, he annexed Danzig on 1 September 1939 and marched into Poland. On 3 September Great Britain and France declared war on Germany on the strength of their alliance with Poland.

World War II. Hitler now proceeded to put his old scheme of conquest into effect. He overran Poland and partitioned it with Russia. Then he turned to the west and overran Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France. The British Empire alone continued to resist, and Hitler did not risk an invasion across the Channel. After the conquest of the Balkans in April 1941 he attacked the Soviet Union without warning on 22 June 1941, being firmly convinced of its quick collapse. The German armies penetrated deep into Russia but got bogged before Moscow in October. With this enemy still on hand and Great Britain in the rear, Hitler declared war also on the United States on 11 December 1941, relying on an alliance with remote Japan. So Germany found itself for the second time involved in a war with the whole world. Meanwhile Hitler proclaimed a 'New Order' in Europe which corresponded to his old programme of a continental empire.

The surrender of German armies at Stalingrad and in North Africa early in 1943 marked the turning-point of the war. Hitler continued the losing battle, meanwhile carrying on the mass assassination of the Jews, of whom over 5,000,000 were killed by his orders. Including other civil-

ians, the total of civilians killed in Hitler's camps is assessed at 8,000,000 and more.

Hitler's crimes and the absence of a German revolution against him, which had been universally expected at the beginning of the war, contributed to the change of the war from an ideological crusade against Nazism to a war against Germany as such. Confronted with increasingly more drastic Allied war aims, culminating in the formula of unconditional surrender, many Germans continued to support their own tyrant. But in the course of the war a resistance movement against Hitler had taken shape, which attempted an uprising on 20 July 1944. (See *July 20, Conspiracy of.*) However, Hitler survived the bomb attempt on his life connected with it, and suppressed the rising.

The end On 30 April 1945, encircled in Berlin, Hitler realized that all was lost. According to the result of an Allied investigation based on the statements of German witnesses, Hitler's last act was to marry his woman friend, Eva Braun, in a shelter, whereupon he first shot her, then himself. Petrol was poured over the bodies outside the dugout and they were burned. No identifiable remnants have been found.

HOBBES, Thomas, English philosopher and political thinker, born 5 April 1588, at Malmesbury, died 4 December 1679, at Hardwicke. He supported the King in the English Civil War, lived for ten years in exile in Paris and was tutor to the later King Charles II of England. In 1651 he was amnestied by Cromwell and returned to England.

His political thought is laid down in his books, *De cive* (On the Citizen, 1642) and *Leviathan* (1651). Hobbes introduced scientific materialism (according to seventeenth-century conceptions) into the theory of the state. Everything is 'movement', including human thinking and feeling. At bottom it is a system of stimulus and response, the laws of which can be investigated and used as the foundation of politics. Society is the product of the mutual actions and reactions of individuals. Hobbes tries to come from physics to biology, thence to psychology, and finally to politics. He reduces everything to simple laws and proceeds by the deductive, not the inductive method.

Hobbes's fundamental constant is the individual's urge to self-preservation. Everybody strives incessantly for ever more security, and as a means thereto for ever more power. Like some modern psychologists, Hobbes explains the will to power by the feeling of insecurity. The striving individuals collide with each other, and the natural state of society is 'the war of all against all'. Self-interest induces men to escape from this condition, they combine together to entrust to a sovereign (who may be one man, a few, or all, according as to whether a monarchy, an oligarchy or a democracy is established—Hobbes thought that monarchy was the most effective form) all their natural rights, the exercise of which had been causing them so much misery. By 'right' Hobbes meant 'power' and 'natural' referred not to the ideal nature of man but to his actual physical nature; 'natural right' and 'natural law' had for him not the meaning they had for most of his contemporaries—moral rights based on an absolute moral law—but a merely physical meaning, although he sometimes uses them ambiguously, apparently trying to gain for his own views the moral flavour which attached to those of the true natural law theories. The transfer of rights to the sovereign is regarded by Hobbes as an absolute surrender, unlike the other theories of contractual society, Hobbes does not provide for a contract between the sovereign and his subjects—the only contract is between the various subjects who agreed on this surrender. The sovereign makes no promises; he can do with his subjects almost as he likes, and they could not complain, for they have agreed to him having all the rights of which they were severally possessed in the state of nature. His will is their law. Only force, that is the threat of punishment, holds men together; therefore the government must have power. Indeed power is its criterion. 'Treaties without the sword are mere words and bring no security.' Law creates morals, not the other way round; and law reaches precisely as far as the sword of justice. When men renounce self-aid and submit to a ruler, they delegate their rights to him. Thus is born the 'great Leviathan', the 'mortal god' guaranteeing peace and security. A society cannot act as such; only a representative (individual or collective) can act in its name.

So far Hobbes's theory is a justification of absolutism, as he intended; it has, however, democratic implications. In the first place, the sovereign may not do quite what-

soever he pleases—he must act so as to preserve to his subjects that law and order, that security in which they can enjoy life, for the sake of which they have formed the state. If he fails, either deliberately, or by inefficiency or weakness, then they can find a new sovereign. In the second place, Hobbes's sovereign is created only for the subjects' convenience and has no claim on their reverence and sentiment, the true bases of monarchy, as was realized by the contemporary royalists, who saw that Hobbes was justifying Cromwell as much as Charles I. If the subjects decide to be less timid than Hobbes and to accept the risks inherent in rebellion and restriction of the sovereign's power, then there is nothing in Hobbes's theory to dissuade them.

Hobbes's individualism, coupled with his doctrine of the sovereignty of the state, gave the cue to the political thought of the subsequent two centuries. In contrast to medieval political thought with its pluralistic organization nothing now stands between the state and the individual; government is by its very nature centralist. A crowd of individuals, not connected or connectible by anything else, is only held together by the power of the state. The strengthening of the latter and the assumption of individual egoism as the *leitmotif* of life has permeated modern political doctrines and constitutions to a very great extent. The protagonist of absolutism Hobbes, in fact, supplied the theoretical foundations of the democratic middle-class state. But totalitarian systems (q.v.) were to some extent also foreshadowed by Hobbes's theories.

HOHENZOLLERN, the former Prussian royal house. Of South German origin, the dynasty acquired possessions in North Germany from the fifteenth century onwards, and from Electors of Brandenburg (1415) the Hohenzollerns became Kings of Prussia (1701). From 1871 to 1918 they were German Emperors. The last Emperor, William II, died in exile in Holland on 4 June 1941. His son, the former Crown Prince (known to the British during World War I as 'Little Willy') is at present the head of the family. His eldest son, Prince Frederick William, had to renounce his rights owing to his marriage with a lady of unequal birth and died in World War II from wounds received during the 1940 campaign. The present pretender is Prince Louis Ferdinand, born 1907, who lived in the United States for a time and was friendly with President F. D. Roosevelt. The Prince was privy to the anti-Hitler conspiracy of 20 July 1940. (See *July* 20.)

HOLLAND, largest province and popular name of the Netherlands (q.v.). In Britain a division of Lincolnshire is called Holland.

HOLLAND, S. G., New Zealand politician, born 1893. An industrialist, he has been leader of the National Party since 1940, and became Prime Minister in 1949.

HOME RULE, the slogan of the Irish autonomist movement until 1920 (see *Ireland*). Later it became an international term for the autonomy of national minorities. It means self-government in domestic affairs. (See *Autonomy.*)

HONDURAS, Central American republic, 44,000 sq. m., population 1,100,000, chiefly mestizo. The capital is Tegucicalpa. Honduras is the typical 'banana republic' of Central America and virtually a domain of the American United Fruit Company. Thirty per cent of the company's banana lands are in Honduras, and the company owns harbours, newspapers and various other institutions. It also provides for the republic's budget, since there are no taxes. The country is very poor and its large resources of timber and minerals are scarcely developed.

The constitution provides for a single chamber and a President elected for six years, but the actual government since 1933 has been a dictatorship of General Carias Andino, coming from the 'blue' or National Party, while the other party, the 'red' liberals, have no representation in the chamber. On 10 October 1948 the first presidential election for sixteen years was held. The only candidate was Dr. J. M. Galvez, nominee of the dictator, and he was declared elected. The liberal candidate, Dr. A. Zuniga Huete, went into hiding on election day and called for a revolt. On 14 October General R. Solis rose against the government. The revolt was quelled.

HONG KONG, British colony in southern China, 391 sq. m., population about 1,750,000, of whom many are refugees from China. The colony is administered by the governor, aided by a nominated legislative council and a partly elected municipal

council. Hong Kong is one of the great commercial centres of the Far East, the others being Singapore and Shanghai, and an important British base. Both Nationalist and Communist China have announced claims to Hong Kong and have fostered Chinese sympathies among the population. After the occupation of Canton in October 1949, Chinese Communist forces occupied the border of Hong Kong's 'leased territory' on the mainland. (Hong Kong itself is an island.)

HUGGINS, Sir Godfrey Martin, Southern Rhodesian politician, born 1885. He was a member of the Rhodesia Party until 1933, when he left and became leader of the Reform Party, which in 1933 won the elections, thus making him Prime Minister. This post he has retained. In 1934 the Reform and Rhodesia Parties amalgamated to become the United Party.

HUMAN RIGHTS. (See *Rights of Man.*)

HUME, David, British philosopher and political thinker, born 6 April 1711, in Edinburgh, died there 25 August 1776; first worked as a scientist, then as a librarian, joined the diplomatic service in 1763, was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs 1767–8, then retired to Edinburgh. He was a friend of Adam Smith, Voltaire, Rousseau and Montesquieu.

His political views are explained mainly in his philosophical work *A Treatise on Human Nature* (1739–40) and in some of his essays. They are derived from his scepticism and positivism. He opposed rationalism and natural law. According to Hume, human behaviour is not rational, but governed by primary impulses; reason cannot dictate action but only devise means to ends previously determined by urge and emotion and justifications for them—what would to-day be called rationalizations. Human actions are shown by empirical study to contain irrational factors and rest largely on mere conventions, which are necessary for practical purposes but not rationally provable; they are justified only by utility, custom and universal acceptance. Similarly, political values such as liberty and justice are also mere conventions which may be traced to usefulness and ultimately to biological impulses. Egoism and rationality are not identical; human nature is more complex than that. Society does not rest on a contract between egoistic individuals, but on natural group sentiments (not habits). These are not immutable but may be altered if they become inconvenient. A legitimate government differs from that of a usurper by possessing a system of long-standing, codified conventions. Since in the last resort force is on the side of the governed, who are many, and not on that of the rulers, who are few, all forms of government have at least the tacit approval of the people, or else they would be overthrown. In politics there is neither natural law nor axiomatic truth; it is dominated by the logic of feeling rather than by the logic of reason. The explanation of political trends and institutions is to be sought empirically, according to Hume, on the basis of history, psychology and anthropology.

Hume's rejection of rationality was followed by the irrationalism of Rousseau (q.v.) and the romantic movement. His substitution of convention and sentiment for rational egoism has influenced subsequent conservative political philosophers such as Burke (q.v.)—Hume himself was a Tory.

HUNGARY, 35,800 sq. m., population 9,000,000. The capital is Budapest. Until 1918 Hungary formed one half of the Austro-Hungarian Empire; the Habsburg Emperor of Austria was also King of Hungary. After the dissolution of the dual monarchy Hungary became independent. By the peace treaty of Trianon it lost 75 per cent of its former territory and 60 per cent of its former population to neighbouring countries, namely Slovakia and Ruthenia to Czechoslovakia, Transylvania and the Banate to Rumania, the Burgenland to Austria, and Croatia and other provinces to Yugoslavia. The lost territories were inhabited mainly by non-Hungarian minorities, but areas inhabited by Hungarians also came under the rule of other nations, and this created new minority problems. The Hungarian minority in Rumania numbered 1,480,000, that in Czechoslovakia 700,000, and that in Yugoslavia 500,000.

After a short-lived communist dictatorship, under Bela Kun in 1919, Admiral Horthy seized power in Hungary. He maintained the title of kingdom for the country and called himself Regent; but he twice suppressed attempts at the reinstatement of the last King-Emperor, Charles of Austria.

His régime was a conservative though not totalitarian dictatorship, embodying the rule of the landowning aristocracy traditional in Hungary. Universal suffrage had been adopted in Hungary as late as 1913, and 'Hungarian elections' had become proverbial in Europe as a prototype of government-controlled elections conducted under police supervision. Horthy's government continued this policy, and its National Unity Party, largely elected in rural districts by open ballot, dominated the parliament. Some other parties, however, were also admitted and were able to obtain a few seats in elections; most important were the social-democrats and the smallholders' party. There was an Upper House composed of the aristocracy. Hungary was known as a citadel of feudalism and reaction in Europe. It was the first country in Europe to adopt anti-Jewish laws, long before Hitler; they were mild at first, but became harsher when Hungary eventually lined up with Hitler's Germany. In practice, however, the position of the Jews in Hungary remained on the whole unchanged, and from 1938 to 1943 Hungary granted refuge to hundreds of thousand of Jews persecuted by Hitler, until this was rendered impossible by the German occupation of 1944.

Hungarian foreign policy between the wars concentrated on revision of the peace treaty of Trianon. It sought British, later also German and Italian, support to this end. Against Hungary's policy of revision, the 'Little Entente' of Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia was formed. Leaning on Germany, however, Hungary temporarily attained its aims as time went on. In 1938 she abolished the military restrictions imposed by the peace treaty. When Czechoslovakia was partitioned in 1938 and 1939 Hungary regained part of Slovakia (q.v.) as well as the province of Ruthenia (q.v.). In 1940 she secured return of one half of Transylvania (q.v.) from Rumania by a German-Italian award. In 1941 Hungary joined the German campaign against Yugoslavia to take back formerly ceded territories. Then she joined the German campaign against Russia. The Prime Minister, Count Teleky, took his life in despair over his country's policy. He was succeeded by pro-war Bardossy. Hungarian forces fought throughout the Russian campaign. On 22 March 1944 Hitler ordered the occupation of Hungary by German troops. Horthy was stripped of power and later taken to Germany, while Szalassy, the leader of the Hungarian Nazi Party, known as the Arrow Cross Party, was made Prime Minister. A large proportion of the 1,000,000 Jews who were in Hungary at the time were deported to Poland to be murdered in Hitler's extermination camps. After the Russians had later conquered one half of Hungary the Hungarian Chief of Staff, General Miklosz, formed a provisional government in the town of Debreczin in December 1944 and concluded an armistice with the Allies on 20 January 1945. The armistice terms included the annulment of all annexations since 1938, and Hungary had to withdraw to her post-1919 territory. The peace treaty concluded in Paris on 10 February 1947 endorsed this, and Hungary also had to cede a bridgehead on the right bank of the Danube to Czechoslovakia. A Hungarian minority of 700,000 returned to the latter state and plans for its expulsion were announced, but apparently vetoed by Russia. The minority was for a time placed under restrictive laws, however The treatment of the large Hungarian minority which returned under Rumanian rule was better; sponsored by Russia, it obtained more rights than it had had before 1940, and a communist-controlled Hungarian People's League began to play a part in Rumanian politics. At the peace conference it was stated that 'friendly discussions' were still possible on the frontier between Hungary and Rumania. Hungary undertook to pay $200,000,000 reparations in kind, and to limit its standing army to 65,000 and its air force to 90 aircraft (no bombers). The Russians undertook to evacuate Hungary 90 days after ratification; the ratification date was 15 September 1947. Russia, may, however, maintain some troops in Hungary to secure communications with Russian forces of occupation in Austria.

Communist influence grew very strong in Hungary under the auspices of the occupying Power. The first election to a National Assembly in November 1945 was not, however, won by the communists but by the smallholders' party. It secured 245 seats out of 405; other results were: communists 70, social-democrats 69, peasants 23, liberals 2. A coalition government was formed, consisting of 9 smallholders, 4 communists, 4 social-democrats and 1 peasant. Dr. Zoltan

Tildy of the Smallholders' Party was elected President of Hungary on 1 February 1946. (The former premiers, Szalassy, Bardosy and Imredy were executed.) The communists secured key positions in the army and police, formed groups of sympathizers in other parties, and set out to reduce the smallholders' majority by undemocratic methods. They had a number of smallholders' representatives expelled from parliament; in February 1947 they discovered a 'plot' and mass arrests were made among smallholders. Regardless of British and American protests, the communists forced the smallholder premier, Nagy, to dismiss several ministers and remove more members of parliament. In the Social-Democratic Party the section collaborating with the communists, led by Szakasits, assumed control, while the anti-communist section under Peyer lost influence.

A sweeping land reform was put into effect and the power of the aristocratic landowners was finally broken. Banks and a number of industries, including coal, oil and bauxite, were nationalized, and a three-year plan of industry was announced in 1947. Mixed Russo-Hungarian corporations were formed in various branches of trade and industry. On 1 June 1947 the smallholder premier, Nagy, resigned from Switzerland where he had gone for a vacation (in fact this was a flight). He denounced the methods of government prevailing in Hungary and went to America. Several Hungarian politicians and diplomatic representatives abroad joined him. Thereupon General Dinnyes was appointed premier, and the communist grip on the country was tightened. The Smallholders' Party was brought under the control of communist sympathizers. On 25 July 1947 the first National Assembly dissolved itself, having voted for a single-chamber parliament, which was elected on 1 September 1947. Measures were taken to restrict the opposition; about 1,000,000 or nearly one-fifth of the voters were disfranchised, great numbers of signatures were required for putting up opposition candidates, many candidates were eliminated from the lists, intimidation was used, and permission for voting outside one's district of residence on mere production of a card opened the door for multiple government voting with the help of party transport to the countryside. A Freedom Party led by Sulyok and opposing the government was constrained until it dissolved itself. An Independent Democratic Party arose as an opposition party under Father Balogh, and a moderate conservative Radical Party was founded by B. Zsolt and the former leader of the right wing of the socialists, Peyer, who left the Socialist Party on account of its close affiliation with the communists. A Catholic People's Party was founded by Barankovits after consultation with Rakosi, the leader of the communists, and professed opposition, but the genuineness of this group as an opposition party has been questioned. The communists became the largest party with 100 seats. the smallholders 68, the social-democrats 67 and the national peasants 36. The government thus had 271 seats out of 411—they had polled 61 per cent of the votes. The smallholders had lost heavily to three opposition parties—the Catholic Democratic People's Party (60 seats), the Hungarian Independence Party of the avowedly anti-Russian Z. Pfeiffer (49 seats) and the Independent Democratic Party of Father Balogh, whose opposition was believed to have been sponsored by the communists to aid the disintegration of the smallholders (16 seats). The Radical Party obtained 6 seats and the Christian Women's Camp of M. Schlachta, famous for her war-time opposition to the Nazis, won 4. In June 1948 the Communist and Socialist Parties were fused into a United Workers' Party under communist leadership. In July President Tildy resigned, and A. Szakasits, for long the leader of the pro-communist wing of the socialists and now chairman of the united party, became President of Hungary. In December General Dinnyes was removed from the premiership and replaced by the smallholder Dobi.

In February 1949 Cardinal Mindszenty of Budapest was sentenced to imprisonment for life for 'treacherous co-operation with the west'. The United States and Great Britain protested at the methods used in the trial, which showed the usual phenomena of political trials in the Soviet sphere, including docile behaviour of the accused. Father Baranyai was also sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment.

The United Workers' Party, the three other government parties, and all mass organizations were combined in a National Independence Front in February 1949. An election was held on 15 May 1949, only

candidates of the communist-dominated National Independence Front being allowed to stand. Official reports said that 5,480,000 votes had been cast for the National Front, while 160,000 votes had been cast against it and 860,000 blank ballots had been delivered. In August 1949, the parliament thus elected adopted a socialist constitution. The country was named the Hungarian People's Republic. The constitution provides for nationalization of industries and collectivization of agriculture. The president is replaced by a collegiate presidium of the parliament.

HYDERABAD AND BERAR, area 83,000 sq. m., population 16,340,000, capital Hyderabad, the most populous and second largest of the princely states of India; since 1853 Berar has been administered by the government of India, although nominally it is still part of the state The ruler is styled Nizam—the present Nizam is Sir Mir Osman Ali Khan, whose family has ruled the state since 1713. The population is 80 per cent Hindu, but the Nizam and the ruling class are Moslem. When in August 1947 India was divided into the two Dominions of India and Pakistan, the Nizam refused to join Hindu India, although Hyderabad is entirely surrounded by Indian territory. A 'stand-still' agreement was, however, concluded with India to continue the pre-partition agreements and administrative arrangements. The Nizam's refusal to accede to India caused increasing tension between the two countries and between Hindus and Moslems in Hyderabad. In June the negotiations between the two countries came to an end, the Nizam having refused India's terms, which included the establishment of responsible government in Hyderabad and the maintenance of Indian troops there when India thought it necessary. In 1946 the Nizam had formed a Legislative Assembly of limited power, 76 of the 132 members being elected. During the negotiations he had offered to hold a plebiscite under the supervision of a neutral body such as the United Nations, but India demanded immediate accession. After the failure of the talks, India blockaded Hyderabad and frontier incidents occurred, whereupon the Nizam appealed to the United Nations in August. In September India invaded Hyderabad and after a few days' resistance the Nizam ordered his forces to cease fighting. He agreed to dissolve the fanatical Moslem *Razakhars* and to accede to India on India's terms.

I

IBN SAUD (pron. sa'ood), short name for Abdul Aziz III, King of Saudi Arabia, by his full name Abdul Aziz ibn Abdur Rahman el Feisal es Saud, born 1880 at Er Riyad in the Nejd, the central Arabian territory of the Wahabbites (q.v.). A scion of the South Wahabbi dynasty of the Saudi, he was exiled in childhood during a dynastic dispute with the North Wahabbi family of the Rashidi. In 1901 he returned as a young man with only 200 men, conquered Er Riyad and ousted the Rashidi. Years of war with the Rashidi and their Turkish Sponsors ensued. The Nejd was nominally under Turkish rule until 1918, but Ibn Saud made it practically independent even before the dissolution of the Turkish Empire. He assumed the title of Sultan of Nejd. He began to foster national feeling among the Arabs of his realm, mostly nomads who had never known any other sentiment than tribal and clan allegiance. Simultaneously he encouraged transition from nomad life to agriculture. He founded the *Ikhwan* or brotherhoods, an *élite* organization whose members he settled in agricultural colonies; they continue to supply his crack troops. In 1913 he drove the Turks out of East Arabia. He had British support. In World War I, however, he did not actively oppose the Turks on the side of Britain, but devoted his attention to the continued struggle with the Rashidi. Britain, therefore, gave support to Hussein, the Sherif of Mecca, who led the Arab uprising against the Turks. Defying British warnings, Ibn Saud attacked Hussein's newly established Kingdom of Hedjaz in 1919 and inflicted a defeat on it. Then he expanded further in Inner Arabia, where he conquered the Northern Nejd (Esh Shammar) in 1921 and finally disposed of the Rashidi. In 1924, despite another British warning, he set out on the conquest of the Hedjaz and the holy places of Islam. He had the support of Indian Moslems. Ibn Saud took Mecca on 24 December 1924 and occupied the rest of Hedjaz in the following year. King Hussein abdicated and fled abroad, while Ibn Saud proclaimed himself King of Hedjaz on 8 January 1926. One year later he assumed the title of King of Hedjaz and Nejd. In 1932 he consolidated the territories under his rule under the name El Arabiya es Saudiya and assumed the title of King of Saudi Arabia. The independence of his country was internationally recognized (first by Britain in the treaty of Djedda, 1927). A frontier dispute with neighbouring Yemen (q.v.) was decided in Ibn Saud's favour by the intervention of a motorized Saudi army. A 'Treaty of Moslem Friendship and Arab Brotherhood' was thereafter concluded between Ibn Saud and the ruler of Yemen, but the conflict is said still to smoulder on. Old differences with Irak were settled in 1936 by an 'Arab Pact', and a treaty of friendship was concluded with Egypt. By these treaties and his accession to the Arab League the desert king strengthened his influence in the Arab world. To-day he is the master of the greatest part of the Arab Peninsula (see *Arabia*) and is regarded as one of the strongest personalities of Islam. Yet Egyptian and other influences seem to have impeded his aspirations to pan-Arab leadership and to the caliphate. The contrast between his still largely bedouin country and the more highly developed Arab states, together with Wahabbi puritanism, makes it difficult for him to attain to the leading position in the Arab world at large.

Ibn Saud is mainly concerned with the modernization of his own state, which progresses slowly due to the general backwardness of the country and the religious rigidity of the Wahabbites. He is building up a regular army on the European pattern, has created a central administration and a degree of order and security previously unknown. His policy is based on friendship with Britain which reciprocates but protects the South Arab states from his expansion. Through an oil concession, he has

recently also interested the United States in his country, and American influence is now considerable. Saudi Arabia is believed to contain half the world's oil reserves. Ibn Saud has thirty-two sons, the eldest of whom, Emir Saud (born 1905), is the heir-apparent. (See *Saudi Arabia*, *Wahabbites*.)

ICELAND, Republic of, a large island in the North Atlantic, 40,000 sq. m., 127,000 inhabitants. The population is Scandinavian and speaks its own language, Icelandic, which is nearest to Ancient Nordic among all Scandinavian tongues. The capital is Reykyavik. The Icelandic Parliament, known as the *Althing*, is the world's oldest; it met for the first time in 930, Iceland was a republic till 1264, when it came under Norwegian rule by the 'Old Treaty'. Together with Norway, it passed to Denmark in 1381. When Norway was transferred to Sweden in 1814 Iceland remained Danish for another century. On 1 December 1918 the island was declared independent, and became a kingdom in personal union with Denmark, with the proviso that the union should become dissoluble after 31 December 1940, if the parliament of one of the two countries should so desire. The occupation of Denmark by the Germans in 1940 increased the demand for dissolution of the union in Iceland, and the Icelandic government assumed the royal functions. Soon after, the island was occupied first by British, then also by American, forces, in view of its strategic importance, but the occupying Powers did not interfere with Iceland's administration or politics. On 20 May 1941 the *Althing* voted dissolution of the union with Denmark. A Regent was appointed to preside over the country until a referendum on the new constitution. The referendum was held on 24 May 1944 and endorsed the abolition of union, 98 per cent of the people taking part, by 70,725 votes against only 370. Simultaneously the new republican constitution was adopted by 69,048 votes against 1,042. On 17 June 1944 the republic was proclaimed and the Regent, Sveinn Björnsson, elected its first President. He was re-elected in 1948.

Iceland's constitution is democratic and parliamentary. The *Althing* has 52 popularly elected members and consists of an Upper and a Lower House. After the election the *Althing* meets and chooses the Upper House from its midst; one-third of the members are delegated to that House, while the remaining two-thirds are organized as the Lower House. In case of conflict between the two Houses, a joint session decides by a two-thirds majority. The President is chosen by the *Althing* for four years. The major parties are the Independence (Conservative) Party, the progressives (an agrarian group) the social democrats and the communists.

After the war the United States asked for permanent bases—this request was refused by the Prime Minister, O. Thors, head of a coalition of the Conservative, Social Democratic and United Socialist (communist) Parties. The U.S. then made new proposals, requiring only the use of Icelandic air bases until the conclusion of peace with Germany. The conservatives, social democrats and some progressives were prepared to accept these terms, the communists and some progressives were not. The communists left the government, which made a treaty with the U.S. An election was held, and in the new *Althing* the conservatives had 20 seats, the progressives 13, the communists 10, and the social democrats 9. The social democrat S. J. Stefanson formed a new coalition with the conservatives and progressives. In 1949 Iceland acceded to the North Atlantic Treaty (q.v.).

IDEALIST THEORY OF THE STATE. (See *Organic theory*, *Hegel*.)

IMPERIAL DEFENCE, Committee of, in Great Britain an advisory committee consisting of the Prime Minister, the service ministers, and staff officers, established in 1904 to supervise the defence of the country. In 1924 a Chiefs of Staff Committee was formed to aid it. In 1936 a Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence was appointed but he had few powers and the post was abolished in 1940. On becoming Prime Minister in May 1940 Churchill (q.v.) took the additional title of Minister of Defence and created a Defence Committee (Operations) which assumed the functions of the earlier committee. As Prime Minister Attlee (q.v.) was Minister of Defence until December 1946 when the defence organization was reconstructed. The Prime Minister ceased to be Minister of Defence; a Ministry of Defence was established, together with a Defence Committee under the Prime Minister and the Minister of Defence. The

Secretaries of State for War and Air and the First Lord of the Admiralty were subordinated to the new minister and excluded from the cabinet.

IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT and PARLIAMENT, popular terms for the Government and Parliament of Great Britain as the mother-country of the British Empire. It has often been suggested that there should be a true Imperial Parliament representative of the peoples of the Empire and a government responsible to it (see *British Empire* and the next article on *Imperial Conference*). The description of the British Government and Parliament as 'Imperial' is no longer correct as far as the sovereign states of the Commonwealth are concerned.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, in the British Empire (q.v.) a conference of the Prime Ministers of Britain and the Dominions (q.v.). The first conferences were called 'Colonial', those held since 1907 'Imperial'. One is held every few years for the discussion of general problems; there have also been conferences on specific problems—the most important being the Ottawa Conference of 1932, which resulted in the adoption of Imperial Preference (q.v.); in addition, the delegates of British Empire countries to international conferences usually meet before and during them, but no definite Empire policy is formulated and the various governments participate freely in the work of these conferences. Since 1948 these conferences have been known as Commonwealth Conferences.

The Imperial War Cabinet of 1917–19 consisted of representatives, usually the Prime Ministers, of Britain and the Dominions. It deal with the conduct of the war effort of the British Empire, but was advisory only and its decisions had to be transmitted to the several governments for execution. It was not revived during World War II, although Dominion Prime Ministers often visited Britain for consultation with the British government. The idea of an Imperial executive by Lord Halifax in 1944, and Mr. Curtin's suggestion of a secretariat and consultative council, were strongly criticized in Canada and South Africa.

IMPERIALISM, a policy of empire-building and conquest transcending national frontiers. The establishment of national states uniting only members of the same people is not usually described as imperialism. The term is generally associated with a colonial empire, but the idea of a continental empire also comes under this class. The word was coined in England in the 1890s, when the advocates of a major effort to develop the British Empire, proudly calling themselves 'imperialists', struggled against the proponents of concentrating on home development, a suggestion which the imperialists named a 'Little England' policy. The word imperialism acquired its present derogatory ring only later, mainly owing to radical propaganda. Joseph Chamberlain was among the chief proponents of imperialism, and the South African War was regarded as an imperialist affair. The term gradually became a name for every policy of conquest and colonial expansion, and lost its primary meaning which had been confined to British imperial policies. The rival imperialisms of the Powers were now spoken of, and indeed the Age of Imperialism at large.

In this universal sense the beginning of modern imperialism may be located somewhere in the 'eighties. It was marked by an international race for colonies and spheres of influence (q.v.), in short the division of the world. The struggle for extra-European territories overshadowed European politics. Especially vehement was the imperialism of nation which had attained relatively late to national unity, industrial and military development, and now found the world already divided between older Powers. They either tried to lay hands on the last undistributed overseas territories or attacked the empires of older imperialist nations; or else they attempted to gain vast continental empires of their own by the conquest of neighbouring lands. These aspirations inevitably brought them into conflict with other Powers, and the two World Wars are often described as the clashes of rival imperialisms.

The first systematic critique of modern imperialism was undertaken by the English Fabian and liberal, J. A. Hobson, whose *Imperialism* (1902) is regarded as the classic on the subject. Hobson attempted an economic interpretation of imperialism. He explained that finance was looking for investments, and unable to find them at home it turned overseas. Government support for this policy led to imperialism. The pressing need for investment was due to an existing

excess of capital, which in turn was the upshot of over-saving and under-consumption. So the remedy for imperialism was to increase purchasing power at home so that no capital surplus would be left over. Hobson also summed up the ethical objections to imperialism, especially with regard to the oppression and exploitation of colonial peoples. He also pointed out the connection between imperialism and armaments. The thoughts of imperialists are always of war; therefore they strive for the acquisition of strategic bases all over the world which, economically valueless in themselves, facilitate the defence of more valuable possessions. Hobson made a great impression on Lenin (q.v.), whose pamphlet *Imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism* (1915) may claim to have been the most influential of all anti-imperialist publications. The communists of all countries spread it in enormous editions. Lenin follows Hobson in assuming a purely economic foundation of imperialism, but believes it to go deeper than his predecessor suggested. He regards imperialism indeed as an economic system which of necessity develops from the laws of capitalism (q.v.) and is a consequence of the emergence of what he calls financial capital. This is an intertwined system of banks and monopolist large-scale industry (trusts, cartels), which in highly developed societies controls the machinery of the state and directs foreign policy on to the road of imperialism with a view to securing markets, raw materials and outlets for surplus capital. So there is no cure for imperialism within the capitalist system, its natural begetter, and only the abolition of capitalism by proletarian revolution can put a stop to imperialism. Lenin also coined the term 'imperialist war' as distinct from other, more commendable wars, e.g. 'progressive wars'. Imperialist wars, he said, were waged only for the profits of financial capital.

The economic background of imperialism is obvious enough, but many students of the subject wonder if it can supply a complete explanation. Conquest and empire-building are ancient practices, much older than bankers and financial capital. Most historians assume a primary will to power as the driving force in every policy of conquest, old and new. Power and greatness for individuals as well as for whole peoples are coveted as values in themselves. Although the idea of power is in practice inseparable from the striving for economic advantage, it is not necessarily identical with it; for economic advantage may be sought also by different means, e.g. by a policy of peace and neutrality, by spending for better living rather than for armaments, by free trade, etc. The tremendous cost of modern armaments and wars makes it indeed dubious whether imperialism is still an economic proposition. Not all colonial areas yield a surplus, and few are suitable for the settlement of Europeans. The increasing movement for emancipation among the colonial peoples, whose awakening is largely a consequence of imperialism (also a sequel of the education it brought), progressively undermines its foundations. As a political concept, imperialism is to-day largely discredited in the democratic world. It cannot be said that it no longer exists, but it is on the one hand cloaked in better-sounding words such as 'union', 'trusteeship' or 'development toward self-government', while there is, on the other hand, an actual loosening of the imperialist system through the granting of more or less independence to colonial peoples. Recent developments in India, Burma and the Philippines (all q.v.) are cases in point, but elsewhere attempts at maintaining or restoring the old position have not been lacking either. Standard arguments put forward in defence of imperialism have in recent times included the need to maintain dense metropolitan populations (regardless of the fact that colonial populations are often denser), the civilizing mission of imperialism, and the alleged racial superiority of imperialist nations. Younger imperialisms have also liked to point to the example of the older ones.

IMPERIAL PREFERENCE, in the British Empire (q.v.) the trading system whereby the members of that Empire give to each other preferential treatment in their tariff regulations and import quotas. Since the 1890s the self-governing colonies had given preferences to British goods, but Britain and the dependent Empire had not reciprocated because Britain retained free trade. When in 1931 Britain adopted a moderate protective tariff, she was able to offer the Dominions preferences if they would reciprocate—they had already erected high barriers against British goods although those

against foreign goods were higher. It was hoped to create from the Empire an economic unit—this had been advocated early in the century by Joseph Chamberlain and his Tariff Reform movement had been supported by the Conservative Party, and developed by some of its members (e.g. Lord Beaverbrook—q.v.) into the concept of Empire Free Trade (q.v.). At the Ottawa conference of 1932 several agreements were concluded between Britain and the Dominions, the former granting preferential duties and quotas to all the Dominions and the latter reducing their duties on certain British industrial exports; the Dominions also made similar agreements, though of smaller scope, among themselves.

The concept of Imperial Preference, and even more that of Empire Free Trade, is only with difficulty reconciled with that of the protection by each member of its own manufacturing and agricultural industries. Britain and the Dominions are in many respects competitors rather than complementary partners. Britain still wishes to protect her agriculture indiscriminately although many of its branches are held to be uneconomic in comparison with those of the Dominions; the Dominions wish to develop their own manufactures. Ottawa was the scene of hard bargaining in the attempt to satisfy all sides. Moreover, the British economy is largely dependent on exporting to foreign countries goods in return for its essential imports—those countries object to their goods being subject to discrimination. The British Empire as a whole has an export surplus and thus requires an expanding world trade. Imperial Preference, though it has undoubtedly increased trade within the Empire, has not caused a decisive change in the structure of the external trade of the member states. Many observers believe that it has had an adverse effect on world trade. For to be effective, it requires that Britain restrict her imports from foreign countries. In return they restrict their imports from her and try to sell to each other the surplus formerly supplied to Britain. The first reaction causes a decrease in world trade, the second leads to mutual protective action which causes a similar decrease.

The system has, therefore, been criticized abroad. Criticism has come especially from the U.S., which in 1938 secured from Britain certain concessions at the expense of Canada, an American-Canadian agreement later giving Canada trade compensation. American misgivings continued, and Imperial Preference remained an irritant in Anglo-American commercial relations until 1947, when the Ottawa Agreements were partially revised within th framework of the international trade agreement concluded at Geneva (see *International Trade Organization*), which provided for a certain measure of tariff reductions by 23 nations. The United Kingdom and the Dominions exchanged letters with the effect of freeing each government from the obligation to maintain stated margins of preference, while confirming their intention to continue the preferences not affected by the agreement. About 70 per cent of the value of British pre-war exports to the Dominions remain unaffected. The greatest reduction in preferences was made by Canada (18 per cent eliminated, 38 per cent reduced) and the two Indian Dominions (13 per cent eliminated, 23 per cent reduced). Many of the cuts are small, but some extend to one-third or even one-half. Preference concessions in British colonies were made primarily to the United States. These colonial concessions are suspended if American internal regulations raise the proportion of synthetic rubber consumed in the United States to more than 25 per cent of total consumption, thus linking the concessions with American rubber imports. The United States reciprocated by a number of tariff cuts on British and Dominion goods. Defenders of Imperial Preference stress that the United States has a high tariff wall and gives preferences to its overseas territories and its former dependency, the Philippines.

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY, in Britain a Marxist social-democratic party. It is the original British Labour Party, having been founded by J. Keir Hardie in 1893, seven years before the Labour Party (q.v.) in whose foundation it participated and to which it was affiliated until 1932. Since it was disaffiliated in 1932 it has been a small group based on Glasgow, with three or four M.P.s. Though Marxist, it is libertarian and opposed to communism.

Its chief members in recent years have been James Maxton, Campbell Stephen, John McGovern, Fenner Brockway and Bob Edwards. The first died in 1946; in 1947 the second, third and fourth joined

the Labour Party, as did J. Carmichael, Maxton's successor as M.P. for Bridgeton in Glasgow. Applications for re-affiliation to the major party had been rejected by it. The 1948 conference of the I.L.P. decided that the party should end its electoral activities and concentrate on advocating a United Socialist States of Europe. In 1949, however, the party decided to take part in the 1950 election.

INDIRECT RULE, in colonial government the administration of the native people through their own institutions—tribal chiefs and councils. It is much practised by the British in Africa and elsewhere, but has been criticized by other colonial powers, especially France, which believe that European institutions should be brought to colonial peoples.

INDIA, (1) an Asian peninsula between the Himalayas and other mountains on the north, the Arabian Sea on the south-west and the Bay of Bengal on the south-east; (2) that part of the above, which in 1947 became an independent member of the British Commonwealth under the title of 'Union of India'. The following article deals first with the geographical area and its history until 1947, and then with the Union.

1. *India* has an area of about 1,572,000 sq. m. (more than all Europe without the U.S.S.R.), and a population of about 400,000,000. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was conquered by the English East India Company, from which power passed to the British crown between 1836 and 1858. In 1876 it was declared an Empire, the title of Emperor of India being added to that of King of the United Kingdom. It consisted politically of two parts—British India (area 865,000 sq. m., population 305,000,000) and the Indian states (area 716,000 sq. m., population 95,000,000); the former was governed by Britain, the latter by a large number of princes and chiefs under British suzerainty.

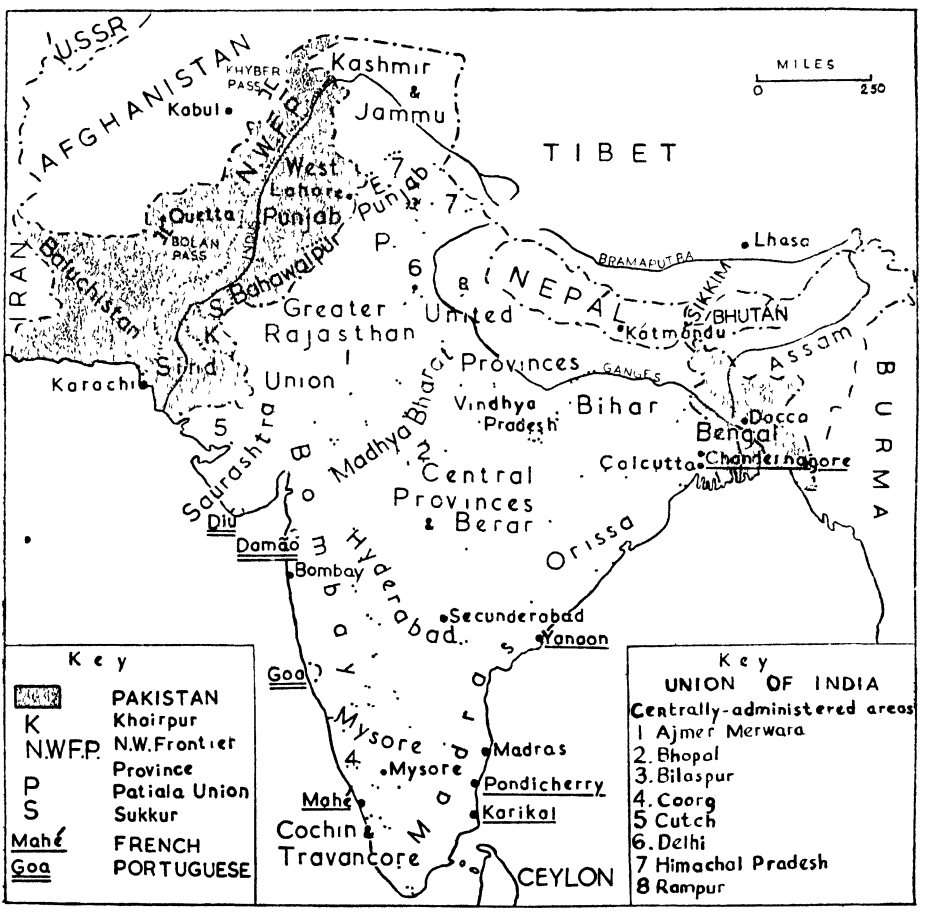
India is a continent rather than a country, since it consists of areas which are geographically and socially very diverse, and contain many different peoples, of 225 languages and many religions. The chief linguistic groups (each composed of many languages and more dialects) are the following (numbers of speakers in millions): Indo-European 260 (of which Hindustani 120, Bengali 55), Dravidian 75 (mainly in the south), Tibeto-Burman 20 (mainly in the east)—260,000,000 are Hindus, 95,000,000 Moslems, 7,000,000 Christians, 6,000,000 Sikhs. Religious differences are of great importance—they are differences not only of belief but also of ways of life. Members of each religion are to be found in every part of India, but the Moslems are concentrated in the basin of the Indus and in Bengal (the areas which in 1947 became Pakistan), and the Hindus predominate elsewhere, including the states, of which Kashmir is the only important one with a Moslem majority (it has a Hindu prince, just as Hindu Hyderabad is ruled by a Moslem).

Two-thirds of the population is engaged in agriculture and a tenth in manufactures. Agricultural methods are primitive. A third of the agricultural workers own their own land, a third are tenants (under the *zamindár* system they rent private land, under the *rayatvár* public), and a third farm labourers. The agricultural workers' population has a very low standard of living; large numbers of them are subject to the extortions of village moneylenders, for they have no reserves and have to borrow in emergencies. The peasant problem is India's greatest social problem other than that set by the conflicts of the religious communities. Its solution requires the absorption of the rural surplus population by industries, modernization of farming methods, liberation of the peasants from usurers and landowners. In the last thirty years there has been much industrialization—but only about 2,000,000 are engaged in industry (half in textiles and clothing). The third great problem is that of the illiteracy and general ignorance of the masses.

In the nineteenth century the British enrolled Indians into the civil service—the small army of occupation had always been mainly Indian—and summoned Indians to advisory bodies. Early in the century politicians at home and administrators in India had thought of British rule as a transitory régime, which would soon be superseded by an Indian one, but later they came to consider themselves the permanent governors of India. Against this, an Indian national movement developed under the leadership of an intelligentsia trained at British universities or schools modelled on

the British educational pattern. The principal force in the Indian national movement has been the Indian National Congress, founded 1885 with a programme of making the numerous Indian peoples into a modern nation and obtaining self-government for it. At first it concerned itself especially with persuading the British to associate more Indians with the government; later it evolved a comprehensive programme of Indian national policies the main points of which were: full independence (*purna swaraj*) for India; an Indian democratic federation comprising the entire sub-continent, including the Moslem areas; political equality of all races, castes, peoples, religions, and classes; parliamentary government; a series of social, economic, and administrative reforms; the industrialization of India and her conversion into a powerful, modern nation-state. The Congress Party was essentially a Hindu movement, although it formed a Moslem section lately led by Dr. Maulana Azad; it represented especially the rising Hindu middle classes, and its leaders came from the upper and middle castes. Most of the leaders, including Nehru (q.v.), came from the highest caste, the Brahmins. Gandhi (q.v.), the principal figure in the Indian national movement since 1920, came from the merchant caste.

The Congress Party was from the start divided into moderates and radicals, the latter gaining control in 1916. Though it was not the exclusive political representative of the Indian people, it enjoyed tremendous mass support. Gandhi introduced new methods into the political struggle, centring around civil disobedience and non-violence. They can scarcely be said to



Map XI. India and Pakistan

have affected British rule directly, but they were of enormous propagandist value to the nationalist movement, which grew in an unprecedented manner in the inter-war period.

The Congress meets once a year. A standing committee and a working committee carry on between sessions. The president of the Congress is elected for one year. Next to the late Gandhi, the most prominent Congress leaders include Nehru (q.v.), Patel, Rajagopalachariar (q.v.), Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and Dr. M. Azad.

India's 95 million Moslems feared domination by the Hindu majority, and developed their own political organizations, the most important of which became Jinnah's Moslem League. They pressed for safeguards for the Moslem minority and looked to the British for support. Later they too demanded independence, first with Moslem self-government within a united India, eventually on the basis of a separate Moslem state named Pakistan. (See later.)

The 60,000,000 'untouchables', the lowest castes of Indian society, presented another major problem. They were discriminated against, segregated, and often made the victims of raids. They formed the Depressed Classes League, led by Dr. Ambedkar, which collaborated in the Congress, and the Scheduled Castes Federation which opposed the Congress and co-operated with the Moslems. Also outside the National Congress was the Hindu Mahasabha, led by P. Mookerji and Dr. Savarkar, an organization which wanted an orthodox Hindu India.

The first popularly elected provincial legislatures of British India were established in 1908. Their powers were small, their electorate limited; the Moslems were given special representation in 'communal' constituencies separated from the general constituencies. During World War I the British government declared in 1917 its intention of aiding India to self-government, and in 1919 the powers of the legislatures were somewhat increased.

With this the nationalists were not content—they combated the new system by open disorder and by gaining in the legislatures majorities which they would use against the ministers. As a result, although much useful work was done by the ministers, the system had to be revised. By the Government of India Act, 1935, the government of the provinces was entrusted to Indian ministries responsible to the legislatures elected on a franchise extending to about 12 per cent of the population; but the governors appointed by the British had wide powers. The Act provided for an All-Indian federation, but its creation was made conditional on the participation of sufficient of the states. The majority of the Indian princes refused to join, and the institutions of 1919 were maintained. The Governor-General's executive council was still appointed by him and not responsible to the legislature. The central legislature was elected on a franchise extending to some 5 per cent of the population, comprising the propertied and educated classes.

The Act came into effect in 1937 and as a result of the elections Congress ministries came to power in most of the provinces. They governed efficiently and passed many social reforms. But when in September 1939 the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, declared India as being at war with Germany without previous consultation with the Indians, the Congress was affronted and recalled its ministers from provincial government. Congress condemned Hitler's aggression but would not be a party to the war without previous agreement on India's status. It first demanded Dominion status, and later the appointment of an Indian national government and full independence. The war years were marked by intermittent negotiations and Congress campaigns of civil disobedience, which at one time led to the temporary internment of Gandhi and many other Congress leaders by the British. The former Congress leader, Subhas Chandra Bose, fled to Japan to organize an 'Indian National Government', which lapsed with Japan's downfall. The war effort of India as a whole was considerable. She supplied to the British Empire an army of 2,500,000, a substantial part of which came from the Indian states. The Indian army was composed of 54 per cent Hindus, 23 per cent Moslems, and 7 per cent Sikhs. War production in India reached a record.

In 1943 Lord Wavell became Viceroy. After the war a British Cabinet mission went to India and came back with the recommendation (16 May 1946) to transfer power in India from British to Indian hands, to call an All-India constituent assembly, and to organize a united India on the basis of 'communal grouping', the latter being a

vaguely definite device for Moslem autonomy. While both Congress and Moslems accepted the proposals, their interpretation of 'communal grouping' proved to be widely different. On 1 September 1946, the viceroy appointed the first Indian national government, consisting only of Indians, to conduct affairs as India's provisional government until the constituent assembly should have created a constitution and a definite government. The viceroy assumed the chair in the government, while Nehru became vice-premier. At first only Congress representatives joined the government, but on 25 October 1946, the Moslems also joined. Nevertheless, tension between the two sections of the population grew and there was communal rioting in many places. When the Congress Party refused to adopt safeguards protecting the Moslems from being outvoted in the constituent assembly, and insisted on the simple majority principle, the Moslem League decided to boycott the constituent assembly, in which it had previously agreed to take 73 seats. The constituent assembly met on 9 December 1946, with a large Congress majority and without the Moslem League. The assembly had been elected on a proportional system agreed upon by the political groups and parties. One representative was allotted per million inhabitants (approximately). Delegates were chosen largely by the provincial assemblies, some also by the main communities directly. Congress had 207 seats, while 93 seats were set aside for the states, which took them only later. The Sikhs, the untouchables, the Mahasabha, the Indian Christians, and the Europeans also were given a number of seats.

The British government stated that it would not regard the decisions of a unilaterally composed constituent assembly as binding. On 22 January 1947, the rump constituent assembly adopted a resolution moved by Nehru, in which it declared an independent Indian republic as its aim, to comprise the whole of British India, the Indian states, and any adjacent territories wishing to join. On 20 February 1947, the British government announced that the British would definitely leave India by June 1948, at the latest, and hand over to one or several Indian governments then existing. This announcement had the effect of speeding up political decisions. The Hindus accepted partition of India into two dominions, Hindustan (at once named Union of India) and Pakistan, and thus the Moslems achieved their end. An Indian Independence Bill was passed by the British Parliament and received the royal assent on 18 July 1947, and the two dominions came into being on 15 August 1947. Lord Mountbatten, who had in March 1947 been appointed Viceroy—the last holder of that office, became governor general of India, with Nehru as premier, and Moslem leader Jinnah became governor general of Pakistan, with Liaqat Ali Khan as premier. The Indian army was divided between the two states. The province of Bengal was divided into a larger, eastern half coming under Pakistan, and a western portion joining the Union of India. The Punjab, the stronghold of the Sikhs (who profess a variant of Hinduism), was also partitioned. During that period there was communal violence on an unprecedented scale on both sides, despite the leaders' call for moderation. To the accompaniment of great atrocities, millions of Hindus and Sikhs were driven out of Pakistan, and millions of Moslems out of Hindustan. Relations between the two new Dominions were rather strained at first.

The King laid down the title of Emperor of India, and British suzerainty over the Indian princely states lapsed. Most of the 630 states immediately acceded to the Dominion surrounding them, the majority joining the Union of India, while a smaller number went to Pakistan. Some of the states attempted to regain sovereignty, but were brought into the Union fold by varying degrees of pressure (see *Hyderabad*). Over a few others, disputes arose between the two Dominions, Kashmir (q.v.) being the most important case. In the end Pakistan received 233,000 sq. m. with 65,600,000 inhabitants of whom 73 per cent were Moslems, while the Union of India received the territory and population mentioned at the beginning of the following section. (See Map XI.)

2. *The Union of India*, area 1,182,000 sq. m., population 314,000,000, of whom 70 per cent are Hindus, capital Delhi (522,000), consists of nine provinces (Madras, Bombay, West Bengal, the United Provinces, East Punjab, Bihar, the Central Provinces, Assam and Orissa), five districts (Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara, Coorg, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and Panth Piploda and most of the princely states. (See later.)

The office of the last Governor-General, C. R. Rajagopalachariar, who had succeeded Lord Mountbatten in June 1948, terminated on 26 January 1950, when the republican constitution came into force and Dr. Rajendra Prasad was elected India's first President. Pandit Nehru (q.v.) remained Prime Minister, heading a government largely composed of Congress representatives, with Sikhs and Depressed Classes also represented.

The republican constitution, in operation from 26 January 1950, provides for a Union of 'states'—the provinces. The President of India will be elected for five years by a college of the members of the Union Parliament and elected members of the legislatures of the 'states'. The Union Parliament will consist of a Council of States, with 250 members, most of them elected, and a third of whom will retire each year, and a House of the People of not more than 500 members elected for five years. Conflicts between the two houses will be resolved by a joint session. Government will be parliamentary.

The powers of the President are great, and in an emergency almost absolute. He is 'aided and advised' by a cabinet. He appoints the Prime Minister who advises him on the appointment of the other ministers. The President is re-eligible.

There are three classes of states. The first class comprises the nine states which used to be Governor's Provinces; the second class are nine states formed out of principalities or combinations of principalities. Most of the 600 Indian principalities were combined into regional units, but all rulers kept their titles. The third class consists of ten states which used to be Chief Commissioner's Provinces or less important principalities. A state of the first class has a Governor (with great powers) appointed by the President, a state government, and a legislature of one or two chambers. The lower chamber will be elected by territorial constituencies, while the upper chamber will be elected one-third by local authorities, one-third by the lower chamber, one-sixth by teachers and graduates, and the rest will be appointed by the Governor. The states of the second class will have a similar constitution, but one of the princes, known as the *Rajpramukh*, will act as hereditary Governor, and usually there will be only one chamber. The states of the third class will be administered by the President acting through a Chief Commissioner or Lieutenant-Governor. Detailed rules are laid down for scheduled areas and tribes.

The constitution contains the usual Bill of Rights, subject to 'reasonable restrictions'. There is freedom of speech, but the state may make any law relating to 'any matter which undermines the security of, or tends to overthrow, the state'. There are few or no special safeguards for minorities. 'Untouchability' is abolished. Hindi in Devanagari script is the official language, but until 1965 English will also be used for official purposes. A local language may be 'officially recognized' and used in state legislatures.

Suffrage is universal for men and women. The constitution consists of 395 articles and 8 schedules of states, areas, etc. It provides also for a number of social rights, including the right to a livelihood, to education, and to unionizing.

The states have power over local government, education, health, internal trade and communications. The list of concurrent powers includes most of civil and criminal law, social services, and economic and social planning. In these fields, Union law overrides state law. The Union has all the other powers. It has also fairly full control over taxes.

The Congress Party (see preceding section) is subject to increasing internal strains now that its chief task—the achievement of an independent India—has been completed. In March 1948 the Socialist Party, led by Jai Prakash Narain, seceded from it; many socialists remain in it, however, their leader being Nehru. Indian communists are influential in the countryside as well as in the towns, where they control the All-India T.U.C., Congress has formed an Indian National Federation of Trade Unions, and a third trade union federation is controlled by the Socialists. From the right there is the opposition of the conservative and religious Hindu Mahasabha; a militant organization R.S.S.S. (*Rashtriya Swajam Sevak Sangh*), close to it, was suppressed after the murder of Gandhi, as were also the Moslem League National Guards and the militant Moslem Khaksars. The Maha-sabha has a representative in the government; its adherents form a 'pressure group' within Congress.

Minor parties in the Union include the United Party in the Punjab, the liberals—a

group of distinguished statesmen, such as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, without mass support—and the Akali Party of the Sikhs, which takes part in the government. A more radical Sikh faction led by Tara Singh demands a separate Sikh state in Rajputana. Its military organization, *Shirotani Akali Dal*, was suppressed, and Tara Singh arrested, in 1949. The Moslem League also continues as a minority party in the Union.

The Indian Constituent Assembly adopted the constitution on 26 November 1949, to operate from 26 January 1950. Indian service units dropped the prefix 'Royal'. Early in 1950, the army was under the command of an Indian general, while the navy and air force still had British chiefs.

It was announced that elections for the first National Assembly would probably be held in the winter of 1950–1. About 160,000,000 voters would have to be registered.

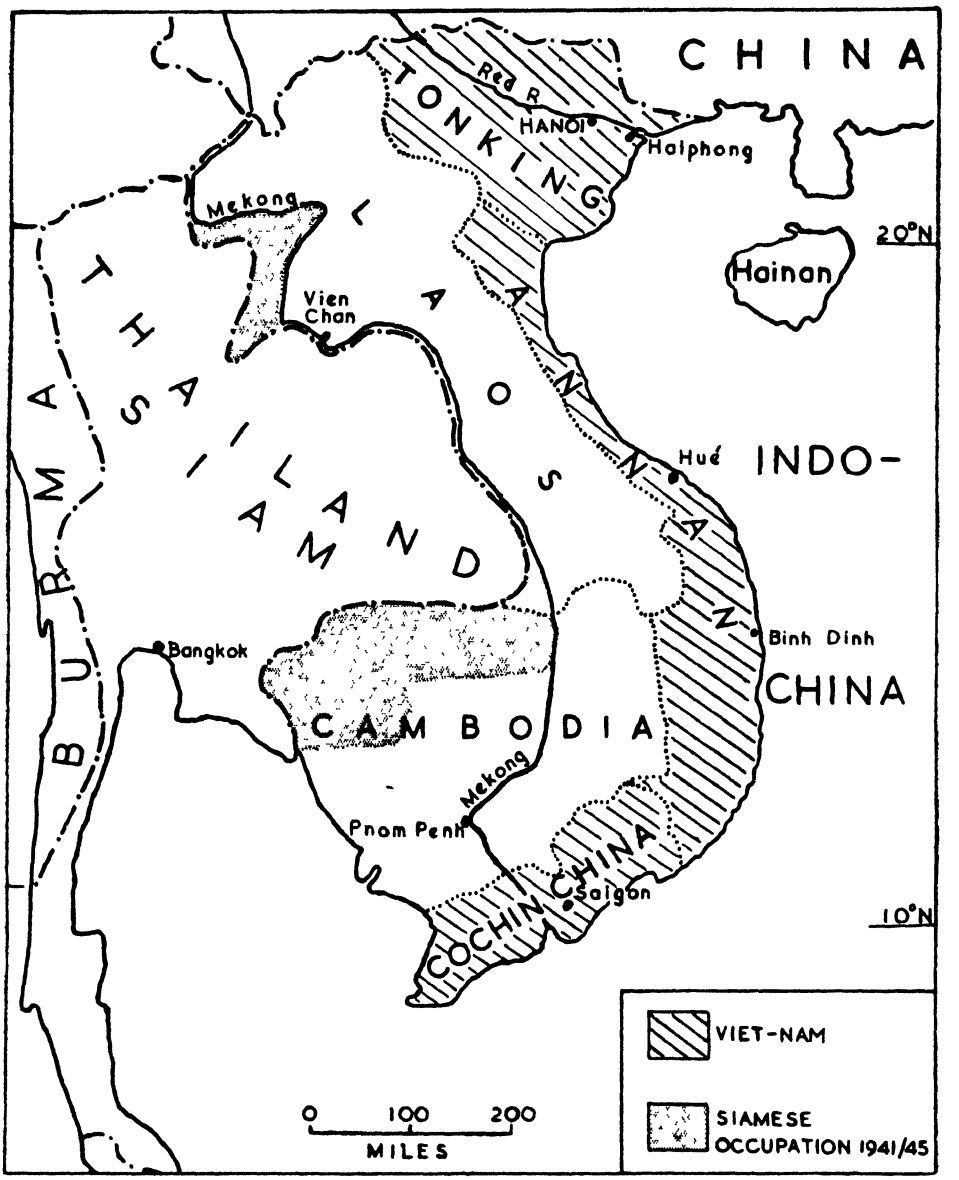
The Union of India has decided to stay in the British Commonwealth, even as a republic. The Commonwealth Conference held in London in April 1949 took cognizance of this intention and of 'India's desire to continue her full membership of the Commonwealth and her acceptance of the King as the symbol of the free association of its independent member nations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth', and recognized India's continuing membership on these terms. However, Nehru made it clear subsequently that India would not assume any military obligations and would not join any bloc of Powers, and also that there would be no common citizenship of India and the other Commonwealth states. One of Nehru's first acts in 1947 was the holding of a Pan-Asian Conference (see *Pan-Asia*), and at this and subsequent similar conferences India gave support to Indonesia (q.v.) in her struggle for self-government. Together with Pakistan and Ceylon (q.v.), she also gave support to the government of Burma (q.v.) in its war against communist and other factions in 1949. India wants France and Portugal to return to her the small colonies they have on Indian soil. France returned some of her possessions in 1948 and 1949, and announced her readiness to hold a plebiscite in the rest. Portugal refuses to hand over her possessions, of which Goa has a largely Roman Catholic population.

INDO-CHINA, French dependency in south-east Asia, 280,000 sq. m., population 25,000,000. Apart from 42,000 French and 435,000 Chinese, the population consists of a number of Indo-Chinese peoples of whom the Annamites (12,000,000) are most numerous. They are Buddhists, and are akin to the Chinese. The various peoples of Indo-China differ considerably in race, language and culture. Dissension between Annam and Cambodia is of old standing. Indo-China was an important source of rice, rubber, ores and other raw materials.

Indo-China was occupied by the French in stages from 1858 to 1883, and organized in five administrative units: the ancient Empires of Annam in the north and Cambodia in the south, both remaining nominally under their own Emperors (who styled themselves 'Son of Heaven', like all east Asia ic rulers), but tied to France by protectorate treaties; the colonies of Tonking, Cochin-China and Laos, the latter partially ruled by a local king. Opposition to French rule is as old as the occupation, and took the shape of a modern nationalist movement in the 1920s. On the other hand, Japan aspired to the rich colony. The Japanese took advantage of France's prostration in 1940–1 to obtain the use of Indo-Chinese bases from the colonial administration. Eventually the Japanese occupied the whole country. They encouraged the nationalist movement, and at the end of the war its left-wing section, known as Viet Minh, which had at times opposed both the French and the Japanese, took control of a large part of the country. In August 1945 the Republic of Viet-Nam was proclaimed. (Viet-Nam is the historical name of the old Annamite Empire which covered Annam, Tonking and Cochin-China before the advent of the French.) As its president emerged Dr. Ho Chi Minh, variously described as a communist or a 'Trotskyite'. He was a Comintern functionary at one time, and most of the Viet Minh leaders appear to be communist-trained. The programme of Viet Minh is a combination of nationalism and socialism, comparable to similar movements in neighbouring countries. National and social motivations intermingle; the population consists largely of poor smallholders and farm coolies, and the land question is as urgent as anywhere in east Asia.

Viet-Nam developed a national army

equipped with Japanese arms, and fighting ensued between this army and the returning French. The Japanese were sent home, and Chinese forces which had occupied parts of Annam were withdrawn after negotiations. The last Emperor of Annam, Bao Tinh, also known as Bao Dai (born 1913), abdicated at the end of the war. On 6 March 1946 an armistice was concluded. France recognized Viet-Nam as a Free State within a future Indo-Chinese federation, which in turn was to be a member of the new French Union. (See *France*.) Viet-Nam was to comprise Annam and Tonking, with a total of 100,000 sq. m. and 15,000,000 inhabitants, while the future of Cochin-China (25,000 sq. m., 6,000,000 inhabitants, largely Annamite) was to be decided by a referendum. The Republic of Viet-Nam was to have its own government, parliament and army. French troops remained garrisoned alongside with Viet-Namese in the more impor-



Map XII. Indo-China

tant coast towns, including the capital, Hanoi.

On 19 December 1946 fighting broke out again between French and Viet-Namese troops. According to French reports the Viet-Namese had suddenly attacked the French in breach of the agreement of 6 March 1946, while according to Viet-Namese reports the French had attacked the Viet-Namese. More battles ensued, and French reinforcements were sent to Indo-China. No military decision was reached, and desultory fighting continued throughout the year. French sources maintained that Dr. Ho Chi Minh was a tool in the hands of a left-wing secret society called Tong Bo. They suggested that France would prefer to negotiate with some other, more moderate, Indo-Chinese leaders. Some observers guessed this meant the ex-Emperor who had meanwhile professed democratic sympathies. The Viet-Nam government declared it was neither socialist nor communist. Negotiations were reported between Dr. Ho Chi Minh and the ex-Experor with a view to setting up a national agency. On 10 September 1947 the French High Commissioner, Bollaert, announced an eight-point programme for peace, providing essentially for an autonomous internal administration, French garrisons at strategic points, French military and diplomatic leadership of the Republic, and a decision of the peoples concerned in respect of the unity of Annam, Tonking and Cochin-China. According to the terms of this offer the states of Indo-China are to police their own territories, but their defence forces are to be integrated into the French army in the event of external aggression. Viet Minh refused this offer. In June 1948 Bao Dai, the ex-Viet Minh General Xuan who had established a central government, and the French reached provisional agreement on these terms. At that time Bao Dai claimed the throne of all three territories and declared that a constitutional monarchy offered the best solution of the political problem. The agreement was denounced by Viet-Minh, which declared both Bao Dai and Xuan to be traitors. In May 1949 Bao Dai went to France and made a pact with the French government. As far as its terms were disclosed, Bao Dai accepted the French eight-point programme and undertook to establish diplomatic representation only in South-East Asian countries. On 14 June 1949, Bao Dai was invested as head of the state of Viet-Nam under French auspices, keeping the imperial title 'for the time being'. Cochin-China was incorporated in Viet-Nam under Bao Dai. The Emperor acts as his own prime minister, and N'guyen Phan Long became his foreign minister. Ho Chi Minh's Viet-Nam protested vigorously, and when these pages went to press, two hostile Viet-Nams existed side by side.

Cambodia (area 68,000 sq. m., population 3,046,000, capital Phnom-Penh) has remained under its Emperor, Norodom Sihanuk, who in 1947 created a council of ministers and a legislative assembly, in the elections to which the Democratic Party gained 50 seats and the Liberal Party 19. The French protectorate has been cancelled and Cambodia ranks as an autonomous constituent of the federation. Laos (area 89,000, population 1,500,000) was cleared of the Viet Minh in 1945 and united under the King Sisavang Vong of Luang Prabang in 1946. In 1947 he promulgated a constitution similar to that of Cambodia. In both states the government is advised by French counsellors and a Commissioner.

Thailand claimed four provinces of Laos and Cambodia partly inhabited by Thai-speaking peoples. In 1941 she annexed them, but was forced to return them in 1946. (See Map XII.)

INDONESIA, United States of, the islands known until 1945 as the Netherlands East Indies, total area 735,000 sq. m., population 65,000,000, of whom 250,000 are Europeans, 1,300,000 Chinese, and almost all the rest native. Indonesians of Malayan and Indo-Malayan origin; Malayan is the lingua franca. The largest islands are Java, Sumatra and Borneo, but the last-named is only partially Dutch. With the exception of the inhabitants of the island of Bali, the majority of the population are Moslems. The area is rich in raw materials; it supplies 37 per cent of the world's rubber and 17 per cent of the world's tin, also large quantities of cane sugar, oil, copra and coffee.

The archipelago, also called Insulinde (Island India), was conquered in stages by Holland from 1602 onwards and was administered as a Dutch colony until 1941; in Java two native sultanates subsisted nominally, Jogjakarta and Soorakarta. From 1927 onwards an Indonesian national

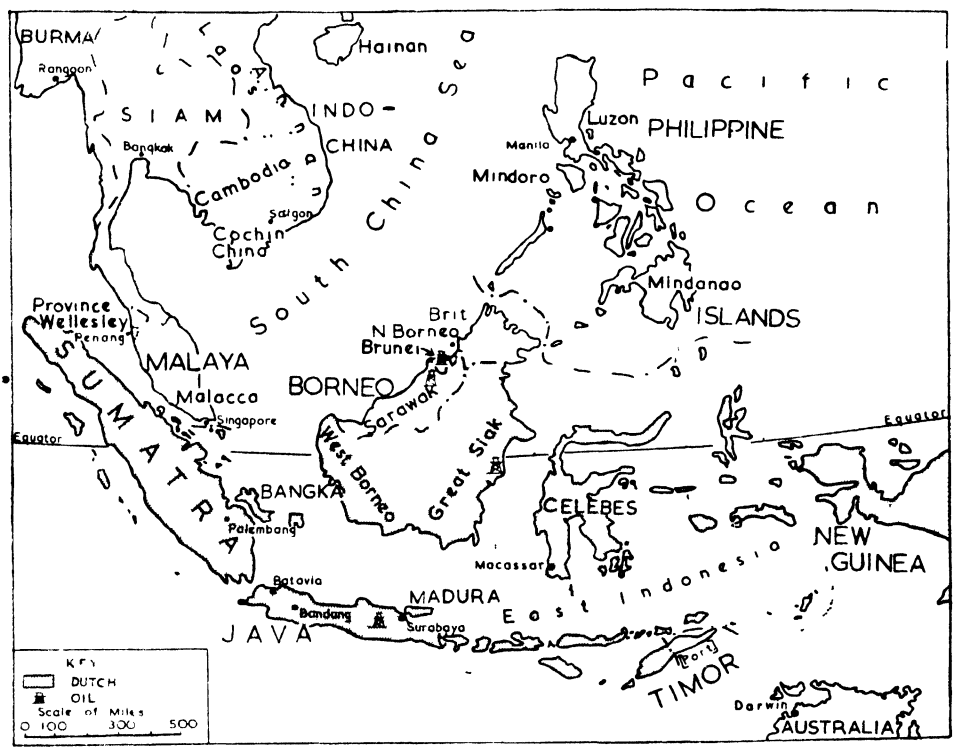
movement made itself felt. A *Volksraad* (Dutch for People's Council), of Europeans and Indonesians, partly elected and partly appointed, was set up as a colonial parliament with limited powers of legislation. In 1941 the Japanese conquered the Netherlands Indies within a few weeks, the Dutch offering only feeble resistance and mostly surrendering quickly. Their inglorious attitude did much to discredit Dutch rule in the eyes of the natives. The Japanese set up an Indonesian national government under Ahmed Soekarno, a nationalist leader, forty at the time, a Dutch-trained construction engineer by profession. After the withdrawal of the Japanese in 1945 this government proclaimed an independent Indonesian Republic. British troops landed on the island. The first months of the new republic were marked by a great deal of looting and destruction by the native population, and hundreds of Europeans were murdered. Indian troops sent by the British made common cause with the Indonesians. The British were unable to control the country and favoured negotiations between the more moderate nationalists under Dr. Shahrir, who had meanwhile become Soekarno's prime minister, and the Dutch with a view to achieving Dominion status. Later, however, fighting broke out between British and Indonesian forces. At mid-year 1946 the British left, and Dutch troops returned to the Indies. They were, however, at first unable to extend their control beyond the perimeters of a few ports, mainly in Java, in face of Indonesian resistance. Soekarno had meanwhile declared himself President of the Indonesian Republic. After long negotiations between the Dutch Governor-General, Dr. van Moek, and Soekarno and Dr. Shahrir, the Linggadjati or Cheribon Agreement was signed on 15 November 1946, making in somewhat vague terms the following provisions: the Soekarno government is recognized as the *de facto* government of Java, Sumatra and Madura. There shall be set up a United States of Indonesia, a democratic federation to comprise the Indonesian Republic in the three islands, Dutch Borneo and the 'Great East', the East Malayan Archipelago, with the exception of Dutch New Guinea. The United States of Indonesia are to join the Netherlands Union, to be formed out of the Netherlands and its American colonies on the one hand, the United States of Indonesia on the other hand. The Queen of the Netherlands will be the head of the Union. Indonesia is to get a substantial but not clearly defined measure of self-government. Defence, foreign policy, in part also finance, are to remain joint concerns of the Union. The Union was to become effective from 1 January 1948

Considerable differences of opinion arose between the contracting parties on the interpretation and application of the agreement. They referred especially to the composition and voting procedure of the proposed federal government, the question of a joint Dutch-Indonesian police and the restoration of Dutch property and plantations. The Dutch were reported to be bringing up military reinforcements. On 30 June 1947 Dr. Shahrir resigned the premiership; he had been said to favour negotiations with the Dutch British and American notes had advised the Indonesians to accept the Dutch proposals for an interim federal government and a joint police force. A new Indonesian government was formed under the socialist Djariffudin, and based on a coalition of the left-wing parties. It comprised the socialists, Moslem progressives and national democrats. On 20 July 1947 the Dutch started large-scale military operations. Issuing from their perimeters, they cut Java practically in three parts, and in Sumatra they occupied the coastal plain and the oilfields. The Indonesians appealed to India and other countries of Asia, and after an abortive American offer of mediation the case was brought before the Security Council of the United Nations. At its request the cease-fire was sounded in Indonesia on 4 August, with the Dutch in control of most communications and several important areas. The Security Council offered its 'good services' to settle the dispute. Holland, while reserving the right to treat the affair as an internal matter, accepted. A United Nations 'Good Offices' Commission was sent to Indonesia —the date for the establishment of the Netherlands Union was fixed for 1 January 1949.

Deadlock ensued, and in October 1948 the Dutch governor-general, Dr. van Moek, resigned. The Indonesian republican government had meanwhile been greatly weakened not only by the military successes of the Dutch, but also by internal dissensions and a communist uprising in the

autumn of 1948. The principal political groups in the republic were the socialists under Soekarno and Mohammed Hatta, who had become premier after Djarifuddin had gone over to the communists in 1948; the Moslems; and the communists, led by Muso, whose group is known as *Satyajit*. Djariffudin organized a force known as *Besindo*. General Soedirman, the commander of the republican army, is also a key figure in Indonesian politics. Dr. Shahrir continues to lead the moderate socialists. The communist uprising was defeated by the republican government, which was joined by Tan Malakka, a Trotskyite leader who had attempted a revolution in 1946 but had been defeated and imprisoned by the Indonesians, who now released him. The Dutch maintained benevolent neutrality. The Soekarno government had its seat at Madian at the end of 1948, and its writ ran only in some parts of Java and the centre of Sumatra. The Great East was organized in December 1948 as the Union of East Indonesia, the first government being formed by Dr. Soekawati, and in 1947 Western and Eastern Borneo became autonomous.

On 18 December 1948 the Dutch by royal decree set up an interim federal government for Indonesia, consisting of a People's Council and a Council of State Secretaries. All power was assigned from the Dutch crown and parliament to this government. The aim, it was stated, was a free and sovereign federation united with Holland in the Dutch-Indonesian Union. Holland broke with the republicans, ended the truce and ordered Dutch forces to advance into the territory of the republic. The Dutch captured Soekarno, Soedirman and other republican leaders. The United Nations Good Offices Commission present in Indonesia informed the Security Council of the breach of the truce agreement with which it charged the Dutch. The Security Council ordered the Dutch to withdraw to their earlier positions and release the republican leaders. The Dutch disregarded the order and obstructed the work of the Commission, the latter reported. An Asian Conference held in Delhi in January 1949,



Map XIII. The East Indies

under the chairmanship of Pandit Nehru, upheld the republicans, and sent a protest and a list of demands for Indonesian freedom to the Security Council. No further action was taken against Holland (it was believed that one of the causes was the Western Powers' regard for Holland as a partner in Western Union), but mediation continued and the Dutch premier flew to Indonesia. After prolonged negotiations, the Dutch evacuated republican territory and the republican leaders were reinstated in Jogjakarta in May 1949. A Round-Table Conference was called to the Hague with participation of all parties, including the republicans. The conference met on 23 August 1949 and ended on 3 November 1949. Indonesia was established as a sovereign state—a federal republic of 16 constituent states. A union statute provides for 'organized co-operation' with Holland on an equal basis. The Queen of the Netherlands is the head of the union. Sovereignty was transferred to the Indonesian government on 27 December 1949. Dutch forces are to be withdrawn 'as soon as possible' and Dutch warships at the end of 1950. Dr. Hatta became prime minister of Indonesia, and Soekarno was elected president. Dutch New Guinea remained under Dutch control. The new republic is opposed by the Moscow and Tan Malakka communists and by a conservative Moslem group known as Dar-ul-Islam. (See Map XIII.)

INFLATION, the excess of purchasing power (coins, notes, bank deposits) over current production of goods at current prices. When there is more purchasing power than goods, then either open or controlled inflation results. In open inflation prices rise and people hasten to buy goods before their prices increase; this increased demand causes prices to rise, and so on. Workers demand more pay to meet the increased cost of living—the resulting higher labour costs are reflected in the higher prices of the goods produced, and a 'vicious spiral' of wages and prices ensues. In controlled inflation prices and wages are controlled by the state. But the initial excess of purchasing power makes itself felt by people trying to purchase all they want, and stocks are cleared at the relatively low prices enforced by the state, unless supplies are rationed.

An excess of purchasing power on a scale sufficient to cause inflation results from the policies of governments. A government may wish to spend but yet raise money neither by taxation nor borrowing. It therefore creates bank credit or prints currency notes to pay for what it wants. This purchasing power is a claim on production additional to the claims created by the economic mechanism in its normal working (wages, salaries, rents, dividends, interest). If some resources are unemployed, then the new purchasing power will merely call them into use and production will keep pace with purchasing power. But the government may be trying to spend too much, and creating purchasing power which could buy more than current production at current prices. It is then that inflation starts. Sooner or later, it is always accompanied by devaluation (q.v.), but the latter is not identical with it.

After both World Wars the world's resources have been reduced by the destruction caused by fighting and the transfer of productive power (labour and raw materials) from producing peace-time goods to fighting and producing war materials. The services of troops and war producers have had to be paid for; purchasing power has thus been increased but not the production of goods to satisfy it. After the war governments engaged in large-scale reconstruction, which they attempted to finance not merely by taxation and borrowing (thus diverting purchasing power from what individuals want to what the governments want) but by creating purchasing power. In so far as there were unemployed resources this has not been harmful, but once all resources are employed, the surplus purchasing power causes inflation. Dangerous if still partly controlled degrees of inflation had been reached in France, occupied Germany, Italy and various other countries. Full-scale inflation had occurred in various East European countries, and moderate inflation in some other countries of the Soviet zone of influence, such as Czechoslovakia. In Western Europe, governments tried to combat inflation (see *France*), and the European Recovery Programme (q.v.) had also served this aim. In Western Germany the Allies ended inflation by the currency reform in July 1948 (see *Germany*), and in the Russian zone of Germany a new currency was likewise introduced. (For moderate inflation as a means

of preventing unemployment, see *Full Employment*, *Deflation* and *Disinflation*.)

INITIATIVE, the right to propose legislation. It is usually reserved to heads of state, governments and members of legislatures, but in some countries the people may propose legislation, and it is this that is often meant by the term 'initiative'. In the 'direct' initiative a measure proposed by a certain proportion of the electorate is submitted to a referendum of the people; in the 'indirect' initiative such submission is made only if the legislature has rejected the proposal. The initiative is much used in Switzerland (q.v.) and in some of the states of the U.S.A. (See *Referendum*.)

INJUNCTION, an order issued by a court commanding a person, organization or institution to refrain from performing an action which the court deems injurious to personal or public rights.

INONU, Ismet, President of the Turkish Republic, born 1884 at Smyrna, became a cavalry officer in 1903, was called to the general staff, commanded a Turkish army in Syria in World War I as General Ismet Pasha, joined the Kemalists in 1919 and became the right-hand man of Kemal Atatürk (q.v.). Ismet Pasha organized the Turkish national army, defeated the Greeks at Inonü, Anatolia, had a great share in Kemal's decisive victory on the Sakaria river, and conquered Smyrna. In 1922 he was made Foreign Minister, in 1923 Prime Minister under Kemal. When in 1934 all Turks were ordered to assume full family names, Ismet chose that of Inönü in commemoration of the place of his victory. (The title of Pasha was abolished.) Inönü was Prime Minister until 1937, when he resigned over some differences of opinion with Kemal Atatürk. After the death of Atatürk, Inönü was on 11 November 1938 unanimously elected his successor as President of the Republic and lifetime president of the Republican People's Party, the ruling party of Turkey. He was re-elected in 1942 and 1946. While continuing the general policy of Atatürk, he follows a somewhat more moderate course. He is a religious Moslem. President Inönü has declared the introduction of a Western democratic system the aim of his policy. In 1946 he encouraged the formation of a Turkish opposition party to compete with the People's Party which had so far held a political monopoly. (See *Turkey*, *Atatürk*.)

INTER-AMERICAN TREATY OF RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE. (See *Rio de Janeiro, Treaty of*.)

INTERNATIONAL BANK. (See *Bretton Woods Agreements*)

INTERNATIONALISM, the opposite of nationalism (q.v.). Internationalists believe in the essential unity of mankind and wish to reduce or remove the barriers between the nations; they stress what unites the peoples rather than what divides them. They oppose national hatreds, prides and prejudices of any kind and advocate close international collaboration. Their ultimate ideal is the abolition of national sovereignty in favour of international federation, indeed a world-state (q.v.). Christian, humanist and ethical principles are the basis of internationalism, and the prevention of war is its primary practical aim. Internationalism has been propagated mainly by socialists of all shades (see *Socialism*, *Communism*), though their practice has lagged considerably behind their theory; by pacifists (q.v.) who have been stricter but less numerous; by the Churches though their various national sections have often shown nationalism rather than internationalism; and by liberals. It is the principle underlying such organizations as the League of Nations (q.v.) and the United Nations Organization (q.v.), though their practical work has fallen short of the ideal. Extreme internationalists advocate the effacement of national identities and differences by the adoption of a world-language (q.v.), and others want such a language at least as an auxiliary tongue to help mutual understanding.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION, an international body established under Art. 23 (a) of the League of Nations Covenant, and Art. 387–427 of the Peace Treaty of Versailles for dealing with labour questions on an international basis. The I.L.O. has four constituent bodies: the General Conference, the Governing Body, the Auxiliary Organs and the International Labour Office. The Conference, known as the International Labour Conference, meets normally once a year to discuss labour questions, to establish international conventions or make recommendations

concerning labour conditions, and to examine measures taken to give effect to such conventions. Delegations to the conference are composed of representatives of the government, the employers, and the employees of each country. These subsections of the national delegations by no means vote always together; there is rather a tendency for an international front of employers confronting an international front of employee delegates at the conferences.

Sixty countries were affiliated to the I.L.O. in 1939, including the United States, but Germany, Italy and Japan had left. Until World War II the I.L.O. had produced 63 international conventions relating to hours of work, unemployment relief, social insurance and other subjects. Like the International Labour Office, the I.L.O. has its seat at Geneva. In 1940 it was temporarily transferred to Montreal. During World War II, sessions continued, and in 1944 the 'Philadelphia Charter' was adopted, consisting of generalities about labour not being a commodity and all human beings having the right to pursue their well-being in conditions of freedom, dignity, security and equal opportunity. The I.L.O. then became a Specialized Agency of the United Nations (q.v.).

INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE (See *World Language.*)

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND. (See *Bretton Woods Agreement.*)

INTERNATIONALS, the international federations of socialist and communist parties. The First International ('International Workmen's Association') was founded in 1864 under the direction of Karl Marx (q.v.); it had individuals, not parties, for members. Its hymn, the *Internationale*, written by E. Pottier and composed by P. de Gayter in 1871, has remained the international socialist and communist anthem to this day. The First International was broken up in 1872 owing to a conflict between the socialist and anarchist factions. (See *Socialism, Anarchism.*) It was succeeded in 1889 by the Second or Social-Democratic International, an association of the social-democratic parties of all countries. In 1919 Lenin (q.v.) founded the Third or Communist International. (See *Communism.*) The Second International, exploded by World War I, was reconstructed in 1923; for a time (1921–3) there was also an 'International 2½', a half-way house between the two others, consisting of the left-wing social-democrats of some countries. The Second and Third Internationals fought each other bitterly. The Communist International was formally dissolved in 1941 by order of the Russian government. A Fourth International, set up in 1936 by the followers of Trotsky (q.v.), and soon split into several warring factions, has not achieved any significance so far.

The Internationals were supposed to concert the policies of the various national parties. Their congresses laid down the programme of the socialist and communist movements respectively, both on a Marxian platform. (See *Marxism.*) The congresses were significant as a form for international discussion, but no co-ordination of socialist policies was achieved, sectional tendencies on national lines soon asserting themselves against the international slogans to which lip-service was paid. There was no concerted action for the prevention of war, although resolutions were passed to that effect. The Second International was a loose confederation of independent national parties, while the Third International, sometimes also referred to as the Comintern, was a unitary body under central direction from Moscow, the national parties being only sections. Notwithstanding the formal disappearance of the Communist International, the communist parties everywhere followed directives from Russia just as strictly as before. The policy of the Communist International was always co-ordinated with the national policy of the Soviet Union. Its two last congresses were held in 1928 and 1935. In October 1947 the communist parties of Russia, Eastern Europe, Italy and France formed the Cominform Information Bureau (see *Cominform*). Although communist spokesmen said that this was not a new Comintern, it has acted as if it were one.

The Second International, whose bureau had been at Zurich, Switzerland, once more fell to pieces in World War II. It was formally dissolved at an international conference of 19 socialist parties at Clacton-on-Sea and Bournemouth, England, in 1946, and an International Consultative Committee was formed in London, but this was in 1947 replaced by a Committee of the Inter-

national Socialist Conference (Comisco), which is an executive rather than a policy-making body. The conference itself determines policy; at its first meeting, April 1947, it called for socialist unity, at its second and third, in 1948, it approved the concept of European unity and emphasized that socialism is incompatible with a suppression of liberal democratic rights. Comisco had denounced the Czech, Rumanian, Hungarian and Bulgarian parties for uniting with the communists, and the conference expelled the Nenni socialists of Italy (q.v.) for similar behaviour. Exiled representatives from the fused Socialist Parties of Eastern Europe were admitted as were the moderate Italian socialists under Saragat and Lombardo and the German Social democrats.

The unsatisfactory practical results achieved by the various Internationals, their proved inability to prevent the two World Wars, and the repeated triumph of nationalism over internationalism have created a certain scepticism in socialist quarters as to the value of this institution. Its supposed basis is the international solidarity of workers, of which little has been noticed in practice. So far Socialist Parties have stuck to the national policies of their countries, and no supra-national approach has become effective. Communist Parties have above all supported the policies of the Soviet Union; in respect of the national policies of their own countries, their attitude has varied through a wide range, indeed from fervent internationalism to extreme nationalism, in accordance with instructions from Moscow at any given time. There was a communist anti-war effort in some Allied countries during the first stage of World War II, which changed to vigorous participation in resistance to the Germans after Russia had been attacked.

Trade Union Internationals have also been established. There were a moderate Trade Union International, known as the Amsterdam International after the place of its foundation, and a communist 'Red Trade Union International' before World War II. After the war, a World Federation of Trade Unions was set up in Paris, but conflict ensued between democratic and communist, especially Russian, trade unionists, and late in 1948 the democratic unions left the organization to set up a new Free Trade Union International in 1949. (See *Trade Unions*.) The real power of these trade union federations is rather limited, and nationalism seems often as strong as internationalism in their midst. Still they have achieved a greater degree of importance in international labour policies; at the international labour conferences, e.g. international solidarity of labour representatives was frequently in evidence. (See *International Labour Organization*.) In America the term 'International' has a specific connotation: it means an international labour union, that is one comprising both the United States and Canada. (See *American Federation of Labour, C.I.O.*)

In 1947 two new internationals were formed. The first was the World Liberal Union (Liberal International) an association of Liberal Parties (see *Liberalism*), the second the Peasant (Green) International, composed of the exiled leaders of the Peasant Parties of Eastern Europe, under the leadership of S. Mikolayczyk of Poland. In the 1920s there had been a 'Green International' under the Bulgarian Peasant leader Stambulisky (see *Bulgaria*). A (non-existent) Catholic or 'Black' International and a (scarcely existent) Masonic International have also been spoken of (see *Catholic Parties, Freemasonry*).

INTERNATIONAL TRADE ORGANIZATION, an organization to be created under the Charter of Havana signed by 44 nations, representing 90 per cent of the world's trade, at the Conference of Havana in 1947–8. The conference, called at the initiative of the United States, adopted a charter providing for the reduction of trade barriers and the expansion of trade on a multilateral, permanent basis. It aims at the removal of national restrictions on trade which date from the crisis of the thirties or from World War II, of bureaucratic obstacles to trade, at the enforcement of fair play and the gradual abolition of unfair or discriminatory trade barriers such as those which accept one country's exports at the expense of others. The Havana Charter will come into operation, and I.T.O. will be created if and when 20 countries have accepted the Charter by October 1949. At the end of 1949 no country had as yet accepted the Charter.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, concluded in 1947 at Geneva by 22

leading trading nations and shortly referred to as G.A.T.T., provided for tariff concessions comprising 45,000 items representing about $10,000,000,000 of trade. The G.A.T.T. countries have since been holding further meetings on tariff reduction and taken further practical measures in that direction. Twelve more states are expected to join G.A.T.T. The structure of G.A.T.T. is, however, separate from I.T.O. and the Havana Charter, although G.A.T.T. is expected to end when I.T.O. comes into existence. G.A.T.T. countries grant to each other certain privileges not shared by countries outside G.A.T.T.

INTER-STATE COMMERCE, in a federation commerce between the several constituent states, as opposed to intra-state commerce (commerce with each state) and commerce with foreign countries. It is controlled by the federal, not the state, authorities, which are often able to use this power to influence the trade and production of the states—subjects usually denied to the federal power. (See *Federalism.*)

IRAK, or **IRAQ,** Arab kingdom in the Middle East, area 116,000 sq. m., population 4,611,000. Baghdad is the capital, and Basra is the principal port. The region was previously known as Mesopotamia. About 40 per cent of the population are sunnite Moslems, and nearly 60 per cent shiites. Ninety per cent of the people are illiterate. The country was Turkish until 1918, when it was organized as a state under British League Mandate, with the proviso that it should be made independent as soon as possible. In 1920 Emir Faisal, a son of King Hussein of Hedjaz from the Hashimi dynasty, moved to Irak from neighbouring Syria, where he had been chosen King but not been recognized by the Allied governments. The Emir was proclaimed King of Irak after a 96 per cent plebiscite in his favour. A constituent assembly adopted a constitution in 1924, providing for a limited monarchy and parliamentary government. Parliament consists of an Upper House (*Mejlis el A'ayan*) of 20 members appointed by the King, and a Lower House (*Mejlis el Nuwab*) of 150 deputies popularly elected. King Faisal I died in 1930, and was succeeded by his son, Ghasi. In October 1932 the Mandate was terminated on a British motion, and Irak was declared sovereign. However, a treaty laid down special relations with Great Britain. It provided for an alliance and immediate mutual aid in case of war, for British air bases in Irak until 1957, and for the right of Great Britain to station troops in Irak in wartime. A British military mission resides in Baghdad, and the Irak police has British inspectors.

Soon after the achievement of full independence the country was torn by factional strife. The constitution remained on paper. In 1936 a military *coup d'état* eliminated the previously dominant parties of Nuri es Said Pasha (progressive) and Yasin Pasha (nationalist). A period of disorder and political assassination followed, including the massacre of the Christian Assyrians in 1938, until Nuri es Said returned from exile in 1938 and became Premier again. In April 1939 King Ghasi lost his life in an automobile accident, and his infant son, born 1935, was proclaimed King under the name of Faisal II. During his minority his uncle Abdulillah acts as Regent. After the outbreak of World War II in September 1939, Irak broke off relations with Germany, but stayed neutral. There was a pro-Axis trend in the country, and in 1940 its chief exponent, Rashid Ali el Gailani, became Premier in place of Nuri es Said. He was overthrown in January 1941, but returned next April to carry out a *coup d'état* sponsored by Germany, Italy and Vichy France, which supplied arms from Syria. The Regent fled to Transjordania, while Rashid Ali prepared to join the Axis. Jews and Christians were massacred in Baghdad. Thereupon British troops marched into Irak on 2 May 1941 and occupied the country after some fighting. The Regent returned, while Rashid Ali fled to Persia and later to Italy. In January 1943 Irak declared war on Germany, Italy and Japan. During the war the government dissolved political parties and labour unions by emergency decrees; the big landowners and tribal sheikhs became even more than previously the ruling group in the country. At the close of the war Rashid Ali fled from Italy to Saudi Arabia.

Early in 1946 the emergency decrees were repealed, and five political parties were formed: the right-wing Independence (*Istiqlal*) Party under Arshad el Umari (Premier in 1946) but really directed by Rashid Ali and the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem (q.v.); the National Democrats (a liberal centre party under Kamel Beg el Chadirchi); the

Ahali Party (left centre); the National Unity Party (left wing), and the People's Party (left wing). The three last-named parties have a democratic platform and demand the distribution of the vast government lands without confiscation of the big private estates. A more drastic land reform, implying the division of these estates, is demanded by the (banned) Communist Party, known as the National Liberal Party. These parties draw their support from the towns, and the majority of the members of the Lower House are sheikhs from the country, conservative and pro-British—on them and the court the British have relied since World War I.

The parties have demanded the revision of the treaty with Britain, especially the withdrawal of British forces. In 1946 all British troops save those at the airfields of Habbaniyah near Baghdad and Shaibah near Basra, were withdrawn. In January 1948 the Premier, Sayed Saled Jabr, negotiated in England a new treaty of friendship and mutual aid, but since it did not provide for the complete withdrawal of British forces the Regent was persuaded by the parties to refuse to ratify it, though he had welcomed it when it had been signed. The government resigned and was replaced by an anti-Treaty coalition under Mohammed el Sadr, who appointed some Istiqlal ministers. In June new elections were held: 4 Istiqlal, 2 National Democratic, 1 Liberal and 151 Independent candidates were returned. Muzahim el Pachachi became Prime Minister, but after the defeat of the Arab forces invading Palestine (q.v.) he was replaced by Nuri es Said Pasha.

Irak is a member of the Arab League (q.v.) and a signatory of the Saadabad Pact (q.v.). In June 1949, Irak concluded a pact of assistance with Persia. There are plans for union with Syria (q.v.). Her territory includes the Mosul oilfields, which were at one time very important in world politics. The centre of the oil industry is at Kirkuk, and there are also oilfields farther to the east, known as the Khanakin oilfields; these are an extension of the Persian oilfields of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. In connection with the oil industry a labour movement has begun to take shape, and there have been violent labour disputes. The land question and the contrast between the wealth of the upper class and the great poverty of the people constitute further social problems, which Irak shares with some other Arab countries. There is also a national minority of 250,000 Kurds (q.v.) in northern and eastern Irak.

IRAN, the official name of Persia (q.v.).

IRELAND, island of (for the Republic of Ireland, see *Eire*), 32,000 sq. m., population 4,500,000. Politically, Ireland is divided into Northern Ireland (q.v.), which is a self-governing part of the United Kingdom, and Eire, which is an independent republic. Until the twelfth century Ireland consisted of a number of Celtic kingdoms under a high king whose authority was doubtful. In 1152 one of the sub-kings called in the Anglo-Normans to help him in a feud with the high king, and this gave the English their first foothold in Ireland. Subsequently English domination was extended over the whole island in long wars, until Henry VIII assumed the title of King of Ireland in 1535.

Irish resistance to English rule continued through the centuries, and national antagonism was deepened by religious and social cleavage. Ireland remained Roman Catholic after the English reformation. Serious fighting occurred under Cromwell, who subsequently expelled the Irish population from the northern part of the island and settled Protestant Englishmen and Scots there. An Irish Parliament, subordinate to that of Britain, subsisted until 1800, when union was proclaimed and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was created. By that time Ireland had become largely anglicized, the Celtic Irish language (Gaelic) having almost vanished, but the national consciousness of the Irish persisted. Anglo-Irish dissension was aggravated by economic oppression of the Irish, which became particularly acute in the nineteenth century. Most of the land had become the property of Anglo-Irish noblemen in the course of the centuries, and the Irish farmer was holding it only as a tenant. One half of Ireland's production went to absentee landlords in England. When poor crops prevented the farmer from promptly paying his rent, he was often evicted from his soil by the landlord. Famine ravaged the country. The Irish emigrated in masses to the United States, and Ireland's population was the only one in Europe to decrease in the nineteenth century. Together with

earlier migration, this period is responsible for the strength of the Irish element in America, from which Ireland was still to derive considerable political benefit. In Ireland the struggle against English rule was carried on in Parliament by leaders like O'Connell and Parnell, and by secret societies, among which the Fenians became most widely known.

The Irish question was eventually tackled by Gladstone's Liberal administrations. He tried in vain to get his Home Rule Bills of 1886 and 1893 enacted, but he was able to bring the land question nearer to a solution. The work initiated by him to secure the farmer's ownership of the land was essentially completed in 1903. Bonds were issued to compensate the landlords for relinquishing their property rights, and part of their service was based on the Irish land annuities paid by the farmers to the British government. The Catholic Irish kept demanding Home Rule until Asquith's Liberal ministry introduced a new Home Rule Bill in 1912. This met with passionate resistance from the Protestants of Northern Ireland (Ulster). Sir Edward Carson raised the Ulster Volunteers to defend the North against the Catholic Irish of the South, while the latter organized the Irish Volunteers to fight for Home Rule in a United Ireland. Civil war in Ireland seemed imminent. The Home Rule Bill was twice rejected by the Lords, but passed in 1914, under the Parliament Act (q.v.). Meanwhile World War I had broken out, and the Act's operation was delayed until after the war. Northern and Southern Irishmen went to the front together in the British Army.

In 1905 a group of radical southern nationalists had founded the Sinn Fein Party (pronounced sheen fain; Gaelic for 'Ourselves Alone'). They organized an insurrection with German aid. The rising took place in Dublin at Easter 1916, and an Irish Republic was proclaimed, but the rising was put down after heavy fighting and a number of leaders were executed. After the war another Home Rule Act was passed, providing for a Northern Irish Parliament at Belfast and a Southern Irish one at Dublin. This plan of partition was opposed by the southern Irish. At the British general election of 1918 Sinn Fein obtained 73 out of 105 Irish seats, on a policy of boycotting the British Parliament (they had polled only about half the votes). The Sinn Feiners met in Dublin in 1919 as the first *Dáil Eireann* (Irish Parliament).

Meanwhile civil war broke out, known to Irish historiography as the Anglo-Irish War. Sinn Fein started a campaign of shooting the Irish Constabulary man by man, and organized acts of terrorism throughout Ireland. Britain sent a special police force, known as the Black-and-Tans, recruited from ex-soldiers, and a period of guerrilla warfare followed, both sides competing in cruelty. Sinn Fein terrorized also the section of the Irish population which did not support them. Finally they attacked the regular British military, and the answer was the burning down of whole quarters in some rebellious towns. This period came to an end in 1921. Two camps had by then formed among the Sinn Feiners, a moderate one under Cosgrave, accepting Dominion status as a temporary compromise with the British, and a radical one under De Valera (q.v.), President of the Republic, demanding complete independence. The moderates had a majority in the Dáil, and in 1921 the Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed in London. The settlement was promoted by the support the American Irish gave to the Irish cause. They mobilized public opinion in the United States and induced the American government to counsel peace in London. The Home Rule Act was repealed in so far as it applied to Southern Ireland, and the Irish Free State Act of 1922 took its place, setting up a Dominion known as the Irish Free State in the southern part of the island. The North remained a part of the United Kingdom, but retained the autonomy it had received, almost against its will, in 1920.

De Valera and his supporters rejected the treaty and rose against the new Free State government. The second civil war lasted until 1923. It ended in the victory of Cosgrave's party, Fine Gael, which was able to continue its Dominion policy until 1932. The extreme republicans remained in implacable opposition; their underground 'Irish Republican Army' (q.v.) became conspicuous by acts of terrorism in Britain and Ireland in the following years. De Valera founded a new party, Fianna Fail (Soldiers of Ireland), in 1925, to obtain a republic by speedy yet constitutional action. He won the general election of 1932, and converted the Irish Free State into the quasi-republi-

can state of Eire in 1937, severing the bond with the British Empire almost entirely. This failed to satisfy the radical republicans, who broke with De Valera. In 1946 one of their leaders, Sean Mcbride, formed the *Clann na Poblachta* (New Republican Party). After the general election of 1946 this party and Fine Gael formed a coalition government which completely dissolved the connection with the Commonwealth. The Irish question survives as the problem of partition. Eire demands the incorporation of the North, which resists this demand as fiercely as ever. (See *Northern Ireland.*)

IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY, originally the army of the Sinn Fein Party in Ireland (q.v.). When Sinn Fein split in 1921 on the issue of acceptance or rejection of the treaty with Britain, those opposed to acceptance started a civil war, claiming to be the true representatives of the Irish people and of the Irish Republic proclaimed in 1916 and 1919. The partition of Ireland, the Irish Free State and the Eireann governments were all unrecognized by the extremists, although in 1925 De Valera (q.v.), until then their leader and 'President' of the 'Republic', accepted the treaty and later, as Prime Minister of the Free State, established the semi-republican constitution of Eire (q.v.). In 1939 its outrages caused its suppression in Eire—it still survives as an illegal force.

IRON CURTAIN, a term denoting the Stettin-Trieste line in Europe, the territories to the east of which are directly or indirectly controlled by the U.S.S.R. The term was coined by W. S. Churchill (q.v.) in a speech to the House of Commons, 5 June 1946, and referred to the fact that the Russians had sealed off the lands behind the line so that the people in one part of Europe could know little of what was really happening in the other.

IRREDENTISM, the endeavour by national minorities to secede from the country in which they are included, and to unite with a neighbouring country of the same language as theirs. The term springs from *Italia irredenta* ('Unredeemed Italy'), a name given by the Italians until 1918 to the Italian-inhabited borderlands of Austria. The adherents of Italy in these districts were shortly called the irredenta or the irredentists. The term was later generalized and is now used also for non-Italian cases of the same pattern.

ISAACS, George Alfred, British Labour politician, born 1883. A printer, he held various offices in his unions and was President of the T.U.C. 1944–5. In August 1945 he became Minister of Labour and National Service in the Attlee Labour government.

ISLE OF MAN, part of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (q.v.), area 221 sq. m., population 51,000, capital Douglas (20,000). The island is not represented in the British Parliament, although it is subject to the authority of the Home Office. It has its own laws, in accordance with which it is administered by a Governor appointed by the Crown and a cabinet (since 1946) responsible to the Court of Tynwald, composed of the Legislative Council (4 ex-officio, 2 nominees of the Governor and 4 members elected by the House of Keys) and the House of Keys of 24 members elected for five years. The House now has 12 representatives of agricultural interests, 6 independents, 4 members of the anti-socialist People's Party, and 2 labour members (there were 18 labour candidates). A coalition government was formed.

ISOLATIONISM, the policy of keeping aloof from the affairs of other countries. The classical instance is that of the Japanese, who from 1636 to 1858 refrained from intercourse with the Europeans who were entering into Eastern Asia. In Great Britain isolation from Europe has often been urged; but it has never proved practicable. The famous phrase 'splendid isolation' was applied by the third Marquis of Salisbury at the end of the nineteenth century not to his own foreign policy, which was based on the opinion that the United Kingdom, as a great power, should participate in the concert of Europe, but to a policy which was suggested by some of his contemporaries and which he emphatically rejected. In the U.S.A. isolationism in the sense of aloofness from Europe was recommended by Washington, Adams and Jefferson in the early years of the republic, and became the basis of U.S. foreign policy. Intervention in World War I was a lapse from and not the end of the policy, which governed the actions of Republican governments until 1932 and was supported also by many Democrats. Isola-

tionism prevented the effective aiding of the European democracies in their negotiations with, and eventual war against, Germany and Italy. The Japanese attack on the U.S.A. in 1941 convinced many isolationists of the danger of the policy, and both the major parties have abandoned it. Nevertheless, isolationist sentiment remains strong.

ISRAEL, the Jewish state in Palestine (q.v.) established 1948 in fulfilment of the aspirations of Zionism (q.v.), and following a decision of the United Nations Assembly on the partition of Palestine between Jews and Arabs. The state of Israel was proclaimed on the night of 14 May to 15 May 1948, simultaneously with the termination of the British mandate over Palestine. According to the United Nations partition plan, Israel's territory consists of North Palestine, the coastland (except Jaffa), and the arid southern area known as the Negev; it also comprises the greater part of Jerusalem. The territory of the state is not coherent. Immediately after the establishment of Israel, the states of the Arab League (q.v.) invaded Palestine in order to suppress the new state. The army of Israel, organized mainly out of an earlier militia known as *Haganah*, resisted successfully, and the United Nations ordered a truce. (See *Palestine.*) King Abdullah of Transjordania was reported in December 1948 to have practically agreed with Israel on a peace providing for the recognition of Israel and the union of Arab Palestine with Transjordania. The United Nations Security Council voted on Israel's application for membership of the United Nations in December 1948; the application was supported by the United States and Russia, but because of the abstention of Britain and Belgium the quorum was not reached. Israel had meanwhile been recognized by the United States, Russia, some states of the Soviet bloc and a few others. It was much assisted in the United Nations by the Soviet Union, although Zionism is persecuted in Russia.

At the census of November 1948 Israel had an area of about 5,000 sq. m. and a population of 842,000, of whom 773,000 were Jews. The capital was Tel Aviv. At the start, the area of Israel had included some 550,000 Arabs, but most of them fled to the Arab territories when hostilities began. The exodus was reported to have started on Arab League orders, but the Arabs spoke of mass expulsion. Most of the Arab minority that remained within Israel are Christian Arabs.

Israel is a democratic state; the former *Vaad Leumi* or national committee of Palestinian Jews, elected before the establishment of the state, constituted itself as the provisional national assembly. Dr. Chaim Weizmann (q.v.), the veteran Zionist leader, was elected the first President of Israel, while the labour leader, David Ben-Gurion, became its first Prime Minister.

The political parties of Israel are as follows. The largest party is the Labour Party, known as *Mapai* (*Miphlegeth Poalei Israel*, Labour Party of Israel), similar in programme to West European labour parties (q.v.) and based on urban labour. It is led by David Ben-Gurion, Israel's first Prime Minister, controls the army and has a scanty majority in the trade unions. To the left of it is *Mapam* (*Miphlegeth Poalim Me'uchedeth*, United Labour Party) based on the communal agricultural settlements which are a feature of Israel. Its leader is A. Zisling. It stands for a radical, idealistic socialism and for co-operation with the Soviet Union. The communists further to the left have attempted to ally with Mapam, which, however, has demanded that they formally accept Zionism; this they have refused, since they have always denounced Zionism as bourgeois. The liberals or General Zionists split in 1948. Their left wing formed the Progressive Party, while the General Zionists remained as the right wing, representing manufacturers and plantation owners, and believed to have friends in the Republican Party of the U.S.A. President Weizmann, the liberal leader, is believed to keep to a middle course. A religious bloc consists of the *Misrachi* party, moderately orthodox, the ultra-orthodox *Agudath Israel* (League of Israel) and two minor groups. The State of Israel is secular, but these parties wish to base it on Mosaic law. On the extreme right there are the nationalist revisionists, from which have sprung the terrorist organizations whose activities were so prominent in 1947 and 1948. The original Revisionists (see *Zionism*) are not now strong, but the former leader of the terrorist *Irgum Tzvai Leumi* (National Military Organization), Mena-

hem Beigin, has founded *Tnuath Cheruth* (Freedom Movement), with a nationalist and anti-socialist programme. Socialists and left-wing liberals accuse this group of fascist tendencies. The former Stern Gang has become the Warriors' and Fighters' Party.

Fighting died down late in 1948, with occasional interruptions in the south, and in February 1949 armistice talks began at Rhodos, first with Egypt, then with other Arab states. On 24 February 1949 the armistice between Israel and Egypt was signed. Israel was allowed to keep some forces in the eastern Negev, while Egypt retained the Gazah-Rafa coast strip and was allowed to keep limited forces there and in a zone in Sinai stretching from El Arish to the Gulf of Akaba. Both sides agreed to reduce their other forces in the area to a minimum. Certain advance positions would be evacuated by both sides. On 14 March 1949 an armistice with Transjordania followed, also essentially confirming the military *status quo*. Similar agreements with the other Arab states ensued. Israel declared she controlled the whole Negev. British troops were despatched to the port of Akaba on the Red Sea to protect this Transjordanian city from Israeli attack. Israeli forces established themselves in a neighbouring Red Sea coast strip belonging to the Negev under the United Nations' partition plan. A United Nations mediating commission remained in Palestine. Jerusalem, except the Transjordan-occupied Old City, was placed under Israeli civilian administration.

On 1 February 1949 the United States recognized Israel *de jure*. By 15 March 1949 the new state had been recognized *de facto* or *de jure* by all states of the Western Union, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden and a number of others. Israel was accepted into the United Nations in February 1949.

The constituent assembly for Israel was elected on 25 January 1949. The results were as follows: Mapai 44, Mapam 18, religious parties 15, Cheruth 14, General Zionists 7, progressives 5, Sephardi Group 5, communists 4, Nazareth Arabs 3, Fighters' Group (Stern Gang) 1, Yemenites 1, Wizo (Women's Zionist Organization) 1 seat. The constituent elected Dr. Chaim Weizmann President of Israel, and Ben Gurion reformed his government, Mapam and the General Zionists refusing to take part; 3 seats were reserved to them in case they would change their minds. Foreign Minister Moshe Shertok changed his name to Shareth, and Israel's first ambassador to Washington, Epstein, changed his to Eliath.

The draft constitution laid before the constituent assembly in March 1949 consists of 78 articles. It contains elements taken from the American, English, French and Swiss constitutions. The preamble expresses thanks to God for rescue from exile and return to the ancient homeland, and the resolve to offer a home to every Jew coming to Israel. Israel is declared a sovereign, independent and democratic republic which is the national home of the Jewish people. The usual civil liberties are guaranteed; the sacredness of human life is emphasized; and the Sabbath and Jewish religious holidays are officially recognized. Citizenship extends to all Jews living in Israel when the constitution comes into force; to all Jews living in Arab Palestine and opting for Israel citizenship within a year; and all non-Jewish inhabitants of Israel who were citizens of Palestine at the time the mandate ended. A nationality act will regulate the acquisition of Israelite nationality in the future. Hebrew is the official language, and the national flag is a David's star between two blue beams on a white background. The death penalty is prohibited. Every citizen has the right to work and social security, and the state is to assist co-operative activities. The right of workers to unionize, bargain collectively, and strike, is guaranteed. A unicameral parliament is to be elected every four years on proportional representation. The President of the Republic is elected by parliament for five years. He appoints the prime minister and (on the latter's advice) the ministers, the ambassadors and envoys, and the commander-in-chief of the army. He has the right of reprieve. He may dissolve parliament if it is unable to form a government, and order a new election. The government (of not more than 15 members) is responsible to parliament and must resign as a whole if parliament votes no confidence. The President is re-eligible only once. Constitutional amendments need a two-thirds majority of parliament in two readings six months apart. The courts may declare laws unconstitutional. All judges are to be appointed by the President. On

9 December 1949 the U.N. Assembly voted Jerusalem an international zone. Israel, defying the decision, declared Jerusalem its capital, and a number of Israeli ministries, as well as the parliament (the *Knesset*), moved to the Holy City. Transjordan also opposed the U.N. decision.

Peace negotiations with the Arab states started at Lausanne in April 1949 and were still in progress in December. The question of Arab refugees, whom Israel was reluctant to re-admit, proved especially difficult.

ITALIAN EAST AFRICA, the former Italian possessions in East Africa were conquered by British Empire forces in 1941. By the Peace Treaty of 1947 Italy renounced all right to them and their fate was left to Britain, France, Russia and the U.S.A. or, if they failed to agree, to the United Nations. The four allies sent an inquiry mission to report on the problems of the colonies.

1. *Eritrea*, area 16,000 sq. m., population about 600,000, capital Asmara. The Commission found that the Christians of the plateau wanted union with Ethiopia, and the Moslems of the coastal plain, together with some Christians, wanted independence after a period of British trusteeship.

2. *Somaliland*, area 194,000 sq. m., population 1,022,000, capital Mogadiscio. In 1925 Britain ceded Jubaland, with the port of Mismayu, then part of Kenya, to Italy in settlement of Italy's claims for territorial reward for her participation in World War I. The Commission found that the Somalis want independence after a decade's trusteeship.

Ethiopia claimed both colonies, as did the Italians. The four major allies were agreed on placing Somaliland under Italian trusteeship, but were unable to agree on the disposition of Eritrea. As a result, they referred the problem to the United Nations Assembly in October 1948, together with the question of Libya (q.v.) on which they had also failed to agree. The question of the Italian colonies was dealt with by the Assembly in May 1949. An agreement made shortly before between the British foreign secretary, Bevin, and the Italian foreign minister, Count Sforza, provided for Tripolitania to come under Italian trusteeship in 1951 and for Cyrenaica to remain under British and Fezzan under French trusteeship (see *Libya*), with the whole of Libya becoming independent after 10 years. Italian Somaliland was to be placed under Italian trusteeship, while Eritrea was to go to Abyssinia except for its western province which would pass to the Sudan. The U.N. Assembly, however, rejected this settlement.

On 21 November 1949 the Assembly decided as follows: Libya to become independent by 1952; Italian Somaliland to come under U.N. trusteeship, to be administered by Italy with a U.N. advisory council: and the question of Eritrea to be postponed.

ITALY, 115,000 sq. m., population 46,000,000. The capital is Rome. Italy's history since World War I, in which it fought on the Allied side though originally in alliance with Germany and Austria, is closely bound up with the history of fascism (q.v.) and the personal career of its dictator from 1922 to 1943, B. Mussolini (q.v.). The fascist movement seized power in 1922 and ruled dictatorialy for over twenty years. In foreign policy Italy still remained aligned with the Western Powers for a long time, forming the 'Stresa Front' with them as late as 1934. A turn came with the Abyssinian War in 1935–6, which led to lame and ineffective League sanctions and an estrangement between Italy and the Western Powers. Italy turned to Nazi Germany, and the 'Axis Rome-Berlin' was created. After the conquest of Abyssinia (q.v.) the King of Italy assumed the title of Emperor of Ethiopia. In 1939 Albania (q.v.) was also conquered and the title of King of Albania added. In World War II Italy stayed neutral to begin with, but a few days before the French collapse in 1940, when Hitler's victory seemed certain, Mussolini led the country into the war by the side of Germany. Italy aspired to French Corsica, Nice and Tunisia, where the populations contain Italian-speaking elements, also to parts of Greece and some other territories. The war ended in the defeat of Italy at the hands of the Anglo-American armies, and Mussolini was overthrown on 26 July 1943 by a *coup d'état* of King Victor Emmanuel III and Marshal Badoglio. The Badoglio government made an armistice with the Allies and declared war on Germany in October 1943 as a co-belligerent on the Allied side. Mussolini continued the fight against the Allies on Hitler's side in Northern Italy until the end

of the war in 1945; he was shot on 28 April 1945. Italy was for a time placed under Allied Military Government, which was gradually reduced and finally abolished at the end of 1945.

The Badoglio government was followed by twelve administrations, the most important ones being those of Bonomi, Parri, Nenni and de Gasperi. A first provisional *Consulta* established in 1943 under Count Sforza, liberal leader returned from exile, was followed by a Constituent Assembly elected on 2 June 1946; the election was combined with a referendum on the question of monarchy or republic. King Victor Emanuel III of the House of Savoy (born 1869, ruled since 1900) had on 5 June 1944 appointed Crown Prince Umberto, his son, Lieutenant-Governor of the Realm and had withdrawn from state affairs. A republican trend sprang up in opposition to the monarchy which had become discredited through its co-operation with fascism. On 9 May 1946, three weeks before the plebiscite, the King abdicated in favour of his son who mounted the throne as Umberto II. This was an attempt at saving the monarchy, as Umberto had been less implicated in the fascist period and had even been regarded as a clandestine enemy of fascism. Yet the plebiscite decided in favour of a republic, though by a fairly scanty majority: 12,717,923 votes were cast for the republic, 10,719,284 for the monarchy, and some 1,500,000 ballot tickets were returned empty. The north voted republican, the south was largely monarchist. King Umberto left the country.

After hot debate the republican constitution was enacted by the Assembly. It declares Italy a republic founded on labour, renounces aggressive war and provides for the acceptance of limitations of sovereignty if other nations do so, maintains the Lateran Treaty (q.v.)—this settlement of the quarrel with the papacy was Mussolini's greatest achievement and although opposed by the socialists it was retained by the Christian democrats and the communists, guarantees civic, political and social rights, provides for the nationalization of monopolies and public utilities and for the distribution among the peasantry of the large estates which have produced great social cleavages. The President is to be elected for a term of seven years by the National Assembly, which consists of a Chamber of Deputies elected directly, and a Senate chosen partly by the regional councils, partly directly. Government is to be parliamentary, but the defeat of a bill will not necessarily entail the fall of the ministry. A government need resign only if defeated on a vote of confidence in both houses. The twelve regions, largely coextensive with the old provinces, receive a small degree of autonomy under regional councils; Sicily, Sardinia, South Tyrol (q.v.) and the Val d'Aosta are to receive more self-government. There is a German minority in South Tyrol and a French one in the Val d'Aosta.

The Constituent Assembly contained 556 members: 207 were Christian democrats, the successors of the old Catholic Popolari and similar to the M.R.P. of France (q.v.), they are a party of the centre and the moderate right and have a strong left wing led by Gronchi; the party leader is de Gasperi, who was Vatican Librarian after leaving Italy during Mussolini's rule. Unlike the M.R.P., the Christian democrats do not have to meet the competition of a 'saviour' on the right and as a result their position as moderates in political and social disputes is stronger than that of the M.R.P., whose strength has been constantly eroded by de Gaulle; 115 were socialists; in January 1947 they split, a group under Saragat refused to continue co-operation with the communists and formed the Italian Socialist Workers' Party (P.S.L.I.), while the rest, under Nenni, renamed their party the Italian Socialist Party (P.S.I.). Later Lombardo and some others left Nenni and joined Saragat, with whom they combined for electoral purposes in the Socialist Unity Party (which thus does not, as in Eastern Europe, mean a union of communists and their socialist sympathizers). One hundred and four members of the Assembly were communists, led by Togliatti and Terracini; Togliatti is reported to be responsible for the moderation which the communists have shown and to have opposed the more revolutionary of his colleagues. The Italian Communist Party is the largest outside the U.S.S.R., and is strong both in the industrial areas of the north and among the oppressed peasantry of the south. With the Nenni socialists it forms the Popular Democratic Front.

The rest of the Assembly was composed of members of several minor parties. The

National Democratic Union is a group of moderate monarchists and republicans, conservative liberal elder statesmen, such as Nitti, Orlando (Prime Minister in World War I), and Bonomi, and the Liberal Party under the philosopher Croce. The *Uomo Qualunque* (Common Man) Party, led by Giannini, was strong in Rome and Naples and was denounced as neo-fascist. In December 1946 it renamed itself the Liberal Democratic Front of the Common Man but failed to attract the liberals. In November 1947 it split—Giannini joined Nitti and the Liberal Party to form a middle-class National Bloc while Selvaggo kept the rest of the party as an independent right-wing group. The Italian Social Movement is neo-fascist. The Republican Democratic Alliance is an anti-socialist group led by Parri. The National Liberty Party is monarchist. A party that was important in the last years of the war was the Action Party, it suffered from internal dissensions, and in October 1947 its remaining members joined the Nenni socialists.

The chief division in Italian politics is that between the Christian democrats and the communists. Until May 1947 the major parties had united in support of coalition governments, but in that month the de Gasperi cabinet, which had twice been reconstructed, again resigned. De Gasperi resumed office with the support of his own party, the liberals and independents; in December the republicans and Saragat socialists joined the ministry.

In April 1948 the first elections under the new constitution were held. They resulted in a great victory for the Christian democrats, who obtained a clear majority in the Chamber, where they had 307 seats (12,751,841 votes). The Popular Democratic Front (communists and Nenni socialists) had 182 seats (8,025,990 votes). The Saragat-Lombardo socialists had 33 seats (1,860,528 votes). The remaining seats were distributed as follows: National Bloc 18 Monarchists 14, Republicans 9, Italian Social Movement (Almirante's neo-fascist party) 6, Peasant Party 1, Tirol People's Party 3, Sardinian Action Party 1, others 15. The Christian democrats obtained a victory also in the elections to the Senate, of whose 343 members 106 held their seats as ex-Prime Ministers, ex-Presidents of the Chamber and Senate, and ex-deputies who had been imprisoned by the fascists for more than five years. About 180 Senators support the government and about 160 oppose it.

In September 1949 a group led by Romita and Silone formed a new Italian socialist party from members of the Nenni party who disapproved of collaboration with the communists. With a view to achieving unification of all the moderate socialist groups, the Saragat group withdrew its ministers from the De Gasperi government in November 1949. A movement to seize latifundial land was in progress among the peasants and farm workers of Southern Italy about the end of 1949.

The peace treaty of 10 February 1947, which came into force on 15 September 1947, met with a good deal of resentment in Italy, and was also signed only under protest. Italy lost Istria, the Dalmatian Islands and Fiume to Yugoslavia. Trieste (q.v.), with an adjacent strip of coast, was to be a Free City under an international governor. The frontier quarrel between Yugoslavia and Italy dated from 1918, when areas inhabited by Slovenes were given to Italy at the partition of the old Austrian Empire. The Italo-Yugoslav frontier now runs along a line from Duino to Gorizia (which remains Italian), then follows roughly the old Austro-Italian frontier of 1914. Part of the Italians now placed under Yugoslav rule emigrated to Italy in 1946. The new frontier approximately follows the ethnographic line, but leaves some minorities on either side (the larger ones in Yugoslavia). Italy also lost four small frontier districts with 4,000 inhabitants to France. The Italian Dodecanese (q.v.) was given to Greece. The fate of the Italian colonies in Africa—Libya (q.v.), Eritrea and Italian Somaliland—was to be decided later. (See *Italian East Africa.*) The autonomy of the South Tyrol (q.v.) was stipulated in an Austro-Italian treaty appended to the peace treaty. The Italian Army is limited to 250,000 with 200 tanks, the air force to 25,000, the navy to 2 battleships and 4 cruisers (before the war: 7 battleships and 12 cruisers), and Italy may not have submarines and bombers, nor build new battleships and aircraft-carriers. Frontier areas are to be demilitarized. Italian reparations were provisionally fixed at 1,645 million pounds sterling, with Yugoslavia, Greece, Abyssinia and the Soviet Union as the principal claimants. On the other hand, Italy wants 200 milliard lire as reparations

from Germany. The amount actually to be paid by Italy was fixed by the peace conference at 72 million pounds to begin with (or indeed finally, as many observers believe), and it is to be paid in kind after a waiting period of two years. The treaty provided for withdrawal of Allied forces within ninety days after ratification and evacuation started on 12 September 1947. Some Anglo-American forces were by agreement left in Italy to guard lines of communication with Allied troops of occupation in Austria.

A customs union treaty between Italy and France was signed in Paris on 26 March 1949. One year after its coming into force a unified tariff is to be applied by both countries, and goods exchanged between them will pass duty free. Full economic union is to be achieved within six years.

ITO, initials of the International Trade Organization (q.v.).

J

JAMAICA, see *British West Indies.*

JAPAN, Empire of, Japanese name *Nippon,* 148,000 sq. m., population 75,000,000. The capital is Tokyo. Emperor Hirohito (born 1901) ascended the throne in 1926. According to Japanese belief the dynasty has been reigning without interruption since 660 B.C. In 1867 the shogunate, the rule of aristocratic regents with a shadow emperor in the background, was overthrown after seven centuries of existence and the modernization of Japan began under the restored power of the Emperor Meiji (1867–1912). Actually this revolution dated back to the year 1854 in which Commodore Perry of the United States Navy had appeared in the Bay of Tokyo with a fleet and persuaded the Japanese to open their ports to foreign ships. This inaugurated the opening of Japan to Western ideas after centuries of jealous seclusion from all intercourse with other countries. Now the emperorship (*Kodo*) was made the hub of the state. An old myth was revived, describing the position of the Emperor or *Tenno* ('son of heaven', like all East Asiatic rulers; the poetical *Mikado* is used only abroad) as divine and alleging his direct descent from the sun goddess, Amaterasu-Omikami. This myth was reconstructed by the reformers, as they saw in it an instrument for the promotion of their plans. Simultaneously with the revolution the 'Great Plan of Japan' was designed, aiming at the conquest of all East Asia by a modernized Japan. While the country was overhauled in technical and in military respects, domestic political conditions remained feudal. The 1889 constitution created a parliament, but concentrated the real power in imperial hands. Japanese expansion started with the war against China in 1894 which led to the conquest of Korea (q.v.) and Formosa. Japanese prestige was enormously enhanced by the victory over Russia in 1905. An Anglo-Japanese alliance was concluded. Japan participated in World War I on the Allied side but did not actively interfere except for the conquest of a German colony in China. By the naval agreement of Washington in 1922 Japan was accorded the position of the third largest naval power in the world. The Anglo-Japanese alliance was, however, abandoned by Britain at the same time, in deference to Dominion and American opinion, which feared Japanese expansion by economic penetration, migration and war. Australia and America stopped Japanese immigration, and Canada restricted it. Japan's aspirations to the conquest and reorganization of China and the South Pacific area soon caused antagonism between her and the great powers, especially Britain and America. The 'Yellow Peril' had been much discussed in the first decade of this century and lurid descriptions of the coming war between the Anglo-Saxon powers and Japan plus Chinese satellites had formed a favourite subject of novel writers. The war was to come, but not exactly in this form.

Densely populated, with an archaic agriculture and a limited amount of industry, Japan looked for overseas markets and areas for the settlement of surplus population. The peasant lived in abject poverty on tiny plots, averaging two acres, as a mere tenant under the feudal landlord. The great landowners held more than one half of Japanese land. Industry gave employment only to one-sixth of the population under conditions of exploitation which became proverbial in the world. The Japanese worker had to bear the cost of Japanese dumping in the world's markets. Japan sought a way out of its plight not in internal economic and social reform but in conquest. At home, oligarchies and the 'elder statesmen' known as the *Genro* were the actual rulers. Parliament consisted of an Upper House partly appointed by the Emperor and partly chosen by the greatest taxpayers, and a popularly elected Lower

House. Universal suffrage was adopted only in 1925. No true parliamentarism developed, and, generally speaking, the feudalist country with its long and deeply rooted tradition of subordination and patriarchal authority lacked the prerequisites for democracy. The two main parties in parliament were the *Minseito*, relatively liberal, and the *Seiyukai*, conservative and agrarian, and there were also a few extremely nationalist groups and a very moderate socialist party. The labour movement was kept within narrow limits. All parties except the communists (who existed only underground) supported the policy of expansion which was formally laid down in the famous Tanaka Memorandum of 1927. The actual conduct of policy was in the hands of varying military, aristocratic and industrial groups. The latter were known as the *Zaibatsu* (cliques of the rich) or the Eight Families; among these, the Mitsui and the Mitsubishi were the most powerful. Gradually the military and naval clique which was pressing for war gained control. One of its organs was the imperialist Black Dragon Society. In 1940 all parties 'voluntarily' combined in a totalitarian single party called 'Association for Imperial Rule', which later assumed the name of *Dai Nippon Seijukai* (Political Association for Greater Japan).

In 1932 Japan opened the attack on China with the conquest of Manchuria (q.v.). When the League of Nations expressed disapproval, Japan left the League. In 1937 it began the war against China proper. It occupied vast territories in Eastern China, but was unable to conquer the interior which was tenaciously defended by the armies of Chiang Kai Shek (q.v.) and the Chinese communists. In 1936 Japan concluded the Anti-Comintern Pact (q.v.) with Germany and Italy. Tension with Soviet Russia grew, and there were numerous incidents on the Soviet-Manchurian frontier. In World War II Japan, with the Chinese war still on its hands, stayed neutral at first. Frequent changes of government indicated a struggle between the moderates and the adherents of intervention. The Three-Power Pact with Germany and Italy in October 1940 was a straw in the wind. A neutrality pact with the Soviet Union was concluded in April 1941. (Russia denounced it four years later.) On 7 December 1941 Japan, led by General Tojo's government, attacked American and British possessions in the Pacific without warning, a declaration of war following only afterwards. The treacherous attack on Pearl Harbour, Hawaiian Islands, did severe damage to the American fleet for the time being, and Japan was able to conquer in rapid succession the Philippines, Indo-China, Siam, Malaya, Burma and the Dutch East Indies, while America was unprepared and Britain busy elsewhere. Japan indeed threatened India and Australia. The conquered territories were declared an East Asiatic 'co-prosperity sphere' which was finally to have 700 million inhabitants. Japan took advantage of the smouldering hostility toward whites in the colonial areas and supported local nationalist movements. The colonial peoples, or parts of them, frequently welcomed the Japanese, but resistance to the conquerors was also noted in a number of occupied territories, especially when the war took a turn unfavourable to Japan.

The German defeats at Stalingrad and in North Africa, as well as the halting of the Japanese offensive by the joint effort of the British, Americans and Australians in an area stretching from the Indian frontier to the archipelago covering the approaches to Australia, foiled the ambitious plan of a meeting of the German and Japanese armies in Asia, which had been entertained by Hitler and the Japanese war leaders. Japan had overreached herself in starting a war on the basis of an annual steel output of 6 million tons against nations with a steel output of 120 million tons. Germany's collapse in the spring of 1945 sealed Japan's doom. After the dropping of the first atomic bombs by the Americans (Hiroshima, 6 August; Nagasaki, 9 August) and the last-minute declaration of war by Russia (9 August), Japan surrendered unconditionally on 14 August 1945. The Japanese evacuated all the occupied territories while Japan itself was occupied by the Allies, mainly the Americans (but without Russians). Japan was constrained to yield all territory conquered since 1894: Manchuria and Formosa went back to China; South Sakhalin, rich in oil and taken from Russia in 1905, went back to the Soviet Union; and Korea (q.v.) is to become independent again. Japan will also have to cede its outlying strategic islands, also the Kurile and Ryukyu islands; most of them will pass to the United States and Australia, part of the

Kuriles to Russia. Japan is to be confined to its four principal islands.

For the duration of the occupation, Japan is formally under an Allied Far Eastern Commission comprising all Allied Powers concerned in East Asia. The actually most important organ is, however, the Allied Council for Japan, on which only the United States, the British Empire, the Soviet Union and China are represented. The American representative has a veto on all decisions; whilst these are in suspense, the American Commander-in-Chief may govern by decree. For all practical purposes he is the *de facto* governor of Japan, acting on instructions from Washington. General MacArthur, the Commander-in-Chief, has initiated a series of great political reforms in Japan. American Military Government in Japan has indeed embarked on what has been described as an unprecedented experiment in political evangelism. The institutions which were regarded as obstacles to the growth of democracy have been uprooted and the Japanese people have been encouraged to adopt democratic processes. A great number of democratic laws have been enacted. The monarchy was preserved but without the old nimbus. The Emperor told the people over the radio that he was no god. Democratic parties were promoted, free elections were held, the franchise being extended to women, trade unions were formed. A land reform, though still far from complete, was initiated. The patriarchal Japanese family law, known as the 'House', was abolished. The *Zaibatsu* and their combines were dissolved. To what extent the Japanese have really accepted all the new concepts and methods remains to be seen, but the progressive element has definitely been strengthened. The new constitution is radically democratic. It is based on the sovereignty of the people and makes the Emperor a mere executive with little or no power. He may act only on the advice of parliamentary ministers. Parliament consists of a House of Representatives, elected for four years, and a Council of State elected for six years. All power is vested in the House of Representatives. Government must be parliamentary. In one article of the constitution Japan promises to strive for international peace and 'for the purpose of achieving this aim' to renounce war as an instrument of policy, and, indeed, any armed forces.

The first free elections were held in April 1946. The new House of Representatives contained 145 liberals, 94 progressives (both moderate conservatives), 92 socialists, 84 independents, 16 Co-operative Party members, 5 communists, 32 members of minor parties. All the parties were united in wanting a constitutional monarchy and extensive social reform. The progressive Prime Minister, Shidehara, resigned and a coalition of liberals, progressives and independents was formed by the liberal, Shigeru Yoshida. This ministry had three main tasks: to secure the enactment of a constitution, to engage in political, social and economic reform, and to restore the country's economy.

The constitution described above was prepared by the government, which also continued the social reforms initiated by General MacArthur. Economic recovery was hampered by the presence of large well-paid occupation forces and the reparations demanded by the Allies. In September 1946 there was announced a five-year economic plan. Having been considered by the government, it was adopted by the Diet in 1948. It is designed to restore the 1930–4 level of production by 1952, when the population will exceed 80,000,000. This density of population (550 persons to the sq. m.—more to the land which can be cultivated) is Japan's greatest problem. Unless migration is permitted by the Allies great misery will be caused; if it is permitted, Japanese expansion may again menace peace.

The first elections under the new constitution were held in April 1947 and the constitution itself came into force in May. Representation in the House and Council was as follows (figures for the Council in brackets): socialists 143 (47), liberals 133 (39), democrats (former progressives) 126 (32), Co-operatives 31 (—), independents 29 (128), communists 4 (4). The socialists were thus the largest party and their leader, Tetsu Katayama, formed a coalition with the democrats and the Co-operatives; the liberals supported it but did not join it, because many socialists were too closely connected with the communists. In February 1948 the cabinet resigned because many socialists wanted speedier socialization. It was succeeded by a democratic right-wing socialist-Co-operative ministry under the democrat, Hitoshi Ashida. Thirty-six democrats who opposed co-operation with the

socialists joined the liberals and some independents to form the Democratic Liberal Party under Yoshida and Shidehara, the ex-Prime Ministers; the new party is conservative, desiring a free economy and the abolition of controls. In October 1948 the Ashida cabinet resigned because of a financial scandal involving some of its members. Yoshida formed a minority democratic liberal government, which was joined by Satake, leader of the Social Renovation Party, a right-wing socialist group. Fresh elections were held in January 1949, and in the new House of Representatives parties were as follows: democratic liberals 263, democrats 70, socialists 49, communists 35, Co-operatives 13, minor parties and independents 36. The democratic liberals thus had an absolute majority over all other parties. General MacArthur expressed satisfaction at this 'mandate for the conservative philosophy of government' and the 'frustration of the Soviet effort to absorb Japan within the orbit of communist ideology'. Yoshida formed a coalition government of 12 liberals, 2 democrats, 1 Ryokufukai (a conservative group) and 1 independent.

Directive FEC 230 (liquidation of the *Zaibatsu*) was abolished by the Far Eastern Commission on 15 December 1948 by all votes against Russia, on the ground that it had been carried out. Russia maintained that this was not true, and that American business had acquired shares in the combines concerned.

Japanese war leaders were tried by an inter-Allied military tribunal in 1948, and eight of them, including Tojo, Togo, Hirota, Shigemitsu, Matsii and Hagaki were sentenced to death. Seventeen were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, mostly for life. The peace treaty will limit Japan to her original islands and she will remain disarmed. The industrial restrictions envisaged in the U.S. government's Pauley Report of November 1946 would probably have crippled Japan, but recently a more constructive attitude has been adopted by the U.S. and, at the Canberra Conference of August 1947, by the British Commonwealth. In July 1947 the U.S. proposed that all the Pacific War Allies should help to prepare a peace treaty, but the U.S.S.R. replied that the four major allies should consult together first—later the U.S. intimated that it might hold a general peace conference even without Russian participation. In June 1947 MacArthur declared that peace should be made soon, that the U.S.S.R. would be satisfied with the Kurile Islands and S. Sakhalin, already given to her, that the U.S. must take as defence bases the Japanese Pacific Islands (United Nations gave them in trusteeship to the U.S. in 1947), and that Japan should be demilitarized and then evacuated by the Allies, although the United Nations should continue to exercise control.

JAVA. See *Indonesia.*

JEWS, about 16,000,000 in 1939, now 10,000,000 to 11,000,000, of whom about 4,200,000 in Europe, including Russia, 4,500,000 in the United States, 800,000 in Palestine, the rest scattered all over the world. Between 1939 and 1945 the number of Jews in Europe fell owing to Hitlerite mass murder from 10,000,000 to 4,200,000, of whom about 2,500,000 live in Russia. In 1933 European Jews were distributed as follows:Russia 4,000,000, Poland 3,000,000, Rumania 800,000, Germany 500,000, Czechoslovakia 300,000, Hungary 300,000, England 300,000, France 250,000, Austria 100,000, the rest in smaller groups in the other countries. Jews had equal civic rights everywhere. The Jews of Central and Western Europe had assimilated themselves to their environment since their emancipation about the end of the eighteenth and the first part of the nineteenth century, and had become part of the peoples among whom they lived, essentially differing from them only by their religion. The Jews of Russia, Poland and Rumania, however, known as the Eastern Jews, had preserved not only a religious but indeed a national character of their own. They spoke their own language, Yiddish, a mixture of medieval German (brought to the East by Jewish refugees from the Rhine, fleeing from the pogromizing crusaders) and distorted Hebrew. The language, fundamentally a German dialect, is written in Hebrew characters. The Jews of the East, except for a small section, did not merge with the surrounding peoples. They adhered to strict orthodox Judaism in contrast to the more liberal interpretation of religion of Western Jewry. They also wore a costume peculiar to themselves handed down by tradition from the Middle Ages. For a long time excluded from agriculture and industry, they lived largely as

tradesmen, artisans, innkeepers, etc. A considerable Jewish working class developed, however, in Poland with the growth of Polish industry. Russian Jewry produced a numerous class of Jewish workers and farmers after the revolution of 1917. Generally speaking, East European Jewry lived in overpopulated Jewish settlements in great poverty, and emigration was great as long as it was a possibility. Its flow was mainly to the United States, to a smaller extent to the countries of Central and Western Europe, and in a minor degree to Palestine. In Central and Western Europe the Jews were largely part of the middle, and some indeed of the upper, classes. They were merchants, bankers, manufacturers, doctors, lawyers, office workers, scholars, etc., and played a considerable part also in the arts and in literature. In East London and even more in New York, and also in some other American cities, a numerous Jewish industrial proletariat of East European origin developed, especially in the garment industry. So a Jewish working class is to be found in Britain and America side by side with middle-class Jewry. It has retained more group characteristics than the latter whose assimilation has progressed far. There has always been considerable antagonism between Eastern and Western Jewry, cultural and otherwise.

The Jews came to Europe in late Roman times, long after the destruction of their first state in Palestine and partly before, partly after the destruction of the second Jewish realm. From the ninth century onwards they were found in most European countries. On religious grounds they insisted on the preservation of their specific character and on a group life of their own, which resulted in their segregation in separate Jewish quarters or Ghettoes, first voluntary, then enforced. The granting of privileges alternated with persecution and expulsion. In medieval times the Jews were often the object of superstitious fear, which held them responsible for plague and other disaster and together with religious fanaticism led to many outrages against them. Also in the West they were for centuries legally excluded from the productive occupations, which directed their activities into the channels of commerce and finance and had long after effects on their later professional pattern. With the emancipation that followed enlightenment and the rise of the liberal age, Western Jewry began to dissolve in its 'host' peoples. Everywhere Jews were active within the framework of their homeland's economic, cultural and political life, always as a part of the nation among which they were dwelling, and identifying themselves with its interests. In wartime the Jews always fought for the countries of which they were citizens. Except for a national movement of recent date, Zionism (q.v.), which embraced only a fraction of Jewry, they did not regard themselves as a people but solely as a religious community with quickly diminishing rudiments of group persistence. None the less, hostility against the Jews cropped up in new forms, and antisemitism (q.v.) made itself felt in various countries. Its more extreme section ascribed to the Jews a firm international cohesion, with fanciful descriptions of their secret organization; indeed 'World Jewry' (non-existent as a political entity) was held to seek domination of the world. In many countries Jews have as a matter of fact attained to prominent positions in many professions, but their total influence has been grossly overrated. This applies also to their supposed solidarity.

In Germany Hitler (q.v.) made antisemitism the core of his policy. He made anti-Jewish laws, and the Jews were robbed and expelled. The German Nazis also fanned anti-semitism abroad, with effects still noticeable to-day. In World War II Hitler proceeded to the physical extermination of the Jews. Extermination camps, fitted with gas chambers and gigantic crematoria, were established in Poland, and Jews from all German-occupied Europe, regardless of age or sex, were taken there to be gassed. These death factories worked from 1942 until late in 1944 when the Russian advance put an end to their activities. The total of murdered Jews exceeds 5,000,000.

At the end of the war in 1945 there were only 2,500,000 Jews left in Russia, a mere 200,000 in Poland whose native Jewry was almost entirely exterminated, 300,000 in Rumania, 150,000 in France, only some 20,000 in Germany, about the same number in Czechoslovakia, and 5,000 in Austria. The Jews of other European countries which had been occupied by the Germans were reduced to fractions of their previous numbers. Of the 500,000 German and 100,000 Austrian Jews, about one half had

emigrated before the war; a large proportion went to the United States which allotted the relevant immigration quotas to the persecuted Jews. The rest perished almost entirely. It seems that the remnants of European Jewry will tend to decrease further through emigration and a low birth rate. The economic position of the surviving Jews in Continental Europe has also been much weakened. The Nazi laws against the Jews were abolished everywhere after the arrival of the Allies and the legal equality of the Jews was restored. The remnants of Eastern Jewry, mainly the Polish, started a spontaneous large-scale migration, directed partly to America and partly to Palestine, immediately after the war.

As an organized nation the Jews live only in two relatively small areas, Palestine (q.v.) with 700,000 Jews, speaking Hebrew, and Biro-Bidjan in Eastern Siberia with 70,000 Jews, speaking Yiddish. In Palestine the Jews formed the state of Israel (q.v.) in May 1948. Biro-Bidjan was set up as an autonomous area for the settlement of Jews by the Soviet government, but only a small proportion of the Jews of Russia went there. The Jews are recognized as an ethnical group in Russia, but are free to join any other group. Assimilation to the Russian people seems to be progressing.

The Jews are of Semitic origin, and their race is sometimes described as oriental or Hither-Asiatic. However, there are many different racial types among the Jews, presumably as a result of admixtures acquired during their long stay in Europe or of other environmental influences; as time goes by, many Jews, perhaps the majority, more or less assume the type of the people among which they live. Moreover, the meaning of race is very vague. It has often been tried, by friend and foe, to prove the existence of specific Jewish characteristics in the cultural, political and economic work of Jews, but such proofs will in fact rarely stand close examination. It is difficult to decide what may be racial inheritance and what may be the result of historical and social conditions. (See *Race.*)

The Jewish contribution to economic and cultural development in Europe and America has been great. Three world-wide religions are derived from the Jews. Jewish thinkers, such as Spinoza, Marx, Bergson and Freud, have helped to mould the modern view of the world. The achievements of the Jews in the field of the sciences are outstanding and their contribution to literature and the arts is likewise large. In politics the Jews are traditionally inclined toward the progressive parties, presumably not so much owing to an innate racial disposition as simply because the platform of these parties leaves no room for anti-semitism. This cannot always be said of the conservative parties, which in many countries (except in Britain) have in the past been reluctant to invite the co-operation of Jews. Yet there have also been prominent conservative politicians of Jewish extraction, including Disraeli in England, and Gentz and Stahl in Germany.

JIM CROW LAWS, the laws providing for segregation of the negroes in vehicles or places of entertainment in America. (See *Negro Problem.*)

JINNAH, Mohammed Ali, Indian Moslem politician, born 1876, educated in Karachi and Britain. Member of the Imperial Legislative Council 1910–47, he became a leader of the Moslems, being President of the Moslem League 1916, 1920 and since 1934. As Moslem leader he developed the concept of Pakistan, a separate Moslem state, and when the British decided to transfer power to the Indians in 1947 the Hindu National Congress agreed to the formation of Pakistan. Jinnah, who had been a member of the all-India Executive Council since October 1946, became Governor-General of Pakistan and President of its Constituent Assembly in August 1947. From the Assembly he received the title of *Quaid-i-Azam* (Mighty Leader) and by the populace he was acclaimed as 'Emperor Jinnah' in memory of the old Moghul (Moslem) Empire in India. He died in September 1948 and was succeeded as Governor-General by Khwaja Nazimuddin. (See *India, Pakistan.*)

JONES, Arthur Creech, British Labour politician, born 1891. He was National Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union 1919–29. In the Attlee Labour government he was Colonial Under-Secretary 1945–6, and became Colonial Secretary in October 1946.

JORDAN, HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF, new name of Transjordania (q.v.).

JOWITT, William Allen Jowitt, 1st Viscount, British Labour politician, born 1885. A barrister, he entered politics as a liberal, but joined the Labour Party in 1929 and was Attorney-General in the Labour and National governments, 1929–32. In the Churchill Coalition government he was Solicitor-General 1940–2, Paymaster-General 1942, Minister without Portfolio 1942–4, and Minister of National Insurance 1944–5. On becoming Lord Chancellor in the third Labour government in 1945 he was created a baron, and was raised to a viscounty in 1947.

JUGOSLAVIA. (See *Yugoslavia.*)

JULY 4th, the day in 1776 on which the American colonies in revolt against Britain declared their independence. It is now the national holiday of the U.S.A.

JULY 14th, the day in 1789 on which the people of Paris stormed the Bastille, the prison which was regarded as symbolical of the oppression of the *ancien régime.* It is now celebrated as France's National Day.

JULY 20th, Conspiracy of, a German plot against Hitler (q.v.) during World War II, which culminated in an attempted uprising on 20 July 1944. It is also known as the Hitler Bomb Plot, because an attempt on Hitler's life was its central feature. A military opposition group led by the former Chief of Staff, General Beck, had made unsuccessful efforts between 1938 and 1940 to induce the German High Command to overthrow Hitler by a military *coup d'état.* In the course of the war a resistance movement against Nazi rule evolved out of this military group and civilian opposition groups of all shades from conservative to socialist. Its leaders were General Beck, the former mayor of Leipzig, Dr. Carl Goerdeler, and the socialist trade union leader, W. Leuschner. On the military side, participants included Field-Marshals von Kluge and Rommel, Admiral Canaris, Generals Oster, Olbricht, von Hase, von Falkenhausen, von Stuelpnagel and von Tresckow. The civilian leaders included Ambassadors von Hassell and Count von der Schulenburg; Adam von Trott zu Solz of the German Foreign Office; Dr. Mierendorf and Dr. Leber, socialist ex-deputies; Jacob Kaiser and Dr. Joseph Mueller, both Catholic politicians; Dr. Otto John, a lawyer; and a considerable number of largely Christian conservative aristocrats, industrialists and civil servants. The movement built up a network of underground groups in the army, the secret trade-union cells and the administration, but it tried in vain to win more adherents among the decisive army commanders and to obtain political support from the Allies. In March 1943 one of the conspirators, Lieut. von Schlabrendorff, placed a bomb in Hitler's aircraft, but it failed to explode.

On 20 July 1944 Colonel Count von Stauffenberg, one of the leaders of the movement, placed another bomb in Hitler's headquarters, two yards from Hitler, and observed its explosion from the outside. He then flew back to Berlin, where the conspirators started the long-prepared *coup d'état,* assuming that Hitler was dead. They announced his death, took command of the army, and formed a new government. Yet Hitler had in an inexplicable way remained unhurt, though a number of people standing next to him were killed, and reemerged after a few hours to speak on the radio. This caused the army to refuse obedience to the rebels. The troops already marching on Berlin from all sides turned back. The plan of the revolt had been based on the assassination of Hitler; in the opinion of the leaders there was no other way to break the spell in which the tyrant held the German people and army. The rebel leaders tried in vain to make the army fight a living Hitler. At midnight the military leaders of the conspiracy were arrested, and some of them were shot at once. Hitler and his police chief, Himmler, retorted by a new wave of terror. The principal leaders of the resistance movement were executed after short trials by the Nazi People's Court; only a few survived. Tens of thousands of oppositionists were arrested, and an estimated 10,000 were killed in prisons and concentration camps. The action, although abortive, was the only German attempt at revolution against Hitler, and had quite considerable dimensions.

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KASHMIR AND JAMMU, area 84,000 sq. m., population 4,022,000, capital Srinagar, the largest and second most populous of the Indian princely states, its ruler is styled Maharajah—at present Sir Hari Singh, whose family has ruled Jammu since 1820 and Kashmir since 1846. Most of the people are Moslems, but the ruling family and a large minority are Hindus, most of whom are in Jammu, the south-eastern part of the country. When in August 1947 India was divided into the two Dominions of India and Pakistan, the Maharajah acceded to neither, but frontier clashes with Pakistan induced him to accede to India on condition that the people were consulted when the troubles ended. The accession was not recognized by Pakistan, and the country became the scene of fighting between Hindu and Moslem irregulars and Indian and Pakistan troops. The Maharajah appointed Sheikh Mohammed el Abdullah, Moslem leader of the pro-Indian National Conference party, as Prime Minister. The dispute was submitted to the United Nations, which sent a commission of inquiry.

KEEP LEFT, in Britain a pamphlet issued in 1947 by a number of Labour M.P.s, including R. H. S. Crossman and Michael Foot, who demanded a more intensive socialization of the British economy and a foreign policy eschewing dependence on the U.S.A. and building a socialist alternative to communism and capitalism in Western Europe. In several debates the group opposed the Labour government's foreign policy and decision to retain conscription.

KELLOGG PACT, an international treaty signed in 1920 at the instigation of F. B. Kellogg, U.S. Secretary of State. Signed by nearly all the nations of the world, the pact obliged the signatories to renounce war as a means for the settlement of their disputes. Its signature does not seem to have greatly affected the policies of the signatories; nevertheless, breach of it was one of the charges against the German war leaders in the Nuremberg Trial (q.v.), 1945–6.

KENYA. (See *British East Africa.*)

KEYNES, John Maynard, British economist, public servant and patron of the arts, 1883–1946. He became world-famous by his book *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (1919), in which he criticized as harsh and ruinous the economic provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. In the inter-war years he developed an analysis of the economic system which received its most complete expression in *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (1935); he recommended large-scale public spending to prevent economic depressions. This policy, first adopted by the Liberal Party at Keynes's advice in 1939, has been approved by the other principal parties. The Keynes Plan was one of the bases of the Bretton Woods Agreement (q.v.) on international exchange. He was the chief British delegate at the Bretton Woods Conference and in the negotiations for the U.S. loan to Britain in 1945. He was created a baron in 1942. (See also *Trade Cycle.*)

KEYNOTE SPEECH, at party conventions in the U.S.A. the programmatic speech which 'sets the tune' for later speakers.

KING, William Lyon Mackenzie, Canadian Liberal politician, born 1874. An economist, King was Minister of Labour 1909–11, and was leader of the Liberals from 1919 to 1948. From 1921 to 1930 he was Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs, with a break of a few months in 1926. He was Prime Minister from 1935 to 1948 and was also Minister for External Affairs 1935–46. In 1948 he resigned and was succeeded by L. J. St. Laurent (q.v.).

KING'S SPEECH, or Speech from the Throne, in Great Britain and the Domin-

ions the speech with which the King or his representative opens each session of Parliament. It is composed by the government concerned, whose legislative programme for the session it outlines. The Debate on the Address thanking the King for it is a debate on government policy and lasts many days. Each session is also closed by a speech from the King.

KOLKHOZ, short for Russian *kolektívnoye khozyáistro*, collective economy, the name given to collective farms in the Soviet Union (q.v.). Nearly all Russian agriculture is collectivized. Individual farms were in 1930 combined in large collective farms on which the members, formerly independent peasants, farm jointly with the aid of government-established machine and tractor stations. The land, nominally the property of the state, leased to them for perpetual usufruct. The members, known as *kolkhozniki* or collective farmers, may also own individually a house, a small plot of land, and some cattle for their personal use. There are about 245,000 collective farms in the Soviet Union. The *Kolkhoz*, essentially a co-operative worked by member-owners, is distinct from the *Sovkhoz* (q.v.), a type of Russian state farm worked by government employees.

KOREA, East Asiatic country on a peninsula between Manchuria and Japan, 85,000 sq m., population 25,000,000. The capital is Soul. The Koreans are a Mongolian people speaking a language intermediate between Mongolian and Japanese, with traces of Chinese influence; they use an alphabetic script. Before the last war there were about 600,000 Japanese and 50,000 Chinese in Korea. A Korean minority exists in Soviet East Siberia as a recognized national group. The Koreans are a nation with an ancient history and culture, claiming to have existed already 4,000 years ago. In modern times Korea was a kingdom under Chinese suzerainty, and became the object of Japanese aspirations as a gateway to the continent of Asia. Japan made war on China in 1894 to separate Korea from China and place it under Japanese 'protection'; and Korea became also one of the causes for the Russo-Japanese war of 1905 as Japan alleged the necessity to defend Korea against Russian aspirations. Japan raised Korea nominally to the rank of an empire, but made it in fact a colony. In 1910 Korea was formally annexed by Japan, the last emperor abdicating and receiving the title of Prince Yi. Japan then pursued a policy of Japanization in Korea. Abroad, Korean national committees were formed but for a long time found no support. The Soviet Union showed an early interest in Korea and granted ethnical rights to its Korean citizens.

When the Allies decided in World War II to make Japan return all territories conquered in 1894 from China, the Korean question was reopened. The Yalta Conference in February 1945 decided to restore Korean independence. After Japan's surrender in September 1945 American forces occupied the south of Korea as far as the 38th parallel, while Soviet forces occupied the northern half. The Moscow Conference of November 1945 decided to place Korea under the trusteeship of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China for five years, and an American-Soviet commission was to set up a provisional Korean government composed of democratic parties. The commission failed to agree on the definition of a democratic party, the Russians turning down all parties except the communist. Repeated meetings of the commission in 1946 and 1947 remained without result.

The northern zone comprises 56 per cent of the territory and one-third of the population: it contains most of the country's industry and its wealth in coal, timber and minerals. The southern half comprises most of the agricultural area and two-thirds of the population. In the Soviet zone a communist administration was set up and the land was shared out to the peasants. The communist party, known as the North Korea Labour Party, obtained a 99 per cent majority, together with some co-ordinated shadow parties in Russian-sponsored elections in 1947. A North Korean army was formed. In the American zone a provisional legislative assembly was convened in 1947. The principal parties are the Nationalist Party, the New Korean Party, the Democratic Party (conservative), the People's Republican Party (liberal) and the communists. With the exception of the latter, all parties joined a Representative Democratic Council formed in February 1947 under Syngman Rhee and Kim Koo. At the request of the United States the

United Nations sent a commission to Korea in the autumn of 1947 to supervise new elections and the formation of a regular government, to be followed by withdrawal of American and Russian forces. The commission was not permitted into the Russian zone. Elections were then held under the supervision of the commission in the southern zone only. The Russians also held an election in their zone to which the inhabitants of the south were also invited, and it was alleged that great numbers had taken part. Under Soviet auspices, a Korean People's Republic was then proclaimed at Pyengwuang in the northern zone, laying claim to the whole of Korea, while in the south a provisional government was formed with Syngman Rhee as President. In July 1948 the parliaments of both zones adopted constitutions, the northern one on popular-democratic (communist) lines, and the southern one on the usual democratic pattern. In October 1948 the Russians announced their intention to evacuate North Korea. The United States said it could not yet leave Southern Korea which would then be at the mercy of the communist North Korean army. A communist uprising against the Rhee government in October 1948 was suppressed.

In December 1948 the United Nations Assembly in Paris, by a vote of 41 : 6, recognized the South Korea government as the government of Korea and by a vote of 48 : 6 appointed a commission to supervise the withdrawal of foreign troops and advise the Korean government. Russia boycotted the commission. On 24 December 1948 Russia announced that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from North Korea was complete, while President Rhee of Korea denied this. The United States announced plans for the withdrawal of some of its troops. The Korean premier, Lee Buk Suk, announced the suppression of another communist rising in March 1949. Intermittent fighting against communist insurgents, supported from the north, ensued. Kim Koo, nationalist leader, was assassinated in June 1949. In August 1949 it was announced that U.S. troops had been withdrawn, save for a force of 500 advisers to the Korean army, and that the U.S. would continue economic aid to Korea.

KREMLIN, the ancient castle overlooking Moscow, the seat of Stalin (q.v.) and the Soviet government. Often used as a symbol for Russian policy.

KROPOTKIN, Prince Peter Alexeyevitch, Russian anarchist, theoretician, geographer and naturalist, born 9 December 1842, in Moscow, died there 8 February 1921, served as an army officer in Siberia from 1862 to 1867, and undertook geographical, anthropological and biological research. He finally turned entirely to science and became a geographer and explorer. While in Switzerland in 1871 he became an adherent of socialism and joined the anarchist group of Bakunin (q.v.) in the First International. After his return to Russia he was arrested in 1874 for revolutionary propaganda, fled abroad in 1876, published a periodical called *La Révolte* in Geneva in 1879, was expelled to France where he engaged in revolutionary activities and was sentenced to five years' imprisonment in 1883, but reprieved in 1886 and expelled again. He went to England and lived on writing and scientific work in London. Kropotkin did not join any party or organization, but was regarded until his death as the intellectual head of anarchism (q.v.). His earlier revolutionary attitude somewhat softened as the years went by. He hardly took a hand in any revolutionary attempts but confined himself to writing critical books on society and utopian books on the future anarcho-communist order. He later turned patriotic and developed Western democratic sympathies; he advised the French socialists to vote for the military budget for the sake of 'defence against German imperialism', and in World War I he supported the Allied cause. In July 1917 Kropotkin returned to Russia where he supported Kerensky but played no conspicuous part in the revolution. He rejected communist dictatorship after the October Revolution but stayed in Russia, where the Soviet government left him unmolested in view of his prestige and great age. After his death in 1921 his birth-house in Moscow was converted into a Kropotkin Museum.

Kropotkin's most widely read book was *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (1899), but his most significant work is *Mutual Aid—A Factor in Evolution* (1902), an antithesis to the Darwinian struggle for life and the political theories derived therefrom. Kropotkin states that during his investigations he never saw evidence of a struggle for life

between members of the same species, but found mutual aid, based on 'spontaneous solidarity', to be a universal factor of evolution. This factor, he explained, had been neglected in the Darwinian interpretation of nature in favour of the struggle for life, because capitalist competition had been projected into nature so as to procure a scientific justification for it. Contrariwise, Kropotkin set out to find a natural justification for socialism by a study of mutual aid as a biological factor. He collected a great number of examples of mutual aid from biology and also from human history. His criticism of the neglect of this point in Darwinian thought had considerable influence on social biology, sociology and allied sciences, but it was also objected that Kropotkin had overdone it and by-passed an impressive array of facts proving the struggle for life in nature. In numerous other writings Kropotkin developed his socialist theories which have natural solidarity of men as their starting point and are essentially specimens of ethical-utopian socialism. They are usually described as 'communist anarchism', but 'communal anarchism' would be more correct. Kropotkin rejected Marxian state socialism on the ground of the general anarchist objections: the threat to freedom, state omnipotence, bureaucratic dictatorship. In his earlier period he also rejected parliamentary politics as an instrument of the socialist struggle. His ideas of a future society are laid down in his works *The Conquest of Bread* (1892), and *Farm, Factory and Workshop* (1899). Kropotkin rejects large-scale industrial methods of production because they rest on the soul-killing division of labour which he regards as the greatest evil, and necessitate large production units with compulsion and discipline. To this he opposes a system of small-scale production based on the 'integration of labour', giving more satisfaction to those performing the work. Small communes are to be formed and to produce all their requirements in a mixed system of farming, handicraft and small-scale industry. They are communist in organization, all property is common, there are no wage tariffs, and everybody works according to his abilities, receiving in turn all he wants. Technically the communes are based on the small machine. Working hours are only four or five a day. The self-sufficient communes have no trade, and therefore no friction, with each other. State power and government disappear, and a loose confederation of free communes will regulate common affairs.

Kropotkin's writings did not influence the large political parties or the general trend of the socialist movement, but supplied material to various movements for the protection of handicraft and peasant farming, and inspired certain idealist settlement movements. Among these may be mentioned the short-lived back-to-the-land movement among German youth in the 'twenties, and the strong Jewish communal settlement movement in Palestine in recent years, which has created about one hundred self-sufficient socialist communes, in which some 25,000 people live approximately on Kropotkinian lines.

KU KLUX KLAN, secret political organization in the southern states of the U.S.A., originally formed after the Civil War by ex-confederates in order to terrorize negroes and northerners. Its object was to keep negroes from exercising their political rights. After numerous outrages, the society was suppressed by the Ku Klux Act or Force Bill of 1871 under President Ulysses S. Grant. It had become known also as the White Empire or the Invisible League. The association revived after a considerable interval in 1915 under the leadership of Colonel William J. Simmons of Georgia, and flourished during the period of World War I. In 1924 it had several million members and terrorized a number of states, including Georgia, South Carolina, California, Oregon, Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Ohio and Indiana. The scope of its politics was widened to include anti-semitism and anti-catholicism. Politicians in the states thus affected often bowed to the Ku Klux Klan. It used the old terroristic methods, especially nightly raids, whipping and murder. At meetings and in action, the members wore white hoods with eye-slits. After a few years the movement shrank, but to some extent it revived again after World War II.

KUO MIN TANG, Chinese nationalist party. The name denotes National People's Party. The party was founded in 1905 by Dr. Sun Yat Sen (q.v.) on a nationalist-democratic platform. The Kuo Min Tang participated in the Chinese revolution of

1911 and attempted the 'second revolution' in South China in 1912, failing temporarily but struggling through until it gained the ascendancy under Chiang Kai Shek (q.v.) in the late 'twenties. The south is the traditional basis of the Kuo Min Tang. It was reorganized, still under Sun Yat Sen, in 1923 with the aid of a Soviet adviser, Borodin, and was strongly under the influence of its communist left wing until 1927, when Sun's successor, Chiang, broke with the communists. From this a civil war between the Kuo Min Tang and the communists ensued, going on until this day. (See *China.*) The Kuo Min Tang aims at the establishment of a modern, democratic, national state in China. It stands for national unity, territorial integrity and a strong central government; it insists on full sovereignty of China and the abolition of any unequal treaties. The party platform provided for a 'period of tutelage' for the Chinese people during which the Kuo Min Tang was to be China's governing body until a democratic constitution became possible. The Kuo Min Tang congress was indeed the supreme political authority in China under the 1928 constitution. The new Chinese constitution of 1946 provided for the end of the tutelage period, and on 25 December 1947 the official role of the Kuo Min Tang came to an end. The communist advance in China in 1949 ended Kuo Ming Tang rule in practically all continental China. The Kuo Ming Tang government under Chiang Kai Shek went to Formosa.

In 1949 the Kuo Min Tang contained diverse elements. Its right wing represented the landowners, banking and commercial interests, while its left wing was liberal and also comprised moderately socialist groups. The Kuo Min Tang régime has been criticized for inefficiency and corruption. The party platform continues to be based on Sun Yat Sen's 'Three Principles' of wit, nationalism, democracy and people's livelihood. In practical politics the right wing, which harbours openly reactionary elements, has been dominant in recent years, through the liberal element was struggling to assert itself. Besides Chiang Kai Shek, the most important leaders of the Kuo Min Tang include Dr. Sun Fo, son of Sun Yat Sen and leader of the left wing, T. V. Soong, brother-in-law of Chiang and leader of the right wing, Dr. Koong, Dr. Wang Chung Hui, Chang Chi Chung, Feng Yu Hsiang, Chu Cheng, Chen Kuo Fu, Ho Ying Chin, Chü Chia Hua, Chow Lu, Cheng Chen and Yen Hsi Shan. The number of members was about 3,000,000 in 1948.

KURDS, Middle Eastern people of about 2,500,000, living mainly in the mountainous country between Armenia and the Euphrates River, with dispersed settlements reaching into Syria and Central Asia. The language of the Kurds is Iranian and closely akin to Persian. They are shiite Moslems. Their homeland, known as Kurdistan, is divided between Turkey, Irak and Persia. So far no unitary national movement of the many tribes of the Western and Eastern Kurds, mostly organized on patriarchial lines, has been in evidence, but they constitute a minority problem in their respective countries. About 1,600,000 Kurds live in Turkey, some 250,000 in Irak (in which country they enjoy certain minority rights, including schools in Kurdish), and 600,000 in Persia, where Kurdish uprisings are of frequent occurrence. There are also 50,000 Kurds in Soviet Azerbeijan (see *Azerbeijan*). The Kurds are composed of two elements: the warlike and predatory Assiretes who live as cattle-breeding nomads and are usually those concerned in Kurd risings, and the more peaceful Guran who are far more numerous and are settled peasants. The warrior tribes of the Kurds are sometimes used by the Powers as pawns in the game of Middle East politics. Thus the rising of the Persian Kurds in 1946–7 was connected with the Russian-sponsored separatist movement in Persian Azerbeijan (q.v.).

KURILE ISLANDS, a string of islands between Kamchatka and Sakhalin. They were unowned until 1875, when Japan took them in agreement with Russia. At Yalta (q.v.) they were given to Russia, who occupied them in August 1945, and thus gained control of the mouth of the Sea of Okotsk.

KUWAIT. (See *Arabia.*)

L

LABOUR INDEPENDENT GROUP, in Britain a group formed in 1949 by D. N. Pritt, J. Platts-Mills, K. Zilliacus and L. J. Solley, four Labour M.P.s expelled from the Labour Party (q.v.) between 1940 and 1949 because they criticized as un-socialist the party's policy towards the Soviet Union.

LABOUR MOVEMENT, the movement among manual workers aiming at the improvement of their material, social and political position. As an organized movement it is about as old as the industrial revolution, although it had some forerunners. It asserts the interests and aspirations of the working classes, as against those of the propertied and employing classes usually known as capitalists. The labour movement is world-wide. It is to be found in all industrial countries and in some others. It has two main branches, the industrial and the political; the co-operative movement (q.v.) is often accounted a third branch. The industrial branch is represented by the labour unions, the political branch by the labour parties which are usually identical with the socialist parties. International associations of labour unions as well as of labour parties provide mutual contact. In the United States the labour movement has for a variety of reasons (see *United States*) so far found expression mainly in unionism, while the socialist parties have remained insignificant.

The modern labour movement is an essential factor in the life and politics of many nations. It has enormously improved the position of the working classes and the general standard of life in many countries. Opposition to it on the part of the propertied classes on the other hand accompanied its growth for a long time, and even to-day underlies many political moves. Dictatorships of the fascist type have been bent on the suppression of the labour movement. In democratic countries, however, the majority of the propertied classes seem to have accepted the existence of the labour movement and to regard trade unions as a permanent, indeed useful institution. Labour parties have been in government, solely or in coalition with others, in a great number of European countries for the last three decades.

In this volume the main branches of the labour movement are dealt with in separate articles. For the industrial side, see *Trade Unions, American Federation of Labour, Congress of Industrial Organizations and International Labour Organization*: for the political side, see *Communism, Internationals, Marxism* and *Socialism* where further references to pertinent articles will be found.

LABOUR PARTIES, political parties undertaking the political representation of labour. The underlying idea is that labour should have a political representation of its own, its specific interests not being compatible with, or adequately representable by, parties dominated essentially by the propertied classes, as all other political parties usually are; and that industrial action by trade unions is not enough to safeguard the interests of the workers, but must be supplemented by political and legislative action in parliaments and otherwise. Thus, the labour movement (q.v.) in countries with labour parties has two wings, viz. the trade union movement and the political movement. Labour parties are almost always socialist and aim, apart from the improvement of the position of the workers under the existing order, ultimately at taking power with the object of establishing a socialist economy by planning and the nationalization of industry. The large majority of labour in all democratic countries, with the exception of the United States, supports labour parties, of which essentially two types exist: the democratic labour parties or social-democrats (see *Social-Democratic Parties*) and the com-

munist parties (see *Communism*, *Socialism*). In some Latin countries there are also labour parties of the syndicalist type (see *Syndicalism*). The name Labour Party usually signifies a democratic labour party, but it has recently been assumed, mostly in a hyphenated form, by semi-camouflaged communist parties in some countries. Labour parties are by implication class parties, but a tendency to embrace elements other than working-class ones has been growing in recent years. On the British Labour Party, see the next article. In Australia and New Zealand (both q.v.) the labour parties are powerful and long held office. In Canada (q.v.) the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation is gaining strength. In the United States repeated attempts at forming a labour party have so far met with little success for reasons which are discussed in the article *United States*.

In 1947–8 the number of socialist voters in the world was about 50,000,000, and that of communist voters (outside Russia) about 23,000,000.

LABOUR PARTY, in Britain the political party founded in 1900 to give independent representation to British labour, which had hitherto been organized mainly in a trade union movement and politically attached to the Liberal Party. Some forerunners, including the Social-Democratic Federation (1881), and the Independent Labour Party (1893, q.v.), joined with the trade unions and the Fabian Society (q.v.) in founding it. It was at first known as the Labour Representation Committee, and did not change its name until after the electoral victory of 1906, when it obtained 29 seats in the House of Commons and 323,000 votes. It was at first a federation of trade unions, co-operative and socialist societies without a specifically socialist programme, but gradually its policy became more socialist, until in 1918 it promulgated a socialist statement of aims. Its object was now to be 'to secure for the producers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service'. This aim was to be achieved not by violent revolution but by liberal democratic methods. The party's policy is not based on Marxism (q.v.)—instead it is derived from the ethical idealism of the labour, co-operative and radical movements and the practical rationalism of Fabianism. The 1918 constitution also provided for the acceptance of individual members; previously only organizations had been able to affiliate.

The recurrent dissensions of the Liberal Party (q.v.) helped the Labour Party to become the chief opponent of the Conservative Party (q.v.). At the election of 1923 it obtained 4,348,000 votes and 191 seats. Although the Conservatives remained the largest party, their two opponents outnumbered them and they resigned. The first Labour government took office under J. R. MacDonald; its dependence on liberal support caused its early fall. Labour returned to office in 1929 with 8,363,000 votes and 287 seats—again dependent on the liberals. The economic and financial crisis of 1930–1 caused the party to split on the issue of cutting the social services to obtain a balanced budget. MacDonald and Snowden favoured this policy, which was rejected by the majority of the cabinet. The government resigned and MacDonald formed a 'National Government' with the Conservatives and Liberals while the bulk of the Labour Party went into opposition. There it remained until 1940, when the incompetence of the National Government, now led by N. Chamberlain, caused the formation of a coalition of Conservatives, Liberals and Labour under Churchill (q.v.). The coalition lasted until May 1945 when the defeat of Germany was followed by a resumption of party politics. At the general election of July 1945 Labour obtained 11,992,000 votes, more than had ever before been obtained by a single party, and 393 seats. The first Labour government with a House of Commons majority was formed by C. R. Attlee (q.v.).

The labour government proceeded to the nationalization of the Bank of England, Cable and Wireless Ltd., civil aviation, coal, electricity, gas and transport (the nationalization of part of the iron and steel industry is to operate as from 1 October 1950 and the control of other industries, either by ministerial regulations, or by these and 'developing councils' (see *Working Parties*). Among other measures have been acts to extend town and country

planning, and the national health and national insurance services.

These measures have been supported by all sections of the Labour Party. There are, however, certain divisions of opinion with regard to domestic policy. On the right are members like H. Morrison (q.v.) who has suggested that the party consolidate its gains and see how the first experiments in socialism work before new ones are started; on the left are members like A. Bevan (q.v.) who are believed to want further progress, especially the nationalization of iron and steel. The policy for solving the economic crisis is similarly a subject of division—the expansionist financial policy of H. Dalton (q.v.) has been followed by the more cautious restrictionism of Sir S. Cripps (q.v.).

The government's foreign policy has been criticized less by the opposition than by members of the party, on the left of which there have been two groups. One, headed by R. H. S. Crossman and M. Foot, has wanted a policy of independence of American aid and influence and of intimate co-operation with socialists in Western Europe (see *Third Force*); the other, led until their expulsion by K. Zilliacus and J. Platts-Mills (see *Nenni Telegram*), has gone further and wanted close association with the U.S.S.R. and the European communists.

The present membership of the Labour Party is 5,422,437, of whom 4,751,300 are members of the 73 affiliated trade unions (see *Trade Disputes Acts*). The supreme authority in the party is the annual Whitsun conference; this elects a National Executive. In addition there is the Parliamentary Labour Party. The party as a whole consists of constituency associations and trade unions together with the Fabian Society and the Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society's Political Purposes Committee. Since the disaffiliation of the Independent Labour Party in 1931 the party has refused to accept the affiliation of other political parties—the I.L.P. itself, the Communist Party and Common Wealth; the Co-operative Party is not affiliated but is in close association. The General Council of the Trades Union Congress (q.v.), the Labour Party, the Parliamentary Labour Party and the Co-operative Union are united in the National Council of Labour. (See also *Co-operative Movement, Internationals, Social Democracy, Socialism.*)

LABOUR THEORY OF VALUE. (See *Locke, Marxism, Socialism.*)

LABRADOR. (See *Newfoundland.*)

LAISSEZ-FAIRE, from the slogan of the eighteenth-century French economists—*laissez-faire, laissez-aller* ('let do, let pass'), an appeal for freedom of production and trade from government interference. It later became the slogan of the advocates of free capitalism. As a result of criticism from socialists, humanitarians and monopolists, *laissez-faire* has become a term of abuse. (See also *Free Trade, Liberalism, Manchester School.*)

LATERAN TREATY. (See *Italy, Vatican City.*)

LEAGUE OF NATIONS, the first attempt at creating a world-wide, international organization of states, inspired by pacifist, liberal and socialist ideas and based upon the experience of World War I. The League was set up in 1920 and its Covenant was embodied in the peace treaties. At one time the League had fifty-six members. It was created by the victors in World War I, only the United States keeping aloof, but the neutrals were soon admitted; the vanquished states followed some time later (Germany in 1925), and the Soviet Union joined in 1934. The leading Great Powers held permanent seats on the League Council. The Covenant barred aggression and violation of the integrity of any other state, and the use of violence in general unless preceded by League arbitration. Sanctions were provided against recalcitrants; they had to be instituted by the Assembly.

The League was hampered in its functions by the absence of the United States, later by the alternating absence or withdrawal of one or another Great Power in Europe and Asia. It had no real executive power, and the members never seriously intended to give up part of their sovereignty in favour of the League. The cleavage between victors and vanquished of World War I also made the League's work difficult. The League prevented a few small conflicts in Europe, but failed in greater tests. In 1932 Japan attacked China in Manchuria; when the League condemned this action, Japan left the League. The League did nothing. In 1933 the agreement reached by the disarmament confer-

ence (q.v.) in Geneva seemed to give new hope, when Germany, where Hitler (q.v.) had meanwhile taken power, left the League, which many Germans had always regarded as an Allied agency. But signs of a change in this respect had just begun to appear. Russia's adherence in 1934 seemed to compensate for this, but when the League tried in 1935 to protect its Abyssinian member from an attack by Italy, it suffered another defeat. Italy left the League, which was unable to go beyond limited economic sanctions which it had to repeal in the end without having achieved its purpose.

This finally shattered the League's prestige, and the Powers returned to the policy of blocs and alliances which the League had attempted to replace by a policy of 'collective security' (q.v.). After this the League remained inactive, both on the occasion of Hitler's various actions in 1938 and 1939, and also at the outbreak of World War II in September 1939. After Russia's attack on Finland, the Assembly met on 11 December 1939 to expel the Soviet Union from the League. The Assembly did not meet again until April 1946, when it decided to dissolve the League, already replaced by the United Nations (q.v.) and the Court, replaced by the International Court of Justice of the United Nations.

Although the political achievements of the League were small, its social and economic activities were important. In providing information and stimulating international discussion of social and economic problems, in forwarding the welfare of colonial peoples (see *Mandates*), and in combating disease, the drug, slave and white slave traffics, the League did much useful work. (See also *International Labour Organization.*)

LEBANON, Arab republic in southwestern Syria (q.v.), was under French mandate till 1941 like all Syria, has been independent since. The capital is Beirut. The area is only 4,000 sq. m., and the population of 1,000,000 includes 600,000 Christians (Syrian Catholics known as Maronites, Roman Catholics, Greek Orthodox Christians) and 400,000 Moslems. The mainly Christian character of the population was the chief reason for the separation of the Lebanon from the rest of Syria. Arab national feeling, however, is also strong in the Lebanon, which is a member of the Arab League (q.v.). President is Beshara el Khoury, elected 1943. The last French troops left the republic on 31 August 1946.

LEEWARD ISLANDS. (See *British West Indies.*)

LEFT-WING PARTIES, the progressive parties whose representatives customarily sit on the left-hand side (viewed from the chair) in the parliaments of most non-British countries (in most of the legislatures of the British Commonwealth the supporters of the government of the day sit on the right and the members of the opposition on the left). The custom dates from the French National Assembly of 1789, in which the progressives sat on the left, the moderates in the centre and the conservatives on the right. Nowadays 'left' is more or less synonymous with 'radical' in its general meaning, and, indeed, a generalization expressed in the terms 'left-wing policy' or 'left views' is current political usage. This refers especially to socialist and communist parties, but liberals also are often reckoned as left wing. Moreover, within the individual parties, the more progressive or radical wing is usually styled the left wing, and even conservative ('right-wing') parties are credited with 'left wings', meaning those members in partial sympathy with progressive or labour views. Going from right to left, the sequence of left-wing parties in order of increasing radicalism is liberal, socialist, communist. The communists are referred to as the 'extreme' or 'far' left. The term is even used in various degrees of comparison, such as 'more left wing', and 'right wing' is used similarly. (See *Centre Parties, Right-wing Parties, Conservative Parties, Progressive Parties.*)

LEGITIMISTS, monarchists who advocate the restoration of a deposed legitimate dynasty, as against supporters of a republican government or of the claims of a cadet branch of the dynasty.

LEND-LEASE, the system of lending and leasing supplies and installations to each other developed by the Allies in World War II. It was started by President Roosevelt (q.v.) to avoid the restrictions of the Johnson Act of 1935, which had forbidden financial loans to states which had defaulted on their World War I loans—i.e.

the Allies. The Lend-Lease Act of 1941 authorized the manufacture or procurement of munitions (later foodstuffs and other materials also) for any country whose defence the President might deem vital to the defence of the U.S.A.; he might sell, lend or lease such goods and installations on such terms as he thought satisfactory—repayment in kind was anticipated. Britain was the first and chief beneficiary. Later the other Allies made lend-lease agreements among themselves and also supplied goods and services to the U.S.A. ('reverse lend-lease'). The total spent by the U.S.A. between March 1941 and December 1945 was $49,096,000,000 (about £12,000,000,000), of which the British Empire received $30,753,304,000 (62·6%), the U.S.S.R. $11,141,470,000 (22·7%), France $2,377,072,000 (4·8%), China $1,335,632,000 (2·7%) and a number of other countries the rest. The total received by the U.S.A. before the end of the war (August 1945) was $7,345,747,000 (about £1,836,000,000), of which $6,306,149,000 (85·9%) came from the British Empire. In August 1945 President Truman announced the ending of lend-lease. In 1945 and 1946 the U.S.A. made with many countries agreements for the settlement of lend-lease; the other countries had to pay only for those supplies and installations which could still be used. Britain paid $615,000,000. (See also *American Loan*, *European Recovery Programme*, *Truman Doctrine*.)

LENIN, Vladimar Ilyitch, founder of communism (q.v.) and leader of the Russian Revolution, born 22 April 1870 at Simbirsk, died 21 January 1924 in Moscow, was the son of a liberal high school teacher, studied the law, joined the labour movement at an early stage and was relegated from the university for his political activities. His brother was executed by the Tsar's government. Lenin's real name was Ulyanoff; in the Russian revolutionary movement it was customary to adopt an *alias*. Lenin was exiled to Siberia for some time; then he went abroad. In 1897 he had helped to found the 'Militant League for the Emancipation of the Working Class', out of which evolved the Russian Social-Democratic Party, in which Lenin was from the outset the leader of the left wing. In 1903 the party split into the radical bolsheviks (see *Bolshevism*) under Lenin and the moderate mensheviks (q.v.) under Martoff. The quarrel was about the platform and the organization of the party. Lenin lived in exile from 1907 to 1917, wandering between Munich, Paris, London, Vienna and Switzerland. At international socialist congresses he became conspicuous as an advocate of the radical trend. He sharply opposed the support given to World War I by the socialist parties of all countries, and declared that they had betrayed the socialist principles. He now broke finally with social democracy. After the Russian Revolution of February 1917 he returned home, travelling across Germany in a sealed carriage provided by the German General Staff. The Germans hoped that Lenin's revolutionary activities would lead to the elimination of Russia from the war, a hope that was fulfilled. Lenin arrived at Petersburg in April 1917 and assumed the leadership of the Bolshevik Party whose membership was only 12,000 at the time. Under his direction the movement grew rapidly, yet a first uprising in July 1917 proved premature and Lenin had to go into hiding for a few months. Together with Trotsky (q.v.) he organized the October revolution. On 25 October 1917 (old Russian style—7 November according to the Western calendar) they overthrew the Kerensky government and established a proletarian dictatorship in the shape of the Soviet system. (See *Soviet*.) Lenin became president of the council of the people's commissars, as the government was now called, a civil war of four years' duration ensued, and ended in the victory of Lenin's party.

Lenin confirmed the split in the socialist world movement in 1919 by founding the Third International in opposition to the social-democratic Second International. (See *Internationals*.) On the basis of his theories it adopted a radical platform for universal revolution. Lenin was regarded as the leader not only of Russian but of world revolution, and communist parties accepting his leadership were formed in many countries. He ruled Russia as a dictator, by terrorist methods and a secret police which later became the model of all similar institutions in totalitarian countries. In spite of his iron will to power and the objectionable methods he adopted, there is no doubt of the sincerity of his belief and the purity of his ideals. Yet he combined the ways of a rigid doctrinaire with those of an elastic

tactician. In 1922 he dropped radical 'war communism' for the 'New Economic Policy' which admitted a measure of capitalist business to promote reconstruction. In the same year Lenin was shot at by a woman belonging to a dissentient faction, and though the wound was not mortal his health remained shaken afterwards. In 1923 he fell ill and had to retire from government activities; he died on 24 January 1924. His body was embalmed and permanently exhibited in the Lenin mausoleum outside the Kremlin in Moscow. The mausoleum became a Russian shrine. The city of Petersburg was renamed Leningrad.

Lenin's theories Lenin professed orthodox Marxism (q.v.) and attempted to apply the methods of Marxian analysis to the new political and economic phenomena which had emerged since the days of Marx. His system became later known as Leninism or Marxism-Leninism. In particular, Lenin connected the Marxian law of the concentration of capital with the policy of imperialism (q.v.). taking his views largely from the English Fabian, J. A. Hobson, and the German socialist, Hilferding, who had written on imperialism and financial capital respectively. The concentration of capital inherent in the capitalist system, says Lenin, leads to the growth of economic monopolies such as trusts, combines and cartels. (See *Monopoly Capitalism.*) These monopolies ally with the banks to form what is called financial capital, and this combination of bankers and big industrialists obtains control of the machinery of government by influencing political parties, elections, the formation of opinion, etc. It wants foreign markets, sources of raw materials and opportunities for investment. The state is to get these by its foreign policy, and thus financial capital pushes the nations along the road of imperialism. The export of capital for investment becomes more and more important as compared with the export of goods. The competing financial capitalists of the various countries collide in the scramble for colonies and spheres of influence, and the sequel is war. The purpose of war is solely profit for financial capital, which is masked by patriotic and other high-sounding phrases.

At home, financial capital becomes more and more parasitic; luxury industries grow while true productive industries of essential products decline. Imperialism is not only a policy but indeed an economic system; it is the last stage of moribund capitalism whose inner contradictions it shows in the highest degree, and breeds ever greater wars and crises until it is followed by proletarian revolution. (As a Marxian, Lenin was a historical determinist to whom history is a process developing in prescribed and predictable stages.) This theory is laid down in Lenin's pamphlet *Imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism* (1915). One feature of imperialism is that the capitalists use some of their colonial extra profits to pay higher wages to skilled workers, which Lenin calls a 'bribe', and this leads to the rise of a 'labour aristocracy' which seeks to control the labour movement and to guide it toward 'reformism' instead of proletarian revolution. The lower sections of the working class, however, to whom no such inducements are offered, can preserve their proletarian purity of heart, and it is to them that Lenin looks for unadulterated revolutionary socialism. The economic split within the working class is the basis of the political split advocated by Lenin, and it is the task of the communists to combat the labour aristocracy and its political exponent, social democracy.

To Lenin, the Socialist Party is an intellectual *élite* naturally entitled to lead the masses whom he considers incapable of developing more than a primitive trade unionism. The *élite* alone can create a socialist ideology and may impose it by discipline and indeed dictatorship. This differs from the view of the social-democrats who believe that Marx taught that socialist ideology grew naturally from the proletariat and its conditions of living; on this view the social-democratic parties had been organized as democratic mass parties. Lenin, however, insisted on being the only true interpreter of Marxism.

The state was to Lenin, as it had been to Marx, just the instrument of the ruling class. In his pamphlet *State and Revolution* (1918) he explained that the proletariat must not take over the middle class state but must destroy it and substitute the Soviet state for it. Lenin did not think much of democratic processes and the vote of the majority; once he said that liberty was a middle-class prejudice. He kept stressing the two (none too conspicuous) passages in Marx's minor writings which speak of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The idea of de-

carrying out a proletarian revolution in backward Russia before a middle-class revolution and large-scale industrialization had taken place, seemed to contradict Marx's teachings on the sequence of historical stages. But Lenin explained that world capitalism must be regarded as a whole, and nothing less than a world revolution must be contemplated; such an approach would show Russia to be the weakest link of world capitalism, and nothing would be more natural than world revolution starting just here. Yet he firmly expected an early revolution also in more advanced countries, above all in Germany, and presumably acted on this assumption. With a view to undermining imperialism, the mainspring of contemporary capitalism, he advocated support for the colonial peoples' movements for emancipation.

Lenin's predictions on world revolution have not been confirmed. The validity of his theories is much disputed even among socialists, and it is questionable how far they still form the basis of Russian or communist policies. His theory of the urge to export capital as the main force behind politics reads oddly in an age marked by the almost complete cessation of private international credit. Lenin's doctrine of financial capital being the engineer of expansionist policies and imperialism has certainly achieved great popularity; but it is pointed out by critics that such policies have existed also prior to the emergence of financial capital and that the recent policy of the socialist Soviet Union looks not dissimilar from it. The Soviet system as established by Lenin is a thing of the past in Russia, and so apparently is the strict internationalism taught by him. The admirers of Lenin point to his historical role as a statesman and state-founder, and think him one of the great pioneers of progress. His critics, on the other hand, point out that Lenin was the first political leader to initiate the abolition of the traditional notions of liberty, democracy and humanity in Europe, and created the first totalitarian state, supplying the model to fascism and Nazism. They hold that the division of the international labour movement inspired by Lenin paved the way for the temporary rise of these systems and all it entailed.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN, Pakistani politician, born 1895. He joined the Moslem League in 1923 and was its General Secretary 1936–47. He was a member of the United Provinces Legislative Council 1926–40, and of the Central Legislative Council 1940–7. In 1946–7 he was Finance Minister in the all-India Executive Council. On the establishment of Pakistan in 1947 he became Prime Minister of the new Dominion.

LIBERAL INTERNATIONAL. (See *Liberalism*, last paragraph.)

LIBERALISM, a political philosophy standing for the freedom of the individual, democratic institutions and free enterprise. The liberal movement arose in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries during the struggle of the rising middle-class against feudal society, the rule of the aristocracy and the Church. In countries in which the middle classes had won an early ascendancy, such as England and Holland, liberal principles had permeated politics even earlier. The principles of liberalism, ultimately derived from the school of natural law and innate human rights, formed the foundation of the American and French revolutions and are to this day coextensive with the fundamentals of democracy (q.v.). The name 'liberal' came into use after the Napoleonic wars; the Spanish liberals were the first political party to adopt it. Liberalism proclaimed the basic democratic liberties and demanded constitutional government based on popular representation. Economically it stood for free enterprise, private property, free trade at home and abroad. Indeed it has been described as the expression of the political needs of the capitalist or *bourgeois* class (see *Marxism, Capitalism*). Liberalism was, and is to this day, rationalist and on the Continent anti-clerical. However, there were from the outset some classes of people whom at least the older liberalism wished to exclude from the liberties it preached: the working classes at home and the colonial peoples overseas. The earlier liberals opposed universal suffrage and wished to reserve democratic rights to the propertied classes.

About 1840 the older liberalism was challenged by radicalism, which preached mass democracy on the basis of universal suffrage and the uncompromising application of liberal principles to all. It drew the support of the masses, especially the working classes, and was partly responsible for

the European revolution of 1848. It became dominant in the liberal movement, but again the conflict between the interests of the property-owning middle classes and the rising working classes made itself felt, although the newer form of liberalism secured recognition of trade unions and political equality for the workers, and developed a growing school of advanced social thought. The workers moved from the liberal to the socialist parties in Europe during the last decades of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth century.

On the whole, liberalism was the dominant political force of the nineteenth century and thoroughly remade the world. It became identified with progress, secured political democracy throughout Western Europe and constitutional government in Central Europe. In foreign policy it advocated freedom and self-determination for all European nations, and sponsored the national unification of those nations which had not attained to it earlier, linking their aspirations with the demand for liberal constitutions. The earlier rigid rejection of state interference of any kind with economic life, and actually with the life of the individual, embodied in the famous slogan of *laissez-faire, laissez-aller*, gradually gave way to a policy of social legislation and the use of the state as a reforming agency. Colonial reform also became part of the liberal programme. In the twentieth century liberalism continued to flourish until World War I, the socially-minded section coming more and more into prominence, but the replacement of the German and Austrian empires by the democracies temporarily established in their place was the last great feat of liberalism in Europe. In the period between the two World Wars liberal parties dwindled to small groups in most European countries, and have not substantially recovered since World War II. This is often explained as a corollary of the decline of the middle class, the social basis of liberalism. It is certainly true that there is no strong liberalism in countries in which no strong middle class has evolved, or in which it has disintegrated due to economic developments, but on the other hand, the middle classes of England can be said to have remained fairly intact, and yet the Liberal Party has declined there. (On attempts at explaining the decline of liberalism on the lines of economic determinism, see again *Marxism, Capitalism, Monopoly Capitalism.*) A simpler explanation is offered by those who argue that the general acceptance of basic liberal principles by all other democratic parties (in Britain, e.g., the conservatives and, with important qualifications in the economic field, the Labour Party) has made a special Liberal Party superfluous. However that may be, the influence of totalitarian ideologies has in not a few countries also been a factor undermining liberalism. They have certainly made it—the ideology rather than the party—one of the main targets of their attack.

In conclusion, it may be said that the word 'liberal' is to-day understood in two different ways. In the wider sense, it means adherence to fundamental personal and political liberties, and the philosophy behind them, whether under a capitalist or socialist system of economy. It also implies toleration, one of the essentials of the liberal creed. The more specific definition, however, wishes to restrict the term to views and parties upholding political democracy, but insisting on a capitalist economic system. The problems arising from the clash of the liberal conception of democracy and modern social trends are discussed in the concluding sections of the article on *Democracy* in this volume. (On leading thinkers of liberalism, see *Bentham, Hume, Locke, Mazzini, Mill, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Spencer.*)

Liberal Parties In Britain the Liberal Party (q.v.) was the predominant party between 1830 and 1885, since when it has been weakened by continual dissensions amongst its leaders, and has lost ground to the conservative and labour parties (both q.v.). Since the brilliant Campbell-Bannerman-Asquith ministries of 1905–15 it has not held power on its own, though it has participated in coalition governments.

In the British Dominions there are liberal parties in Canada and Australia. The Canadian Liberal Party has predominated since 1894, with certain intervals. The Australian party, which is an amalgam of several anti-socialist groups and has several times changed its name, came to power in 1949. In Southern Rhodesia the Liberal Party is a dissident section of the United Party which has held office since 1934. In India the liberals are a small group of eminent statesmen without mass support.

In France (q.v.) liberalism is represented mainly by the Radical Socialist Party, which is neither socialist nor very radical, and which held a key position in French politics until World War II, but was reduced to a small, if influential, group after that war. The German liberals, which had split into true liberals and national liberals under Bismarck, were united in the strong Democratic Party in the first years of the Weimar republic, but later in the twenties the party dwindled. After World War II, German liberalism was resuscitated under the flag of the Free Democratic Party, which at present controls about one-tenth of the vote. In Italy the liberals were the dominant party from national unification, which was their work, to World War I. After the fascist period only a small remnant under such veteran leaders as Benedetto Croce and Count Sforza survives. Liberal parties hold their own in Sweden and Denmark, and in Switzerland the liberals are the strongest party. (See articles on all the countries mentioned, section on parties.) In Eastern Europe, liberal parties were influential in earlier times, although they never effected the reforms associated with liberalism in the West; they were reduced to impotence by the various dictatorial régimes during the period between the two World Wars, and now exist only as communist-co-ordinated shadow parties, except in Greece (q.v.).

In the United States there has never been a special Liberal Party of any importance, since both great American parties and the whole American political system are identified with liberalism. Its basic ideas are consolidated in the Constitution, and a deep-seated liberalism pervades most aspects of the country. The United States has assumed the earlier role of England in sponsoring liberal parties throughout the world, though it seems to be finding less material to work with, and for other reasons lends its support also to more conservative parties. Nevertheless, it is the great citadel of classical liberalism in the contemporary world. American groups describing themselves as liberals have been in the news in recent years, not as a party (except the New York Liberal Party mentioned later), but as bodies of progressive-minded citizens supporting the New Deal (q.v.) and trying to strengthen the left wings in both great parties. For a time men like Reinhold Niebuhr and Harold Ickes were associated with this trend. Gradually, communists infiltrated into the liberal groups, and as a result the name 'liberal' acquired a connotation of communist sympathies in America. In March 1947 the liberals split into an anti-communist group known as the Americans for Democratic Action, and a group calling itself the Progressive Citizens of America, in which the communists maintained their position. The latter group sponsored the presidential candidacy of Henry Wallace (q.v.) in 1948. American liberals of both shades continue to advocate the defence and expansion of the social legislation of the New Deal. The right wing of the American Labour Party (q.v.) broke away from it in 1942 as the Liberal Party, led by Dean Alfange. It has essentially remained a New York affair. In 1924 it polled 329,000 votes in New York while supporting the democrats. It upholds the New Deal.

In Latin America liberal parties exist in most countries, and are of particular importance in Argentine, Chile and Colombia (all q.v.). In some Latin American countries parties calling themselves liberal are in fact conservative or reactionary, and have supplied many a local dictator. Generally speaking they represent the urban middle classes against the landowners.

Liberal International At the initiative of the British liberals the liberal parties of nineteen nations held a congress in Oxford in April 1947 and established a Liberal International under the name of World Liberal Union. (It is to be remembered that internationalism is a basic ingredient of the liberal creed, though not to the exclusion of intelligent patriotism. It is indeed pointed out that the liberal period, with its few and short wars, its free trade, travel and migration, its world currency (gold), and its strong consciousness of the unity of world civilization, brought white mankind nearer to the condition of a virtual world state than it has ever been previously or afterwards.) The Liberal Union issue a manifesto restating the liberal cause, reiterating fundamental democratic rights, supporting social legislation, but upholding private enterprise and rejecting state ownership of undertakings. The manifesto calls for an international organization with authority to enforce the observance of obligations freely entered into, for the free exchange of

goods and ideas and the development of backward areas.

LIBERAL PARTY, in Britain the smallest of the three great parties. It is the successor of the old Whig Party (see *Whigs*) which in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries stood for limitation of the royal power, the extension of civil liberties and religious tolerance for Protestant dissenters —like the Tories (q.v.) their opponents and the party of the Church of England, the Whigs were long opposed to the grant of civil and political rights to Roman Catholics. In the nineteenth century the party became liberal, as the result of the accession of some of the conservatives and the growth of a radical movement. From 1830 to 1885 the Whig, later the Liberal, Party was the dominant party—its period of power is associated with political, economic and social reforms. But the party had always been an uneasy coalition of Whigs moderates and radicals, of landowners and members of the industrial and commercial middle class, of aristocrats and democrats. In 1886 it split on the question of granting Home Rule (q.v.) to Ireland (q.v.). Some Whigs and some radicals left the party and later, as liberal unionists, joined the conservatives. The party did not fully recover until 1905, when, once again on the verge of disruption, this time on imperial policy, it was united in defence of free trade, threatened by the conservatives. Ten years of office followed—the brilliant reforming cabinets of Campbell-Bannerman and Asquith—until in 1915–16 the party again split. Part wanted Lloyd George to become war leader, part wanted to retain Asquith—the former won the day, and combined with the conservatives until 1922. In 1923 the party was again united by a conservative threat to free trade, but its unity was precarious. In 1931 it split into three sections —Lloyd George's family, opposed to liberal participation in the 'National Government' formed to deal with the economic crisis, a group led by Samuel, which participated but did not intend to accept the conservative's policy of protection, and a group led by Simon, which was prepared to co-operate fully with the Conservatives in order to keep the Labour Party out of power. In 1932 the Samuelites left the ministry on the issue of free trade; the Simonites, about half the parliamentary party but supported by only a small minority of the local associations, remained with it, calling themselves the Liberal National Party—in 1948 they changed their name to National Liberal Party (q.v.).

The Samuelites remained in opposition until 1940. They opposed the government's policy of industrial and agricultural restriction at home, its protectionism, and its policy of appeasement (q.v.) abroad. In 1937 Samuel accepted a peerage and was succeeded by Sinclair (q.v.) as leader of the party in the House of Commons. He led it in the Lords, where there are now about 60 Liberals. In 1940 the Liberals joined the Churchill coalition government, in which Sinclair was Air Minister. In 1945 they left it, refusing to risk being used by the Conservatives as Lloyd George had been used in 1918, when he gave a Liberal façade to a ministry that was really Conservative and was abandoned in 1922. At the general election 312 Liberal candidates stood, only 12 were elected although 2,241,000 votes were polled. The Liberal Nationals, fighting with Conservative support, polled 760,000 votes and obtained 13 seats. Sinclair was defeated and his place as leader of the parliamentary party taken by C. Davies (q.v.). Among other leading members are I. and D. Foot, P. Fothergill, Lady Violet Bonham-Carter, Lord Beveridge (q.v.).

The party is vigorous both in Parliament and the constituencies, but support for it is thinly distributed throughout the country, it has hardly a single 'safe seat', and it can rely on the support of no great section of the electorate. The Conservatives and the National Liberals have suggested that the Liberals join them, but the latter have refused to sacrifice their independence. They are opposed equally to the threat to liberty which they see in socialism and the threat to social reform they see in conservatism. Their own policy is based on the ideas expressed in the World Liberal Union Manifesto. (See *Liberalism.*) However, at the Hastings party conference in 1949 the left wing of the party asserted itself, and a platform was adopted providing for acceptance of the nationalization of certain industries and calling on private enterprise to give workers a share in profits and management. Adherence to social reform was stressed, and greater family allowances were called for.

LIBERAL NATIONAL PARTY. See *National Liberal Party.*

LIBERIA, independent negro republic in West Africa, 43,000 sq. m., population (estimated) 1,000,000 to 1,500,000, all Africans. The capital is Monrovia. In 1822 and subsequent years American philanthropic societies sent freed negro slaves from America to West Africa to form settlements. These settlements united in the Republic of Liberia in 1847, which was soon recognized by England and France, and fifteen years later by the United States. Immigration from America stopped at an early date, and to-day there are hardly more than 12,000 Americo-Liberians. The constitution is modelled on that of the United States, with a President elected for eight years (William V. S. Tubman for 1944–52 term), a Senate elected for six years, and a House of Representatives elected for four years. Voters must be of negro blood and landowners. The True Whig Party has been in power since 1878. In 1943 a second party known as the Democratic Party was founded. The official language is English.

The bulk of the natives live in primitive tribal conditions in the hinterland provinces, and scarcely 50,000 inhabitants of the republic may be called civilized. The descendants of the Americo-Liberians rule the country; their relations with the indigenous Africans are not very happy, and an inquiry made by the League of Nations in 1934 revealed a deplorable state of oppression and exploitation in certain parts of the country, indeed the existence of slavery in concealed forms. A law passed in 1945 admits three representatives of the tribal provinces to the legislature.

During World War II the United States established air bases in Liberia and an agreement of mutual aid was concluded. From this wartime connection sprang renewed interest of America in Liberia, and in 1947 the American Corporation Stettinius Associates, headed by E. Stettinius, former American Secretary of State, and the Liberian government formed the Liberia Company to develop iron ore, lumber and cocoa resources; a majority of the shares are to be owned by Americans; the company was not given a monopoly, and the principle of the open door (q.v.) is being maintained.

LIBYA, until 1945 an Italian colony in North Africa, 675,000 sq. m., population about 850,000, of whom 500,000 are Arabs, 300,000 negroes and 50,000 Europeans, mostly Italians. The principal towns are Tripoli and Benghazi. The territory is largely desert, and only a Mediterranean coastal area of some 17,000 sq. m. is fertile. The Arabs are for the greater part nomads and semi-nomads. The territory, which was of historical importance in antiquity, was Turkish after the sixteenth century, became autonomous in 1711 under a Janissary dynasty which came from Algiers, and a Turkish province again in 1835. About the middle of the nineteenth century Mohammed Ali es Senussi, also an Algerian, founded the religious order of the Senussi (q.v.), which settled the quarrels of the bedouin tribes and gave them a sort of political organization. It came to dominate Cyrenaica, the eastern half of Libya, but did not get more than a foothold in Tripolitania, the western half. In 1911 the Italians conquered Libya. The pro-Turkish Senussi resented Italian rule and fought against the Italians in World War I. In 1920 Italy granted a measure of self-government to Libya. The Sheikh of the Senussi was recognized as Emir of Cyrenaica, while Tripolitania was first declared a republic, but in 1922 the Senussi Sheikh was invited to become Emir of Tripolitania also. From 1921 to 1923 a Cyrenaican parliament was in session at Benghazi. When fascism gained power in Italy it reversed this policy and embarked on a policy of repression of the Senussi and settlement of Italian colonists in Libya. While Italian colonizing achievements were appreciable, the fascist war on the Senussi created a deep rift between Italy and the population. In battles lasting from 1923 to 1931 the Senussi were decimated by an Italian army under Graziani; they lost one-third of their men and nine-tenths of their flocks. The Emir, Idris es Senussi, and part of his followers fled to Egypt.

In World War II the Senussi supported the British against the Italians and obtained a British promise that they would never again be allowed to come under Italian rule. The Senussi claim the independence and unity of Libya under Emir Idris; part of the Tripolitanians support this claim, while others wish an independent Tripolitania separated from Cyrenaica. Ninety-five per

cent of the Libyan population are illiterate, but the small proportion of educated Arabs is concentrated in Tripolitania and is reluctant to accept the domination of the bedouin Senussi. The difference between the two parts of Libya is enhanced by the presence of 40,000 Italians in Tripolitania, while the Italian colonists have left Cyrenaica. (Before the war there were 90,000 Italians in all Libya.) The National Front or *Jebha* in the two provinces is not united. The Emir is said to be progressive but has to take the mood of his puritan Senussi into account.

The Peace Treaty with Italy provided that a decision on Libya (and on the other colonies) should be taken within a year of ratification (i.e. by 15 September 1948). The four major allies, who are to make the decision, appointed a commission to advise on the future of the country. It found that in Tripoli most want an independent united Libya, that in Fezzan (the western part of Tripolitania, occupied by the French) there is satisfaction with French rule, and that in Cyrenaica there is a desire for a constitutional monarchy under Idris es Senussi—only if it became a Senussi monarchy would the Senussi agree to the unity of Libya. Egypt has claimed Cyrenaica and recommended the independence of Tripolitania. A Russian claim to trusteeship was announced in 1946. Since the four allies had not agreed by the given date, the responsibility for disposing of these colonies fell to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The U.N. Assembly rejected the Bevin-Sforza Plan in May 1949—it had provided for Cyrenaica to come under British, and Tripolitania (as from 1951) under Italian trusteeship, with independence for all Libya after 10 years. Violent demonstrations took place in Tripolitania against the return of Italian rule. In June 1949, Emir Idris was recognized by the British as head of the Cyrenaican government with authority over internal affairs. In August 1949, a Tripolitanian national congress acclaimed Emir Idris as head of a united Libya, but it was uncertain what proportion of the population the congress represented. Several political groups have emerged in Libya, including *El Mokhtaram el Barkaoui*, led by the Emir's brother, Bishara es Senussi, and favouring British protection until the achievement of full independence; the National Liberation Front, led by Sheikh Saadaoui, demanding evacuation by foreign forces and full sovereignty at once; and Ali Ragab's Egypt-Tripoli Union, advocating federation with Egypt. British military and naval installations have been established in Libya. On 21 November 1949 the U.N. Assembly ruled that all Libya is to become independent by 1 January 1952.

LIECHTENSTEIN, Principality of, small independent state between Austria and Switzerland, 60 sq. m., population 11,000. The capital is Vaduz, reigning prince: Franz Joseph II (born 1906). There is an elected Diet of fifteen members. The principality in its present form dates from 1719 and was a member of the German Confederation 1815–66. It leaned then toward Austria, and the dynasty was reckoned among the noblest aristocratic families of the Habsburg Empire. The association with Austria was dissolved after World War I, and Liechtenstein entered into a customs and monetary union with neighbouring Switzerland. The Swiss also represent the little principality diplomatically, and the relationship has been described as an unofficial Swiss protectorate. Hitler spared the tiny state, although there was some Nazi trouble. The neutrality and low taxes of Liechtenstein have induced a number of foreign companies to have their offices registered in the principality.

LILIENTHAL PLAN. (See *Atomic Energy Commission.*)

LOBBYING, attempts to solicit or influence members of legislative assemblies about legislation; they are so called because they often take place in the lobbies of the building housing the legislature, although of course they are not confined to such places. They are made by individual voters, political, cultural and economic interests and organizations, and the danger that legislation should be unduly influenced by sectional interests has made lobbying a political problem. This is especially so in the U.S.A., where the legislative weakness of the executive makes it easier for a member to act at the instigation of a 'lobby' (a sectional interest) than in Britain, where the executive is stronger. The federal and state legislatures have taken action, not

very effective, to prevent the improper influencing of their members. (See also *Pressure Groups*.)

LOCAL GOVERNMENT, in Great Britain consisting of two different systems, that of England, Wales and Northern Ireland, and that of Scotland.

England contains the County of London, 50 other administrative counties and 19 county boroughs. The County of London whose council deals with public health, housing and town and country planning, education and many other matters, is subdivided into the ancient City of London and 28 metropolitan boroughs with limited powers. The councils of the administrative counties have powers similar to those of the London County Council; these counties are divided into non-county boroughs and urban and rural districts whose councils deal with a limited range of subjects which intimately affect the life of the citizen and can be administered on a very local level. The county boroughs are districts separated completely from the counties of which they are a geographical part and administered wholly by the local council. County and district councils consist of councillors popularly elected for three years and aldermen nominated by the councillors for six years, half retiring every three years. All borough councils consist of councillors and aldermen similarly, but a third of the councillors retire each year. The councils of boroughs elect a mayor, who serves for one year and is the civic head of the borough. The civic head of a county is the Lord Lieutenant appointed by the Crown; county and district councils elect chairmen to preside over their meetings. All councils work through functional committees representative of all parties on the council. Party politics do not dominate local government to the extent that they do national government, for a large proportion of the issues which divide the nation politically are irrelevant to local government. Despite this, party politics have long affected local government and since 1945 have tended to prevail over local issues in local elections.

The English local government system was constructed in the nineteenth century, since when the population has increased and moved, and government, both central and local, has assumed new functions. As a result the existing administrative machinery is felt to be inadequate, units being too small for effective performance and too large for intimate relations between their councils and their inhabitants, although this last criticism is less true of the administrative parishes of rural districts. In 1945 a Local Government Boundary Commission was appointed; in its report for 1947 it suggested administrative reconstruction. The present county boroughs would be abolished, and replaced by twenty 'one-tier counties', which would be the largest cities and towns. The rest of the country would be divided into new counties. These new counties would contain 'new county boroughs' which would not be wholly independent but would look to the county to provide a few services, such as police and fire defence, and county districts, which would resemble the present urban districts, the powers of the present rural districts being increased. The Commission was dissolved in 1949.

The Local Government Act of 1948 was another attempt to deal with some of the new problems. Local authorities derive their revenue from rates—locally levied taxes on property, grants from the central government and profits from their commercial undertakings. The rating system is now revised, and a new system of grants has been introduced—equalization grants designed to eliminate the present differences between rich and poor authorities by giving more aid to poor authorities. The powers of authorities to provide entertainment have been widely increased. Councillors may be given subsistence and expenses allowances —previously they have been unpaid.

Wales consists of 12 administrative counties and 3 county boroughs; the Local Government Boundary Commission has recommended that Cardiff, now a county borough, become a 'one-tier county' and that the rest of the country be divided into two or three counties.

In *Northern Ireland* there are 6 administrative counties and 2 county boroughs.

Scotland contains 33 counties, within which are districts, large burghs and small burghs, with varying powers, and 4 counties of cities which are administratively independent of the counties of which they are a geographical part. The burghs and counties of cities have councils consisting of popularly elected councillors and baillies co-opted by them; they elect as civic head a

provost. The counties and districts also have councils.

LOCAL OPTION, the delegation by the legislature to the inhabitants of a place of the power to decide by referendum (q.v.) whether the sale of alcoholic liquors should be permitted or prohibited there. In Britain the power is limited to Scotland, but a similar device has been applied to the opening of cinemas on Sundays. (See *Prohibition.*)

LOCKE, John, English philosopher and political thinker, born 29 August 1632 at Wrington near Bristol, died 28 October 1704 at Oates, Essex, was first a physician, entered the government service and held various offices. His political principles are expounded mainly in his *Two Treatises on Government*, of which the second (*Of Civil Government*) is of particular importance, and in his *Letters on Toleration*; some theoretical foundations are also contained in his principal philosophical work *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding.*

Locke was critical of the individualist and absolutist political theory of Hobbes (q.v.), to which he opposed a conception of society as a primary reality. The government, he taught, is responsible to the people, and its power is limited by moral law and by prescribed constitutional principles. Man's natural state is not the Hobbesian war of all against all, but peace and mutual aid. Morality makes the law, not conversely. During the further development of his doctrine, however, Locke got nearer to the individualist point of view. He assigned a central position to private property. The claim to it, he said, is based on the work put into it by its acquirer. This idea may be regarded as a precursor of the labour theory of value. Man has a natural right to life, liberty and property, Locke proclaimed, and this right may be limited only for the protection of similar rights of other individuals. A revolution dissolves only a government, not a society. Government must rest on the consent of the governed; its primary duty is the protection of property. The social will is expressed by majority decisions. Locke advocated the separation of the legislative and executive powers (see *Separation of Powers*). The legislative power must not be arbitrary, must not delegate its functions and must not govern by decree. The executive power must be limited and dependent on the legislature. If the government does not fulfil its duties, Locke taught, it may be changed. In this event, and also in the case of tyranny, the people have the right to resist. Force alone does not create legitimate power. There are just and unjust wars; a mere aggressor acquires no rights, and even the victor in a just war must not interfere with the liberty and property of the vanquished.

The main theme running through Locke's political doctrine is the protection of individual freedom from oppression. He was the first modern prophet of elementary, inalienable human rights and of the right to defend them. His *Treatise* is regarded as a classic of democratic thought, and his influence on the American and French revolutions was great. Strangely enough, however, Locke drafted a constitution for Carolina in 1669 for Lord Shaftesbury, one of the eight proprietaries of the American colony, which was a monument of medieval feudalism. All political rights were vested in the nobility, and the settlers were to be only bondsmen of the aristocratic landowners, subject to the jurisdiction of their lords without right of appeal to the courts. The plan was tried out but had to be abandoned after twenty years.

LOCKOUT, the mass exclusion of employees from work by the employer, usually taking the form of mass dismissal. It is the counterpart of the strike (q.v.) and is used by employers for enforcing their demands on employees or as a weapon against the employees' own demands.

LOG-ROLLING, in the United States political bargaining by which legislators secure, on an exchange basis, each other's support for bills in which they are singly interested.

LORDS, House of, the upper chamber of the British Parliament, composed of the Lords Spiritual and the Lords Temporal. The former are the 2 Archbishops and 24 of the Bishops of the Church of England (q.v.). The latter are the male holders of hereditary peerages of England (created before 1707), Great Britain (1707–1800), and the United Kingdom (since 1800), together with 16 peers elected for each Parliament to represent those peers of Scotland who do not hold also peerages of the previous creations, 7 peers elected for life to

represent similar Irish peers (there should be 26 Irish representative peers, but when the Irish Free State was established in 1922 the machinery for filling vacancies was abolished and only 7 of the peers elected before 1922 remain), and 7 Lords of Appeal in Ordinary, who are appointed to strengthen the House in its judicial character and rank as barons for life—the House is the ultimate court of appeal for the United Kingdom for many subjects, but by convention its judicial functions are performed only by the present and past Lords Chancellor and the Lords of Appeal. The House used to try its own members for felonies, but this privilege was abolished in the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, at the request of the House.

There are now about 830 temporal peers, of whom a large majority are conservative or national liberal; there are about 70 liberal peers and about 60 labour ones. Debates are attended usually only by the party leaders and by other peers specially interested in the topic being discussed—the quorum is 3 and it is unusual for more than 50 peers to attend a debate. In all, about 200 may be counted as active. Those who rarely attend are known as 'backwoodsmen'. The Lord Chancellor, a member of the government, presides. The Leader of the House of Lords is the member of the government charged with the general supervision of the business of the House, especially with the arrangement of the timetable of debates on general motions and on the various stages of a bill's passage through the House; the details are settled by the Chief Whip acting under his control. (See *Whip.*)

The House is a valuable revising and consultative chamber—among its members are leading politicians (ministers and ex-ministers), diplomats, Service chiefs, Dominion and Colonial governors, industrialists, trade-union leaders and men eminent in many activities, as well, of course, as the bishops and the law lords; the exclusion of women and the leaders of the Churches other than the Anglican Church has been criticized. Members of the present labour government have praised the work of the House in improving the bills which the House of Commons has not usually had time to consider properly. Moreover, non-controversial legislation can be discussed first in the Lords, after when the Commons, hard-pressed for time, need not trouble much over the bill in question. Yet the acceptance by the Commons of the Lords' amendments to controversial bills is influenced not only by the intrinsic merit of the Lords' proposals but also by the fact that the Lower House knows that the Upper one can seriously delay the passage of a bill of which it disapproves. Before 1911 it could legally veto a bill, if it thought it expedient or right so to do. Misuse of this power by the conservative majority caused a constitutional crisis, as a result of which the power was reduced. By the Parliament Act, 1911, a finance bill can receive the royal assent within a month of its having been sent to the Lords, even if it is not passed by them; other bills can be similarly enacted after a delay of two years. The Labour Party has feared that the conservatives would use even this limited power to hamper socialization, for a delay of only two years could cause a bill to become unsuited to the conditions with which it was intended to deal. Therefore in opposition to the conservatives, who stress the value of a power to prevent the hasty enactment of a measure unwanted by the electorate, the Labour Party has long proposed to deal effectively with the House should it hamper a labour government. The conservative case is weakened by the fact that the House has almost always quietly passed conservative governments' bills, even when it is possible that a majority of the electorate is opposed to them (e.g. the Education Bill of 1902).

Fearing that the House would reject a bill to nationalize the iron and steel industry, the labour government introduced in 1947 a Parliament Bill to reduce the period of delay to one year. Against conservative and liberal opposition the bill was passed by the Commons. In June 1948 the Lords rejected it, after an inter-party conference had almost reached agreement on the reform of the composition and powers of the House. (For details of the Act and the Bill and of the attitude of the parties to the Bill, see *Parliament Act.*)

The composition of the House has long been a subject of debate. The 1911 Act was intended as the prelude to the remodelling of the House, but no agreement could be reached on the nature of the new chamber. The 1948 conference agreed in principle that the House should be composed of Lords of Parliament for Life, appointed by the King on the recommendation of the

Prime Minister, who would take the advice of the Speaker of the House of Commons and the Leader of the Opposition. Other schemes that have been suggested are—the restriction of voting power to the more eminent peers, the addition to the present House of more life peers, the creation of a chamber of corporations representing vocational and cultural interests (see *Corporate State*), the election of a small upper chamber by the members of the House of Commons as in Norway (q.v.), a House of representatives of geographical divisions larger than the ordinary parliamentary constituencies. The problem is to obtain a house that is effective but not so strongly constituted as to be able to challenge the House of Commons or intimidate the government in favour of sectional interests.

LOW COUNTRIES, a common name for Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg (all q.v.), now economically combined in the Benelux group (q.v.).

LUXEMBOURG, Grand Duchy of, situated between Germany, France and Belgium, 1,000 sq. m., population 300,000. The Grand Duchy belonged to the German Confederation from 1815 to 1866. In 1867 it was neutralized and demilitarized by the Treaty of London. The throne is hereditary in a branch of the House of Nassau, the royal family of the Netherlands. Reigning Grand Duchess: Charlotte, born 1896, ascended the throne in 1919, married to Prince Felix of Bourbon-Parma. The constitution is democratic and parliamentary. The Chamber is elected for six years, one-half of the deputies being chosen every three years. French and German are spoken, the latter, usually in the form of the Luxembourg dialect which has an affinity to Dutch, being used by 80 per cent of the population. There are newspapers in both German and French, and all schools are bilingual. About 20 per cent, including the dynasty and part of the educated classes, talk French, but all Luxembourgers are practically bilingual. The outlook of the population is prevailingly Western.

In World War I Luxembourg was occupied by the Germans. After the war its neutrality was not renewed formally but the Grand Duchy tried to continue it in practice. Its independence and integrity were endorsed in the Versailles Treaty. Luxembourg left the German customs union to which it had previously belonged, and concluded a fifty-years' customs union with neighbouring Belgium in 1921. In World War II the Grand Duchy was once more occupied by the Germans, and incorporated in the Nazi district of Moselland. A plebiscite on political union with Germany held in 1941 resulted in 96 per cent against, and later in the war there was a resistance movement. On the other hand, the *Volksdeutsche Bewegung*, the local branch of the Nazi Party, had 80,000 members, and some 20,000 Luxembourgers served in the German army, S.S., S.A., and similar formations, though largely owing to compulsion. The Grand Duchess and government went to England, and a Luxembourg detachment of volunteers fought with the Belgian army. A decree of 30 November 1944 introduced compulsory military service, and Luxembourg has now a standing army. The Grand Duchess and government returned after the liberation, and a great number of collaborators were tried. The Chamber elected on 21 October 1945 is composed as follows: 25 Christian socials (Catholics), 11 social-democrats, 8 democrats and 5 communists. There is a coalition government of Christian socials and democrats (appointed 1 March 1947) under the leader of the Christian Social Party Dupong, with J. Bech as foreign minister. The Grand Duchy is important on account of its large iron industry (steel output in 1947: 1,800,000 tons; iron ore mined, 2,000,000 tons). It is now one of the three members of the Benelux group (q.v.), the economic association of Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. It is also a member of the Western Union (q.v.) and a party to the North Atlantic Treaty (q.v.).

LYTTELTON, Oliver, British industrialist and conservative politician, born 1893. As a business leader he was made President of the Board of Trade in Churchill's coalition in 1940, he was Minister of State in the Middle East 1941–2, Minister of Production 1942–5, and President of the Board of Trade and Minister of Production in May-July 1945. He is regarded as a leader of those conservatives who oppose extensive government intervention in industry, which they would prefer left free to organize and centralize itself.

M

MACEDONIA, an area in the heart of the Balkan Peninsula (see *Balkans*), about 40,000 sq. m., population 3,000,000, politically divided between Yugoslavia, Greece and Bulgaria. After centuries of Turkish rule Macedonia became a problem of European diplomacy in the nineteenth century. Already at the Congress of Berlin in 1878 Turkey had to promise autonomy for this area, but the pledge was never fulfilled. The population of Macedonia was largely Christian, but not uniform in race and language. Villages of one people alternated with those of another. There were Bulgarians, Serbs, Greeks, Turks, Albanians and a people known as Kutso-Vlakhs. Slav dialects prevailed, but they were neither Serb nor Bulgarian, although more or less similar to the one language or the other according to the district. For a century the armed bands of four nations fought each other in the Macedonian hills, each of the neighbouring states of Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece fostering its co-racialists with a view to claiming the territory at the coming partition of Turkey. Reliable statistics of the population have never been compiled. Greece claimed also the Slav-speaking parts of Macedonia, describing their inhabitants as 'slavophone' Greeks. The boundaries of Macedonia as a whole are also disputed, and the population must be taken a million smaller or larger accordingly. Macedonians would include in Macedonia some neighbouring areas, including the Aegean coast with Salonica. Macedonia occupies a strategic position in the Balkans.

In order to stop endless sectional strife, two Macedonian teachers, Grueff and Delcheff, formed the Inner Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) in 1893 on a platform of 'Macedonia for the Macedonians'. This movement wanted autonomy within Turkey or a Balkan federation. It was mostly under the direction of Bulgarian-speaking Macedonians, but was open also to members of other racial groups. The neighbouring Balkan countries were distrustful of this movement which seemed an obstacle to their plans for annexation. Bulgaria, however, tried to win the movement over to its own scheme. Macedonians persecuted by the Turks were received in Bulgaria, where they became a factor in politics about 1900. A Macedonian committee of action was set up in Bulgaria and despatched combat groups under Bulgarian officers to Macedonia in 1902 to fight the Turks. To their surprise they met with resistance from the IMRO which organized its own militia under the name of *Komitaji* (Turkish for Committee Men). The IMRO was organized in committees; local committees were elected popularly, the higher committees indirectly. The organization was directed by a central committee of three members. In 1903 the Komitaji rose against the Turks but were quickly disposed of. Still the rising caused the Powers to intervene, and the Sultan was compelled to promise self-government once more; the promise remained on paper as the previous one had done. Bulgaria was forced to dissolve the Macedonian Committee, whose leaders joined the IMRO.

The Komitaji gathered again and years of battles between them and the Turks, also the partisans of Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia, ensued until the IMRO became the *de facto* government of large parts of Macedonia. In 1906 a congress of the committees decided on autonomy for Macedonia, rejecting annexation to any neighbouring state. A Macedonian External Representation propagated the cause in other countries and smuggled arms into Macedonia. In 1912 Macedonia became the cause of the first Balkan war. The Balkan League (Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro) called upon the Sultan to put into effect the reforms often promised to Macedonia, and when he gave an unsatisfactory reply it made war on Turkey. The Macedonian

committees had been in sympathy with the Young Turkish movement in 1908, but when it proved nationalist and anti-Macedonian, they turned finally against the Turks. After the victory of the Balkan League, Turkey had to cede Macedonia. The Komitaji, who had fought on the Balkan League's side in the hope for an autonomous Macedonia, were disappointed. Macedonia was partitioned between Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece. Partition led to a quarrel between the victors which was settled by the second Balkan war of 1913. Bulgaria was forced to give up the greater part of her share in Macedonia, which was now partitioned between Greece and Serbia. The portions were henceforth known as South Serbia and North Greece respectively. Bulgaria kept only some 10,000 sq. m. In World War I Bulgaria, with its eyes still on Macedonia, joined Germany and Austria, and occupied Serb Macedonia. After the war, however, the Bulgarians had to return this area and also to cede most of the Macedonian strip they had kept in 1913, including the Aegean port of Dedeagatch. The strip was redivided between Greece and Yugoslavia, the successor of Serbia. Bulgaria kept only a small frontier district at Petrich.

The IMRO was revived in 1920 and turned against the Serbs, to some degree the Greeks also. It was supported by Bulgaria. The Serbs and Greeks expelled some 200,000 Bulgarian-speaking Macedonians to Bulgaria, where they augmented Macedonian influence in politics. In 1923 Greece settled many of its nationals, who had been expelled from Asiatic Turkey, in the Greek portion of Macedonia, expelling Turks and some Bulgarians also, and as a result Greek Macedonia now has a Greek majority. Yugoslav Macedonia was for years the scene of cruel fighting between the Yugoslavs and the IMRO. Inside the IMRO the old struggle went on between the Macedonian-autonomist and the pan-Bulgarian faction, complicated by a new conflict between a communist and a non-communist group. The communists favoured autonomy. Political assassination became frequent in the organization, and the leaders gradually exterminated each other. In 1934 the Bulgarian government liquidated the Macedonian movement in Bulgaria, which had become obnoxious, and expelled the last surviving leader, Mihailoff, to Turkey. Remnants of the IMRO are said to survive underground.

In World War II Bulgaria once more came in on Germany's side for the sake of Macedonia. Bulgarian troops occupied the Yugoslav and Greek portions of Macedonia, but had to give them up again after the war. In 1945 Yugoslav Macedonia became the Macedonian People's Republic within the framework of federal Yugoslavia under the Tito government. This meant at least to some degree the fulfilment of the aspirations of the Macedonian autonomist faction. There is now a Macedonian government and parliament in Skoplje, the new state capital. Out of the various dialects a new written language, Macedonian, was created, which became the language of tuition in schools. It is Slav, but neither Serb nor Bulgarian. Non-Macedonian minorities in the new republic (Serbs, Turks, Albanians, etc.) were granted cultural autonomy and participation in the government. The Kutso-Vlakhs, speaking a Rumanian dialect, were transferred to Transylvania. The Macedonian sub-republic has raised claims to the western part of Greek Macedonia, claiming that there were 75,000 Slav Macedonians in the frontier districts. Yugoslavia also wants Bulgaria's small strip of Macedonia, known as the Pirin. Bulgaria, on the other hand, has not given up her aspirations to all Macedonia. Until 1948, Russia supported only Bulgaria's claims to the eastern part of Greek Macedonia, including Salonica and Dedeagatch on the Aegean Sea; after Tito's defection (see *Yugoslavia*), Russia encouraged Bulgarian claims to the western half of Greek Macedonia also. The short-lived Greek communist government in Northern Greece had Slav Macedonian members.

MACEDONIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, a member state of federal Yugoslavia (q.v.). (See also *Macedonia.*)

MACHIAVELLI, Niccolò, Florentine diplomat and political writer, born 3 May 1469 in Florence, died 20 June 1527 in Pisa, began his career in 1494 as town clerk in Florence, was appointed secretary to the political council of the city republic in 1499 and was sent on various diplomatic missions in Italy and abroad. When the Medici took Florence, Machiavelli, who had remained a republican loyalist, was dismissed

and for a time imprisoned. He then retired to the country and used his enforced idleness to write his two principal works, *Il Principe* (The Prince), and *Discourses on the First Ten Books of Livy*. Both books were essentially written in 1513. Machiavelli dedicated the *Prince* to Duke Giuliano de' Medici, whose favour he was soliciting. He was, indeed, restored to grace in 1522 but failed to obtain the influential position he had hoped for. When the Medici were overthrown again in 1527, Machiavelli had to realize that he had once more backed the wrong horse; he was prosecuted on account of his relations with the dynasty and finally eliminated from public life. He died in poverty owing to poisoning by a medicine.

Machiavelli's best-known work is the *Prince*, which by virtue of its overt cynicism and advocacy of amorality in politics has become the embodiment of 'Machiavellism'. The much more voluminous *Discourses* show a different Machiavelli, a republican advocating popular liberties and the participation of the people in government. Modern students are inclined to believe that this work presents Machiavelli's true opinions, while the *Prince* was rather a pamphlet written for a special occasion.

The background of the *Prince* was an Italy split into numerous warring small states, ruined by self-seeking princes and constantly swamped by Spanish, French, German and Swiss armies. Machiavelli was in the first place an Italian patriot who ardently desired the unification of Italy and the expulsion of the strangers. In view of the existing conditions he did not think this aim attainable by honest policies or by democratic republicanism. Though a republican at heart, he saw a way out only in the forcible unification of the country by a strong and unscrupulous prince, and he thought Giuliano de' Medici a suitable candidate. This must not be forgotten in reading his political precepts. True, he often presents his views in a manner suggesting that he is concerned only with the acquisition and maintenance of power as such. But the famous concluding chapter, 'An Exhortation to Expel the Barbarians from Italy', reveals the guiding patriotic purpose of the pamphlet.

Machiavelli wanted the strengthening of the monarchical power, in alliance with the rising middle class and in opposition to the aristocracy and its feudal institutions. He saw the powerful nation-states which royal absolutism had created elsewhere, and discerned the progressive core of this policy. He remained an opponent of aristocracy all his life. His advice to the prince was to use force, fraud, breach of treaties and pledges, treachery, hypocrisy, intrigue and political assassination; might is right in this world, and all is fair in politics. 'Men are in general ungrateful and inconstant, hypocrites, cowards, and greedy for gain.' Therefore a prince should not rely on their good qualities; it is better for him to make himself feared than beloved. In the service of national unity, cruelty is preferable to clemency, but the prince should not practise this maxim to the point of incurring the hatred of the people. He should make a principle of protecting the people from the nobles. The people is in general not much interested in politics; it wants only peace and security. Politics is an affair for the few. Politicians may be divided into the 'lions' and the 'foxes'. A prince must be both. 'Since men are naturally wicked and will not observe their faith toward you, you must not observe yours to them; and no prince has ever yet lacked legitimate reasons with which to cover his want of good faith.' The ruler must also be 'a great hypocrite and dissembler, for men are so simple and yield so much to immediate necessity that the deceiver will never lack dupes'. Moreover a prince should abound in words of mercy, humanity, charity, piety and uprightness, but know well when to do the opposite. Nothing but success matters in politics, and all means employed will be accounted justifiable after success. 'The common people are always taken by appearances and by results, and it is the vulgar mass that constitutes the world.' The few who are clearsighted are always easily intimidated by the mass of those readily deceived. In this vein Machiavelli continues throughout the *Prince*, and more than one ruler seems to have taken leaves out of his book since it was written.

In the *Discourses* on Roman history, Machiavelli praises the Roman republic as the ideal state. He never tires of hailing the establishment of popular rights and the institution of the people's tribunes in ancient Rome. Democratic institutions, he says, make the states stronger. A system securing an equilibrium of social, economic and political forces now seems best to him.

Freedom of opinion is essential. A dictatorship is permitted only as a temporary emergency measure under constitutional safeguards as in republican Rome. Once, however, a republic has begun to decay, only a monarchy can bring salvation. As regards the means of politics, Machiavelli remains the same in the *Discourses* as in the *Prince*: 'When the life of the state depends on a decision, no consideration of right or wrong, humanity or cruelty, fame or shame must be allowed to be decisive. Putting all other reasons apart, there can be only one question: What action will save the life and liberty of the country?'

Machiavelli's position in political thought is a moot point to this day. He was an empiricist and impressionist, and there is no real system in his writings; this was construed only by both his later critics and adherents. For three centuries after his death it remained fashionable to curse 'Machiavellism'. The best known work in this line is the *Anti-Machiavel* by Frederick II of Prussia. Although morally revolting, Machiavelli's statements contain a good deal of realism. Still he is undeniably one-sided; he sees only one aspect of the complex social processes and underestimates the importance of moral forces in politics. He indeed lacks a sense of proportion, a politician making crime and treachery a regular practice on the lines of his *Prince* will in reality soon become too discredited to be successful. This seems to have been corroborated by quite recent examples. Italian and also German writers have often praised Machiavelli as the past master of political doctrine. Hitler and Mussolini avowedly made him their guide. It is not only their failure which tends to show that the Machiavelli they invoked was perhaps not the true one. Modern investigation has strengthened the view that Machiavelli's real belief was democratic and republican. Said the Florentine in a letter: 'If I had not wished to avoid being dogmatic, I might easily have concluded from my research, without the least fear of being refuted, that a democracy based on good order is the best and most excellent form of government.'

MADAGASCAR, island off the east coast of Africa, 241,000 sq. m., population 4,000,000, capital Tananarive. Occupied by France in 1883, it became a French colony in 1895 after a rebellion by the leading tribe, the Hovas, whose queen was then deposed. In World War II it was occupied by Britain, 1942–5, to prevent it being seized by Japan. In 1947 there was another Hova rebellion, which was quelled by the French, who suppressed the nationalist *Mouvement Démocratique et Rénovation Malgacie* (MDRM).

MAGNA CARTA (or **CHARTA**), the charter issued by King John of England at Runnymede on 15 June 1215, under great pressure from the barons. Actually codifying feudal rights, it is held also to have contained the seeds of modern democratic liberties by ensuring representative institutions, certain fundamental personal rights, and the equal administration of justice. The term has become proverbial for a charter of rights.

MALAYA, British territory in South-East Asia, area 51,000 sq. m., pop. 4,870,000, of whom 2,400,000 (49%) are Malays 1,900,000 (39%) Chinese, 535,000 (10%) Indians, and the rest Europeans and others. It consists of Penang and Malacca (the former Straits Settlements) and the native states of Pahang (13,820 sq. m., pop. 225,000), Perak (7,980 sq. m., pop. 1,000), Selanger (3,160 sq. m., pop. 710,000), Negri Sembilan (2,580 sq. m., pop. 300,000) (the Federated Malay States 1895–1948), Johore (7,330 sq. m., pop. 750,000) Kelantan (5,750 sq. m., pop. 400,000), Trengannu (5,050 sq. m., pop. 220,000), Kedah (3,660 sq. m., pop. 520,000), Perlis (310 sq. m., pop 60,000). The Straits Settlements became British in the decades after 1780, the Federated Malay States between 1874 and 1895, and the other states between 1885 and 1914. The Settlements are a British colony, the states are ruled by their own sultans, under British supervision.

During World War II Malaya came under Japanese occupation. The Japanese were initially welcomed by a portion of the Malay population, but later tension developed and part of the Malays fought against the Japanese as partisans. Still a strong Malay national movement was left behind when the Japanese withdrew, and it was enhanced by the independence movement of the kindred Indonesian peoples. (A large proportion of the Malays in Malaya is the result of an influx from Indonesia in the

last fifty years.) After the return of the British, a number of Malay parties were formed, and the Malays put forward national demands. In January 1946 the British government decreed the consolidation of Malaya (except Singapore and some adjacent islands, the third of the former Straits Settlements, which remained a separate colony; 220 sq. m., pop. 955,000 of whom 11% are Malays, 76% Chinese, and the rest Indians and others) into a *Malayan Union*. A British commissioner had toured the residences of the Sultans and persuaded them to sign a document by which they transferred all power and jurisdiction in their states to the British Crown. The union decree practically eliminated the Sultans and made the whole territory a political unit under British administration. The union came into force on 1 April 1946.

The union decree met with strong opposition from the Malay population which had not been consulted. The Malay national movement induced the Sultans to change their attitude. The nine Sultans now contested the legal validity of the signatures which they had been hastily made to give, boycotted the inauguration of the new union governor, and protested in London. The national movement, though essentially led by progressive and partly very left-wing elements, upheld the Sultans as symbols of Malay nationhood. Particular opposition was aroused by the articles of the decree dealing with Malayan nationality. The Malays are a minority in their own country; the majority consists of Chinese and Indians, a large proportion of whom are, however, not permanent residents but temporary immigrants who come to Malaya for a few years to earn money, and then return with their savings to their native lands. There is also social antagonism between the racial groups; the Malay is the producer, while the Chinese is the dealer and middleman making the bigger profit. On the other hand, the development of the rich country has so far been due, apart from the Europeans, to the Chinese and Indians rather than to the Malays who are only now awakening. Malaya is an important source of rice, rubber and tin. The plantations and mines are owned by British corporations. The union decree provided for the naturalization even of the temporary Chinese and Indian immigrants.

An Anglo-Malay working committee was set up to investigate Malay complaints, and as a result the British government announced new proposals for the reorganization of Malaya in 1947. The union is replaced by a *Federation of Malaya*, and the Governor becomes a High Commissioner. The Sultans' rights are restored and the individuality of the states is preserved. The High Commissioner's powers remain practically those of a governor and he may enact bills which the legislature fails to pass. His authority is now derived jointly from the British Crown and the Malay Sultans. He is bound to safeguard the special position of the Malays and to protect the rights of the states. He may delegate functions to rulers of states. The rulers are to accept the advice of British advisers in state affairs and of the High Commissioner in federation affairs. There is a Rulers' Advisory Council, disputes between which and the Commissioner are to be settled by the federal Legislative Council. This consists of the Commissioner, the president of the council of each state, and of the two settlements of Malacca and Penang (Singapore remains outside the federation), and 50 unofficial members nominated to represent groups and interests—elections were envisaged for a later date; these 50 will include 22 Malays, 14 Chinese, 5 Indians, 7 Europeans, 1 Eurasian, 1 Ceylonese. Federal citizenship is extended to all who regard Malaya as their true home and the object of their loyalty; for immigrants there is a residential qualification of eight to fifteen years.

This constitution came into force in February 1948. The first election in the history of Malaya took place in March 1948 when the Singapore Legislative Council was formed. It consisted of nominees of the British, Chinese and Indian Chambers of Commerce (1 each), 4 government nominees and 6 popularly elected members. The election was boycotted by the Malaya Democratic Union and the communist Singapore Federation of Trade Unions. Of the estimated electorate of 100,000 only 22,000 registered (about half were Indian) and of these about 7,000 abstained from voting. Three progressives and 3 independents were elected. In the following months there was increasing activity by Chinese communist terrorists, who engaged in murder and arson. In July large-scale fighting between the communists and the British forces and auxiliaries started. The commun-

ists had hoped to establish a republic, but they were repulsed. Their leader, Lan Yew, was killed in battle and their organizations —the Communist Party, the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army's Ex-Comrades' Association, the New Democratic Youth League and *Peta*—were banned. (*Peta* is the *Ikatan Pempela Tanah Ayers Malaya*—Group for Nourishing the Land and Waters of Malaya; it is a revival of *Api* which had been banned in 1947 and whose former leader, A. Boestmann, has now been arrested.) The communist rising was not supported by the rest of the nationalist movement, of which the most powerful constituent is the right-wing United Malays National Organization, led by Dato Ohn bin Ja'afar, prime minister of Johore. A guerrilla war was in progress throughout 1949.

MALTA, British island in the Mediterranean, 122 sq. m., population 280,000. The island was conquered by the Arabs in 870, passed to Sicily in 1090, to the Knights of St. John in 1530 and to France in 1798. It was annexed to the British Crown under the Treaty of Paris in 1814 and developed into Britain's central naval base in the Mediterranean. A nationalist movement made itself felt in recent years among the population, which speaks Italian or Maltese, a mixed Italian-Arabic dialect. A constitution providing for limited autonomy was granted by the British government in 1921, but it broke down on the issue whether English or Italian culture should prevail in Malta. When the Maltese government in office in 1933 showed sympathies with fascist Italy, the constitution was abolished. In 1934 Maltese was substituted for Italian as the second official language besides English in the island. A constitution granted in 1939 provided for a council of 10 appointed and 10 elected members. In November 1947 a new constitution was promulgated, providing for Maltese autonomy in domestic matters, while defence and foreign affairs remain in British hands. Divided loyalties are still in evidence, but are less acute. In the 1947 election to the new national Assembly the pro-British Labour Party polled 24 out of 40 seats, while the pro-Italian Nationalist Party, led by E. Mizzi, obtained 7 seats and dominates the opposition, in which three minor parties share the rest of the seats. The Labour Party formed the government, under Dr. Paul Boffa. The densely populated island has no appreciable economy of its own and lives mainly on the money spent by the British Admiralty. In 1942 the British Parliament voted £10,000,000 and in 1947 another £20,000,000 for the reconstruction of the war-battered island. In 1943 Malta was awarded the George Cross for its people's endurance under air attack: it is now styled Malta, G.C.

An economic crisis menacing the island in 1949 as a result of the proposed stoppage of Admiralty work in Malta led to advocacy by some Maltese politicians of secession from the Empire and an appeal to the United States or United Nations. The Labour Party split over the issue, Dr. Boffa retaining control of the majority of Labour members in the island parliament, now known as the Independent Labour Party, while the more anti-British section organized as the Labour Party under Mintoff.

MANCHESTER SCHOOL, in Britain a term originally applied in the mid-nineteenth century to those liberals who advocated extreme *laissez-faire* (q.v.), independence for the colonies, disarmanent and a pacific foreign policy. They were led by R. Cobden and J. Bright, and supported by industrialists of the Manchester area The term is now often used as a term of abuse for liberals.

MANCHUKUO, name of Manchuria (q.v.) when controlled by Japan, 1932–45.

MANCHURIA, north-eastern province of China, 500,000 sq. m., population 43,000,000, among whom about one-third are Manchus (a Mongolian-speaking people differing from the Chinese), several million Mongols, the rest Chinese. The Manchus supplied the last Chinese imperial dynasty. Manchuria, rich in natural resources, was the object of Japanese aspirations after the island empire had pushed back Russia in the Far East in 1905. Japan took advantage of World War I to obtain special rights in Manchuria from China in 1915. On 18 September 1931 Japan invaded Manchuria, ousted Chinese troops and proclaimed a new state named Manchu Kuo on 18 February 1932. The state was placed under the last Chinese Emperor, Pu Yi, who adopted the title of Emperor of Manchu

Kuo in 1934. The Soviet Union sold the Manchurian Railway it had inherited from Tsarist Russia to Manchu Kuo. There were frequent clashes between Japanese and Russian forces on the Manchu-Siberian frontier. Just before the end of World War II Soviet troops marched into Manchuria and ousted the Japanese. Manchuria was then returned to China. In the treaty of friendship of 14 August 1945, between the Soviet Union and China, the Russians recognized full Chinese sovereignty over Manchuria, while China granted to Russia a free port in Dalny (Dairen) for thirty years with a Russian port chief, and agreed to Port Arthur becoming a joint Russo-Chinese naval base for the same time, with Russia in charge of defence. The Chinese civilian administration remained. China refused to recognize the decision of the Conference of Yalta (q.v.), according to which a mixed Russo-Chinese corporation was to be formed for the Manchurian Railways. This agreement was not implemented, for although the Soviet Union allowed China to send by air some troops to the chief towns, it would not allow her to occupy the country effectively. Instead, it supported the local Chinese communists, whom it let take the Japanese arms dumps and who gradually gained control of all Manchuria.

An American White Paper of August 1949 disclosed that the United States had suggested Five-Power trusteeship over Manchuria in 1947 with a view to preventing its falling under Soviet domination, but Chiang Kai Shek had rejected the suggestion. In March 1949, Moscow announced the conclusion of an economic agreement with a 'North-Eastern People's Council' acting as the government of Manchuria, and while the province is now a part of the communist Chinese People's Republic, special Soviet interest seems to assert itself in Manchuria on lines similar to Soviet policy in Sinkiang (q.v.), another of China's outlying provinces.

MANDATE: (1) a territory which was formerly either a German colony or a Turkish dependency but was in 1919 transferred to another country acting on behalf of the League of Nations. There were three classes of mandates—'A', those which would be administered by the mandatory for a short time until they were ready to become independent (Iraq, Palestine, Syria —all q.v.); 'B', those which would be administered for an indefinite period but as separate territories (all German Africa, except South-West Africa); 'C', those which would be administered for an indefinite period but, because of their small population or contiguity to the mandatory could be treated as part of the mandatory's territory (South-West Africa and the German islands in the Pacific). Mandatory states were Britain, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, France, Belgium and Japan. The United Nations has claimed to be the successor of the League and has called on mandatory powers to submit schemes of trusteeship for their mandates. The U.S.A. is claiming the trusteeship of the Japanese mandates in the Pacific. (See *Trusteeship.*)

(2) Dual mandate (q.v.).

(3) The charge given by the electorate to the winning party at an election. It is customary for the winning party to claim that any measure it proposes is part of its policy, and therefore endorsed by the electorate; the opposition, on the other hand, claim that only those items of the government's programme which were explicitly stated in its election manifesto have received a mandate. The doctrine is used most by those who believe a legislature is a body of delegates rather than a body of representatives considering both what is needed and what is desired by the country. It is in any case difficult to apply, since a voter does not necessarily approve every item of the policy of the party he supports and the electoral system may give power to a party supported by a minority of the electorates. (See *House of Commons, House of Lords, Proportional Representation.*)

MAO TSE-TUNG, Chinese Communist leader, born 1898. The son of well-to-do peasants, he joined the Chinese Communist Party on its formation in 1921, and edited revolutionary newspapers and organized peasant unions in his native province of Hunan. He participated in the Chinese Soviet of 1927, became a member of the National People's Political Council in 1942, and was chosen President of the Chinese Communist government in October 1949.

MARCH ON ROME, in Italy the march of the fascist organizations from Naples to Rome on 28 October 1922. It ended in the

King's appointment of Mussolini as Prime Minister. (See *Fascism, Italy, Mussolini.*)

MARKETING BOARDS, in Britain boards established under several Acts in the 1930s to regulate the marketing of milk, bacon, potatoes and hops. They represented only the farmers; farm workers, consumers and the state being unrepresented on them. The policies they pursued were much criticized, especially that of the Hops Board which constituted a complete monopoly of the industry, and that of the Milk Boards whose journal declared 'it is better to produce a little for a lot than a lot for a little'; the bacon scheme was not wholly a success and had to be revised in 1938. In 1949 the Lucas Committee proposed the reorganization of the Boards to meet the criticism of them.

MARSHALL, George C., American general and statesman, born 31 December 1880 at Uniontown, Pennsylvania, became an army officer in 1901, served on higher staffs in World War I, was A.D.C. to General Pershing 1919–24; went to China 1924–27, held various military posts at home until 1938, was then appointed Deputy Chief of Staff; was Chief of Staff, United States Army, 1939–45 (full general, 1944). Marshall then went to China as United States Ambassador and attempted to mediate between Chiang Kai Shek and the communists. (See *China.*) On 10 January 1947 he was appointed Secretary of State in succession to James Byrnes. In a speech at Harvard University on 5 June 1947 he said that the United States would aid European countries which co-operated in working for economic recovery. From this suggestion resulted the European Recovery Programme (q.v.), popularly called the Marshall Plan. On 7 January 1949 Marshall resigned, on account of ill health, and was succeeded by Dean Acheson.

MARSHALL PLAN. (See *European Recovery Programme.*)

MARX, Karl, German socialist theoretician, together with Engels (q.v.), the founder of 'scientific socialism', born 5 May 1818 in Trier, Germany, died 14 March 1883 in London, was the son of a lawyer, studied the law and political science at Berlin and Bonn from 1835 to 1941, associated with the Young Hegelians and early turned to politics. In 1842 he became editor of a liberal newspaper in Cologne, which he had to quit a year later on account of his radicalism. During this period he became acquainted with his later friend Engels. In 1843 Marx married Jenny von Westphalen, the daughter of a senior Prussian civil servant. Shortly after he went to Paris, where he co-edited the *German-French Annals*, in which radical and socialist thought was propagated. He made contact with the French socialists. The utopian socialism of France and England, German philosophy (especially Hegelian) and English classical economics were the elements out of which he formed his own system, Marxism (q.v.). In 1845 Marx and Engels published the *German Ideology*, in which historical materialism, the mainstay of their doctrine, was first proposed. Expelled from France, Marx went on to Brussels. Here he wrote in 1847 *The Misery of Philosophy* in reply to *The Philosophy of Misery* by the French socialist, Proudhon (q.v.). This book was the first systematic exposition of Marxism. In the same year Marx, jointly with Engels, wrote the famous *Communist Manifesto* (q.v.), a popular summary of Marxian views. During the revolution of 1848 Marx edited another radical newspaper at Cologne. After the collapse of the revolution he went to London where he settled for good. Here he was preoccupied with studies for his later great work, *Capital*, and wrote a number of other books. He had little time for earning a livelihood, except during a period as correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, and lived with his family in permanent poverty. His friend Engels, who was a partner in a Manchester textile factory, supported him by subsidies. In the 'sixties Marx began to do better owing to an inheritance, but he died in poverty.

In 1859 Marx published his *Critique of Political Economy*, the preface of which contains the classical definition of historical materialism: 'The mode of production of material life determines the social, political and intellectual process of life at large. It is not men's consciousness that shapes their existence, but it is their social existence that shapes consciousness. . . . With a change in the economic basis the whole immense superstructure turns round, slowly or quickly.'

In 1867 the first volume of *Capital* was published, resuming Marx's economic teaching. Meanwhile Marx had founded

the International Working Men's Association in 1864 (First International) and tried his hand in practical politics. The International fell to pieces in 1872 over the differences between the Marxians and the anarchists. (See *Anarchism, Bakunin.*) However, Marx retained great influence on the socialist parties which formed in most European countries at the time, especially on the German socialists, and was revered as the intellectual head of international socialism. At the time of his death in 1883 his ideas had permeated the socialist party programmes everywhere in Europe. Marx may well be said to have been the most influential political thinker of the last 100 years. His theories are still much disputed. (See *Marxism.*) The second and third volumes of *Capital* were published posthumously, edited by Engels in 1885 and 1894 respectively. His *Theories on Surplus Value* are actually an extension of this *chef-d'oeuvre*. Yet the work is in a sense not completed. Other works by Marx include: *The Class Struggle in France* (on the 1848 revolution), *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte; Wages, Prices and Profit; The Civil War in France* (on the Paris Commune of 1871); and *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (on the platform of German social democracy). The works of Marx have been distributed by the socialist and communist parties of all countries in enormous editions. A Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow is engaged in newly editing them and in investigating the mass of papers left by the author.

MARXISM, the philosophical, economic and politico-sociological system of Karl Marx (q.v.) and Frederick Engels (q.v.). The philosophical basis of Marxism is dialectical materialism, from which it derives historical materialism, which in the view of its authors holds the promise of socialist revolution. Its intellectual sources are mainly the philosophy of Hegel (q.v.) and the Young Hegelians, classical English economics and the 'utopian' English and French socialism of the years 1830–50. Dialectical materialism adopts the dialectic from Hegel who claimed to have found in it the law of every development in the world. Everything contains the germ of its contrary which in due course sprouts forward, creating a 'pair of opposites' the contradiction between which is finally solved by a synthesis. According to Hegel it is the ideas, manifestations of a 'world-spirit', which thus develop progressively and materialize in history; ideas are autonomous and material conditions are only their reflection. Marx reverses this relationship: material conditions are autonomous and develop according to the law of the dialectic, while ideas and social institutions are nothing but their reflections, their 'ideological superstructure'. The 'relations of production' dominate the course of history and all intellectual development. All ideas, religions, philosophies, institutions, laws, etc., are only what moderns would call 'rationalizations' of existing material conditions. Men pursue primarily material interests and develop ideologies to suit their economic purposes.

The technical method of production prevalent in a given age determines the organization of society. From time to time the 'productive forces' outgrow their organizational shell, and the old institutions prove inadequate for handling them. They are then altered by a social revolution. The revolution is borne by a rising class materially interested in a new organization and directed against the former ruling class interested in the old institutions. The classes oppose each other much as thesis and antithesis do in Hegel's system. Also the new system grows already within the old one as its contrary on the lines of Hegelian dialectic. So one historical stage of mankind follows from the previous one by a law of nature, as it were, and Marxism claims to supply a scientific instrument for historical prediction. One tacit assumption is that the incessant unfolding of productive forces—or technics, as moderns would say—will always be placed by men above other needs, habits, emotions or passions; in other words, that man pursues a rational purpose in history. Not only are men presumed to be rational enough to see their true interests but also to possess enough strength of character to fight for them.

According to the materialist conception of history, the age of small domestic crafts and subsistence agriculture produced medieval feudal society with all its ideas and institutions, while the age of the steam-driven loom produced middle-class society with all its ideas and institutions. Ideas suiting a feudal class best were those of emperorship, religion, loyalty to the lord,

adscription to the soil, hereditary bondage, estates, guilds; ideas best suited to the middle class were liberty, equality, private property, freedom of movement, free hired labour, democracy, parliament, freethinking. The rights of man were the rights of the middle class. By the revolutions of the seventeenth to the nineteenth century the middle class or *bourgeoisie* overthrew the feudal system which had become too narrow for the increased forces of production, the Marxian prime mover of history. It established capitalism (q.v.) instead, a system which raised production to a record. Yet according to the dialectic, capitalism produces within itself its own gravedigger, the working class or proletariat. This class will overthrow capitalism when its institutions have in turn become obstacles for the further unfolding of the forces of production, which keep surging upwards. Thus, the working class will do to the middle class what the middle class did to the feudal class.

Capitalism is bound to be destroyed by its inner contradictions. Only labour creates value. (Marx adopted the labour theory of value from Ricardo.) The value of a commodity is determined by the amount of labour 'socially necessary' for its production. (Later economists abandoned this analysis in favour of the theory that commodities have no objective value in the earlier sense but only prices which change in proportion to the changes in the demand for the commodities concerned.) Under capitalism, labour is both a commodity possessing value and an agency creating it. It creates as much value as the conditions of production enable it, and it receives in wages and salaries only whatever is needed to keep it fed, clad and housed at contemporary standards. The difference—the surplus value—goes to the capitalists whose enterprise finds remunerative ways of employing the labour. The worker must bow to this since there are always enough unemployed to take his place if he refuses to work; this 'industrial reserve army' is steadily renewed through the replacement of men by machines in the course of technical progress. It is a standing institution which is used by the capitalists for keeping down wages. The upshot is a permanent discrepancy between buying-power and production, which leads to periodic crises. Even if the capitalists are persuaded to pay higher wages, the crises recur. Higher buying-power makes the capitalists in their planless economy extend production even more until it outruns also the increased buying-power. Higher wages reduce profit and make the capitalists instal even more machinery to replace workers. This creates new unemployment. As capitalism progresses, the rich become even richer, while the poor become ever poorer. The big capitalists swallow the small capitalists, and wealth is concentrated in fewer and fewer hands (the 'law of concentration of capital'). Huge plants spring up, employing ever more machinery and ever fewer hands (the 'higher organic composition of capital'). This is followed by more unemployment and also by a curtailment of profit, since on the labour theory of value only that portion of capital used for wages ('variable' capital) yields profit while the portion invested in plant ('constant' capital) is not a direct producer of profit. A 'law of the falling profit rate' asserts itself and makes life hard also for capitalists. They try to make the working class carry the burden, and as a result the latter sinks into greater and greater misery (the 'theory of impoverishment'), dragging with it the 'proletarianized' lower middle class which has also been uprooted by the capitalists. Wealth accumulates on one side and misery on the other, until a handful of big capitalists are confronted by a mass of starving proletarians whom they cannot even assure of a slave's existence. This is the hour of revolution. The workers rise, take the means of production into their common property and organize a planned socialist economy working for the common good without consideration of private profit.

Marxism refused to make any detailed prediction as to the organization of the future society. It left this to its 'utopian' precursors who had based socialist propaganda on radiant pictures of the commonwealth to come. The new structure, it said, would grow out of historical conditions as the old one had done before. Marx would not go beyond the general statement that it would be a 'classless' society, since the proletariat 'with its rise to the position of ruling class abolishes itself as a class'. In two minor passages Marx mentions the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' as the transition to fully-fledged socialism, in which according to Engels the state as a coercive institution will wither away and be followed by a

stateless society corresponding to the anarchist ideal.

In capitalist society Marxism thought only two classes important: the *bourgeoisie* and the proletariat. It did not expect the 'petty bourgeoisie' (lower middle class) or the farmers to play any independent part in historical processes; they would have to join one or the other of the antithetical main classes. It paid little attention to the part played in modern society by technicians, administrators and white-collar employees. Marxism described itself as 'scientific' socialism in contrast to 'utopian' strivings toward the same goal. It thought ethical appeals a waste of time. The rich would not respond to them anyway, and the poor were better approached by an appeal to their class interest. Enhancement of the workers' 'class-consciousness', resulting in vigorous class war, was considered the best plan for mobilizing the forces of socialism. Generally speaking, Marxism wished to teach no ethics at all; it wanted rather to show the inexorable laws of social evolution which would with certainty lead to the socialist goal. Workers were believed to possess special qualities making them naturals for revolution. Among these an innate 'proletarian solidarity' and internationalism ranked foremost and were made the basis of socialist strategy and tactic. Still, closer examination reveals a good deal of ethical components in Marxian thought, and it has been suggested that Marxism is in fact an idealist-utopian system on the earlier lines, cloaked in materialist language.

To the communist school of Marxism (see *Communism, Lenin*) the historical process of the advance of the working class and socialism becomes identified with the advance of the Soviet Union (q.v.), the promotion and unconditional support of which forms its principal tenet. It insists that capitalism is on its last legs and that the antagonism between Russia and the West, especially the United States, is an exact projection of the Marxian class antagonism into world politics. The issue is not in doubt to this school.

Marxism is, like its Hegelian model, a system of historical determinism and an optimistic philosophy of progress in nineteenth-century style. It projects the hoped-for progress into reality as an immanent tendency. Notwithstanding its materialism, it has not escaped becoming a sort of religion with dogmas, orthodoxy, schism and heresy. The numerous predictions made by its founders on an early revolution were not confirmed. The theory of impoverishment proved wrong; the position of the workers improved substantially under capitalism. The lower middle class failed to disappear, and in the countries where it was impoverished it did not join the working class but the fascist movements which had not been foreseen by Marxism. The misjudgment of this social stratum is held by many students to have been one of the principal errors of Marxism. The working class did not everywhere attain to proletarian class-consciousness as predicted by Marxism. In America, the world's most important country, no appreciable socialist movement evolved among the workers who to a great extent regard themselves as middle class. The proletariat as a whole has nowhere played the heroic part ascribed to it in Marxian allegories, except (with qualifications) Russia and an attempt in Spain. Some observers indeed believe that the assumption of a historical automatism, inherent in Marxism, and its disparagement of ideal and ethical values have contributed to the moral weakening of the working class in the face of the fascist onslaught; further that Marxian theory was largely responsible for the wrong tactic of working-class parties, especially the communists, during that crucial period. On the other hand it is also argued that some fundamental predictions of Marxism have come true, including the theory of concentration, the prophecy of a great crisis (1930), and the growth of elements of a planned economy within the existing order.

In some essential parts at least Marxism shows features typical of the political myth: the proclamation of the purpose and inevitable course of history, the designation of a particular group of men as the chosen bearers of that purpose (in this case the chiliastic conception of the proletariat), a tendency towards simplification, the promise of a millennium. Also the dialectical mystique is a mythical feature. But if that be so, Marxism has certainly been one of the most powerful myths in history. (If men behaved at least partly in accordance with Marxian prediction, this was to a great extent due not to the automatism postulated by Marx but to their behaviour having been influenced by Marx's formulation of it.)

Marxism inspired the modern labour movement in Continental Europe and the Russian Revolution, and its influence on history in the last sixty years has been tremendous. It never became rooted in England and America where traditional liberalism and empiricism shaped labour ideology in preference to abstract systems. Throughout the world, however, it influenced all branches of political, economic, and historical science. Indeed most of its opponents have adopted a greater or smaller proportion of its teaching. Writing history without taking social and economic factors into account is no longer thinkable. Marx's idea that the laws of capitalist economy are not necessarily timeless natural laws but might be historically conditioned and appropriate only to one particular period has been taken up also by other economic schools.

Marxism was adopted as the official creed of the international socialist movement with the exception of England, where the Marxian Social-Democratic Federation was soon eclipsed by the non-Marxian Fabians (see *Fabian Society*). Gradually various Marxian schools arose opposing each other vehemently. In 1897 the German socialist, Bernstein, proposed 'revisionism', dropping the theory of impoverishment and suggesting action by labour parties and unions for the improvement of the lot of the working class within the capitalist system. This led to 'reformism' which wished to reach the socialist goal by a policy of gradual reforms. Although officially rejected, these views became practically dominant in the European labour movement. A left wing formed to oppose what it regarded as a betrayal of Marxism; its most radical spokesman was Lenin (q.v.), who preached undiluted, radical Marxism with revolutionary consequences. He founded a school of his own which insisted on strict dialectical materialism, while the 'reformists' were prepared to consider also other philosophies.

Russian Marxism has recently become in a peculiar way linked up with Soviet national policy. In the Soviet Union Marxism is not merely a theory of history and revolution—it is an all-embracing philosophy. Dialectical materialism, as expounded by the theorists of the Russian Communist Party, is applied to science, technology, agriculture and, indeed, the arts (see *Communism*).

MASARYK, (*a*) Thomas Garrigue, founder and first President of Czechoslovakia (q.v.), born 7 March 1850 at Goeding, Moravia, died 14 September 1937 at Lany, near Prague. Masaryk studied at Vienna University and became Professor of Philosophy in Prague in 1882. His political activities began with the unmasking of the so-called Koeniginhof manuscript, a historical document revered as a Czech national symbol, as a forgery fabricated by modern Czech patriots for the promotion of national sentiment. Battling against historical romanticism, Masaryk founded the Realist Party. In 1891 he was first elected to the Austrian parliament where he advocated the federalization of the Austrian Empire and self-government for the Czechs. He championed the causes of various men unjustly persecuted in Austria, which won him a high reputation. In World War I Masaryk went over to the Allies. His policy was now aimed at the destruction of the Austrian Empire and the establishment of a Czech state. He formed a Czechoslovak national council abroad, organized Czech legions in Russia and persuaded President Wilson, who wished to preserve the Austrian Empire as a federal union, to agree to its dissolution. After the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic, Masaryk was elected its President. He enjoyed almost legendary prestige among the Czech people, but had also adversaries in conservative circles. After his third re-election he resigned in 1935 owing to old age. Masaryk's philosophical writing shows him as a critical rationalist with a Western outlook. (He had always been under the influence of English and French positivist philosophy, and was married to an American, Charlotte Garrigue.) He coined some famous dicta such as 'Democracy is discussion' and 'Excitement is no programme', and said also: 'History shows that all states have perished through chauvinism, be it national, class, political or religious chauvinism'.

(*b*) Jan, son of the former (1886–1948). He was in his father's tradition as a liberal statesman. From 1918 to 1939 he was a diplomat, being Minister to Great Britain from 1925 to 1939. He was Minister for Foreign Affairs from 1940 to 1948, when he was reported to have committed suicide after the communist *coup d'état* of February (murder was suspected by his friends).

MATERIALISM. (For Dialectical and Historical Materialism, see *Marxism.*)

MAURITIUS, an island in the Indian Ocean, a British colony since 1814, 720 sq. m., population 443,000. Under the constitution of 1947 government is vested in a Governor and an executive council 4 of whose 8 members are elected by the legislative council, which consists of the Governor, 15 persons nominated by him and 19 elected by the people.

MAZZINI, Giuseppe, Italian patriot leader and political thinker, born 22 June 1805 in Genoa, the son of a physician, died 10 March 1872 in Pisa, was first a lawyer in Genoa, then joined the Carbonari (an underground movement for the unification of Italy), and had to leave Italy in 1831. After 1837 Mazzini lived mostly in London. His intellectual influence on the *risorgimento* was great though he refused, on grounds of dogmatic republicanism, to collaborate with Cavour and the moderate, royalist liberals whose practical policy in the end led to the establishment of modern Italy. Instead he participated in a series of abortive insurrections between 1830 and 1860. Mazzini's guiding idea was the unification of Italy in a democratic republic, sustained by popular effort and independent of princes or foreign intervention. He advocated similar principles also for other nations and founded a European Democratic Committee in London in 1849, which was a forerunner of the socialist International. He hailed the eventual unification of Italy under the House of Savoy, but regretted its monarchical form, and indeed attempted a republican rising from Sicily as late as 1870. This was quickly put down and Mazzini was exiled. Shortly before his death he secretly returned to Italy.

Mazzini was the prophet of the nineteenth-century idea of nationality in a humanist, democratic form, with a strong admixture of romanticism. Every people, he taught, must first become an independent nation, for 'nationality is the share that God has assigned to any given people in the progress of humanity. It is the mission each people must fulfil . . . it is the work which gives a people the right to citizenship in the world. It is the sign of that people's personality and of the rank it occupies among other peoples, its brothers.' Only when all peoples have become organized in independent nation-states, an international federation of free nations, to which Mazzini looked as the ultimate aim, can be created. 'The controlling principle in public policy will be not the weakening of others, but the betterment of all through the efforts of all. Political world unity is inconceivable as the military supremacy of one power over all the others, for no people can in the long run be resigned to oppression and exploitation by others. Co-operation and peace will reign on earth only through the association of the peoples and on the condition that they shall be free and equal.' Nationality must go with democratic liberty; to Mazzini the struggle for national freedom and democracy was one. Yet freedom cannot be brought from outside; the citizens must conquer it. 'The tree of freedom bears fruit only when planted by the hands of citizens, watered by the blood of citizens, and hedged in by the courage of citizens.'

Mazzini advocated the dissection of the Austrian Empire into independent national states and had great influence on the Czech, Hungarian, Polish, Yugoslav and Rumanian national movements. Contrary to his principles he demanded the Brenner frontier for Italy. He rejected the Church in strong terms and wished to substitute for it a new theistic religion of humanity of his own creation. He shared his century's belief in progress: 'Progress is the law of God.' He envisaged a moderate form of co-operative socialism as the future organization of mankind. A minimum of subsistence was to be guaranteed to everybody and classes were to vanish. Yet Mazzini rejected class war on Marxian lines and placed national existence before social demands; the worker also, he said, must first and foremost have a country, or else he would be nothing. This view brought him into conflict with Marx (q.v.) and Bakunin (q.v.), in whose First International he had initially collaborated. Owing to the influence of Marxism and anarchism he lost the majority of his followers in Italy toward the close of his life.

Mazzini gave the purest expression to the basic ideas of the nineteenth century, nationality and democracy. His vision of the dismemberment of Austria found fulfilment in 1918, and that of the Italian Republic in 1946. The League of Nations and the United Nations Organization, however

imperfect in comparison with his ideals, may also count Mazzini among their spiritual ancestors.

MENSHEVIKS, the moderate Russian social-democrats who opposed Lenin's radical faction, the Bolsheviks, in the Russian Revolution of 1917 and before. They were led by Martoff, who died in 1923. The name sprang from Russian *menshinstvó*, minority; the moderates had found themselves in the minority at a crucial division during the London party conference in 1903. (Compare *Bolshevism.*)

MENZIES, Robert, Australian politician, born 1894. A barrister, Menzies held office in Victorian cabinets 1928–9 and 1932–4. He was Attorney-General for Australia 1935–9; in 1939 he became leader of the government party—the United Australia Party—in 1939, and was Prime Minister until 1941, holding also the offices of Treasurer 1939–40, Minister of Trade and Customs 1940, Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence 1939–41, Minister for Information and Minister for Munitions 1940. In 1941 his supporters forced him to resign in favour of A. W. Fadden, and later in the year his party went out of office. In December 1949 he became Prime Minister again.

MEXICO, United States of, 764,000 sq. m., population about 22,000,000, of whom about 3,000,000 white, 3,000,000 Indian, and the rest mestizo. (Estimates of the racial composition of the population vary.) The language is Spanish, except for 1 to 2 million Indians who speak their own language. Sixty per cent of the people are illiterate. The system of government is federal. There are twenty-eight states enjoying a high degree of self-government, and a federal district containing the capital, Mexico City. The constitution dates from 1917 and has been frequently amended since. Congress consists of a Chamber of Deputies of 147 members, popularly elected for three years, and a Senate of 58 members elected for six years. Suffrage extends to all male citizens of 21 years of age and over (if married, of 18 years and over), who have 'an honourable means of livelihood'. Female suffrage was adopted by Congress in 1938, but has so far failed to receive the two-thirds majority of the states necessary for its ratification. The President is elected directly by the people for six years.

Land has been Mexico's principal problem for a long time. Only a comparatively small proportion of the country's large area is arable land, and most of this used to be owned by big landowners known as *hacienderos*. Individual holdings were of colossal size, some *haciendas* reaching up to many million acres. In the nineteenth century a great portion of the land belonging to smallholders was taken by *hacienderos*, so that 95 per cent of the rural population were landless in 1910.

After a troubled history in the preceding decades, Mexico was ruled from 1876 to 1911 by the conservative President Porfirio Diaz, a representative of landowning interests, who gave the country a long period of relative peace and stability, in which, however, the people remained poor and backward. Diaz was overthrown by the Mexican Revolution of 1911, which became the dominant experience of modern Mexican history and is to this day regularly invoked as the starting-point of all Mexican politics. It is considered to be still going on. The Mexican Revolution was the first of the series of great revolutions which have since shaken the world. The land question loomed large in its background, and socialist tendencies became codified at an early date when Article 27 of the 1917 constitution declared that the nation retained ownership of all lands and subsoil rights, and that limitations might be imposed on private property in the public interest. Land reform was begun in 1915, but proceeded slowly in the face of determined resistance from the conservatives. The period from 1911 to 1934 was filled by a continuous series of revolutions, counter-revolutions and civil wars in which the conservatives wrestled with the revolutionaries. Various revolutionary leaders, such as the famous Villa, also vied with each other for power. The Roman Catholic Church was disestablished, and anti-clericalism became a feature of Mexican politics.

After many changing régimes, General Lazaro Cárdenas was elected President on 30 November 1934 in succession to President Calles. Both came from the National Revolutionary Party, a radical, nationalist and socialist party formed by Calles in 1928 and supported by the labour unions. Calles was exiled after a factional dispute, and Cárdenas embarked on a programme of

far-reaching social reforms. He speeded up land reform so that up to date some 64 million acres have been allotted to peasants. (See below.) As the first country in the world outside Russia to do so, Mexico nationalized some industries, including oil. A protracted dispute with British and American oil companies ensued. The nationalized industries were first handed over to the workers, but later placed under government administration with workers' participation. There is, however, no fully-fledged socialism in Mexico, private enterprise operating side by side with the nationalized industries and indeed prevailing. The important mining industry (silver, copper and other metals) is largely American-owned.

In 1938 the governing party changed its name to *Partido de la Revolución Mexicana*. Its next candidate, Avila Camacho, recommended by Cárdenas, was elected President in 1940. However, the conservative candidate, Almazán, who also ran for the presidency, claimed that the election had gone in his favour, and there was a veritable contest of both candidates in Mexico City for installation as President, out of which Avila Camacho emerged victorious. At Mexican elections the party in power in a neighbourhood used to count the votes until 1946; it naturally tended to do so with a bias, and it is not surprising in view of this habit that sometimes both candidates claimed to have been elected. A new electoral law of 1946 instituted multi-party control of elections, but again the opposition candidate maintained that the government party had falsified the returns. However, the 1946 election was more orderly than any one held previously, and was noted for the fact that it was the first Mexican election without a casualty. Three million voters out of 5 millions were reported to have gone to the polls.

President Avila Camacho pursued a somewhat more moderate policy than his predecessor. He improved relations with the United States and the Roman Catholic Church, and got the oil dispute settled. He also gave greater freedom to other parties. Of these about thirty exist; they are tolerated, but must register. They include the communists and the clerico-fascist *sinarquistas* who are split into two factions, the *Accion Nacional* and the *Fuerza Popular*. A Mexican Democratic Party of conservative complexion contested the 1946 election, together with the *Accion Nacional*. Yet the government kept about 90 per cent of the seats in Congress, and its candidate, Miguel Aleman Valdes, became President. The candidate of the Democratic Party, Ezequiel Padilla, claimed that he had in fact obtained the majority, but the government party, he alleged, had 'cooked' the results. President Aleman Valdes continued the moderate course in politics and formed a 'government of businessmen' with big industrialists and merchants in key posts.

The P.R.M. changed its name to *Partido de la Revolución Institucional* (P.I.R.) in 1946. At a reduced speed, it continues to pursue a programme of reform and development, and has so far had the support of the great Mexican labour federation, the *Confederación de Trabajadores de Mexico*, with its 450,000 members, the strongest labour group in Latin America, and of the *Confederación Nacional de Campesinos*, the peasants' league. The C.T.M. was led by Dr. Vicente Lombardo Toledano during the crucial period when the P.R.M. took power. Later he relinquished the leadership of the C.T.M. He remains, however, one of the outstanding figures of Latin American labour and is secretary-general of the Latin American Labour Confederation. It has been noticed that his views have often been in agreement with those of the communists. In November 1947 he founded a new party, the *Partido Popular*, described as an alliance of workers and intellectuals, with a programme of economic and social reform. N. Bassols, a former Mexican ambassador to Moscow, was also among the founders. The C.T.M. announced opposition to the new party. The election of July 1949 again resulted in a Congressional majority of almost 90 per cent for the P.I.R.

Land reform is carried out by allotting *hacienda* land to village communes known as *ejidos*. The *ejidos* are an ancient Mexican tradition dating back to Indian days. The name *ejido* ('exit') means a communal land reserve held open for all. The *ejidos* as a rule do not farm collectively, but hand the land over to individual members in the proportion of ten acres per person. About 18 per cent of the arable land has been shared out so far. The land reform is tenaciously slowed down by landowning interests sheltering behind the autonomous state governments, especially those remote from the centre.

Mexico's left-wing governments sympathized with the democracies against the fascist states prior to and during World War II, and in 1943 Mexico severed relations with the Axis Powers, having already done so in respect of Japan in 1941. Mexico also admitted numerous refugees from Nazi oppression.

MICHELS, Robert (1876–1936), German-Italian sociologist, worked in Germany and later in Italy, studied the connection between organization and politics, especially the sociology of political mass organizations. He found that organizations obey certain laws which tend to restrict democracy within them. For technical and psychological reasons a leadership develops in any organization, whether in a club, a political party, a trade union or indeed the state. The leadership may consist of individuals, committees or bureaucracies. Inevitably the leaders seek more power for themselves as time goes on; indeed there is a tendency on the part of the membership to delegate ever more functions and power to them. This is the result of a certain inertia and also the technical difficulties of direct participation of the members in the management. As a matter of fact, the majority of men and women want to be led. Leaderships show a tendency toward persistence, again encouraged by the members; the leaders are often re-elected mainly for the reason that they have been holding the office for so long. Young organizations still battling ahead are more inclined to change their leadership than old, well-established organizations. Anyhow, adherence to the traditional leadership is one of the most widely found characteristics of members of all organizations.

The fact that the mass cannot act without leadership makes the position of the leaders a superior one from the start. The leaders, although describing themselves as mere representatives of the mass, tend toward autocracy: gradually they secure financial and other privileges, and know how to control the organization by the use of the administrative machinery, by skilful propaganda, and by influencing the choice of delegates to general assemblies and conventions. The majority of delegates is in the habit of re-electing the old leadership and supporting its policy. In the event of conflict between mass and leadership the latter inevitably wins as long as it is united. Only the emergence of a rival leadership, offering itself to the mass under various formulas, forms a real danger for the old leadership. Once carried to power, the new leadership behaves essentially like the old one. The leaders undergo a *psychological metamorphosis*, which makes them from the initial idealists to power-conscious defenders of their personal positions, however much this may be veiled. This is a law to which all organizational leaderships are subject.

Michels pronounced the 'iron law of oligarchy', stating that there is no means to prevent the sliding of actual power into the hands of the organizational oligarchy, not even in the most democratic organizations. Any organization implies a hierarchy for its working; the complex modern organization of production illustrates this even more strikingly than the study of political organizations. The 'ruling class' is therefore the most permanent phenomenon in human society. Every leadership is a minority forcing its will upon the majority, albeit with the use of democratic forms. It may make the members go through the motions of elections, debate and voting, yet its victory is normally assured before the proceedings start. Says Michels: 'The majority of mankind, in a condition of eternal tutelage, is with tragic necessity destined to submit to the rule of a small minority, and must content itself with forming the pedestal for an oligarchy.'

Notwithstanding his pessimistic view of the possibilities of real democracy, Michels concludes that as much democracy as is practicable must be attempted in any circumstances. The only thing that can bridle the autocratic tendencies of the leaderships is the existence of democratic rights, i.e. the possibility or the existence of a legal opposition, in other words, a potential rival leadership. No abstract principles need be invoked for this conclusion; it follows from empirical observation. 'The shortcomings inherent in democracy are obvious. None the less, having to choose a form of social life, we must choose democracy as the smallest evil.' Michels' most important works are the *Sociology of Political Parties in Modern Democracy* (1911) and *Fascism* (1928). (Compare *Burnham, Mosca, Pareto.*)

MILITARISM, a catch-phrase originating in radical and pacifist propaganda about

the turn of the century when it was used to denounce the great armaments, the expansion of armies, the extension of the period of military service, and kindred phenomena. Opposition to this trend, mostly emanating from the labour movement, was described as anti-militarism. Through much use in propaganda the term later assumed a manifold and often vague meaning. Initially coined for the description of international phenomena, it was eventually localized in certain individual nations, and the fight against particular national militarisms became a major plank in the Allied war platform in both World Wars. The nations described as being particularly given to militarism, Germany and Japan, occasionally retorted by pointing to what they described, e.g. as French or Russian militarism. The Anglo-Saxon nations, without large armies in normal times, were up to World War II never exposed to the charge of militarism, though an attempt was made by Powers unfavourably disposed toward them to credit them with 'navalism' on account of their large navies. Generally speaking, militarism means excessive influence of the military in politics, the worship of military institutions or habits also outside the army, and the permeation of national life by a warlike military spirit.

MILL, John Stuart, English philosopher, economist and political thinker, born 20 May 1806 in London, died 8 May 1873 at Avignon. Mill was educated in a strictly utilitarian-radical spirit by his masterful father, James Mill, a leader of older English radicalism, and J. Bentham (q.v.). Only in his maturity, after the death of his father, he was able at least partially to shake off this influence. Until 1858 John Stuart Mill was a senior official of the East India Company; then he retired and devoted himself to philosophical and political writing until the end of his life, apart from a three-year term in parliament. Comte (q.v.) and St. Simon (q.v.) also had great influence on his thinking. To this day John Stuart Mill is regarded as the classic exponent of social liberalism.

Mill starts from utilitarian thought which he restated in his work *Utilitarianism.* As in most of his writing, he formulates an abstract thesis only practically to abrogate it by numerous qualifications. The older utilitarianism, which was rather crude, was refined by him at the expense of its consistency. Whereas it had laid stress on pleasure as such, he distinguished qualitatively between higher and lower pleasures (*Utilitarianism,* 1863, and earlier works). His political philosophy is designed to recommend means for ensuring the greatest happiness of the greatest number. His principal political works are *On Liberty* (1859), one of the classical formulations of the idea of liberty in world literature, and *Representative Government* (1861). These works are a spirited defence of individual freedom. 'If all mankind minus one were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind.' Mill stresses 'the necessity to the mental well-being of mankind (on which all their other well-being depends) of freedom of opinion, and freedom of expression of opinion'. In a famous chapter *Of Individuality as One of the Elements of Well-Being,* Mill attempts to draw a boundary between the sphere of the individual and the sphere of society. The first comprises everything touching only the interests of the individual, and belongs solely to him. The second comprises all affairs touching on the interests of other people, and is open to state interference. The dividing line could be drawn only with difficulty and socialists would place it so as to extend the sphere of the state, just as they would use the greatest happiness principle to justify the redistribution of wealth. Mill himself was prepared to go some way with them (see below).

With all his enthusiasm for democracy, Mill was not blind to the shortcomings of democratic majorities. The mass is to him 'collective mediocrity' and is apt to suppress superior individuals. As a rule it does not act in its real but only in its apparent interest, seldom looking beyond the necessity of the moment. Therefore political and intellectual *élites,* which do look farther, are necessary; since they are always minorities, these must be protected also in democracy. Proportional representation seems to Mill the best way to ensure a hearing for minorities. Freedom must be defended also against democracy and indeed the individual himself, should he ever wish to abandon it. It is inalienable and cannot be abrogated by voluntary renunciation nor

even by a majority decision, 'The principle of freedom cannot include the right not to be free.' With these qualifications Mill regards representative government as the best form of government. The basic civic liberties are matters of course in his system, and he supports universal suffrage, also female suffrage, but educated persons (including the propertied classes as probable possessors of education) are to have a multiple vote. Mill rejects any dictatorship by individuals. He remarks sceptically that most human truths are only half-truths, and plurality of opinions is preferable to uniformity of opinion unless it results from free comparison of conflicting views.

In his *Principles of Political Economy* Mill says that in the present order the product of labour is 'appropriated almost in inverse proportion to the work done'. He advocated social legislation and in later years drew up a system which he was prepared to call socialism; it consisted of a combination of capitalist production, socialist distribution and land reform. Mill had considerable influence on English socialism, especially on the Fabians. (See *Fabian Society.*)

MODUS VIVENDI, Latin for a mode of living, term used for an agreement between the pope and a government on the relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the state. It is a provisional substitute for a concordat (q.v.). The term is applied also to other temporary or unofficial agreements in politics which provide for the peaceful coexistence of two states, nationalities or parties. (See *Gentlemen's Agreement.*)

MOLOTOV, Vyacheslav Mihailovich, Soviet politician, born 1890; his real name is Skryabin, but he adopted the *alias* of Molotov in 1909 according to the usage of the Russian revolutionary movement. He joined the Bolsheviks in 1907. In 1924 he was called to the Politbureau (q.v.) and became the closest collaborator of Stalin (q.v.). In 1930 he was appointed President of the Council of People's Commissars, i.e. Prime Minister, and in 1939 he took charge of the Foreign Commissariat after the dismissal of Litvinov. After Stalin assumed the premiership himself in 1941 Molotov became Vice-Premier and Foreign Commissar; in 1946 the title was changed to Foreign Minister. On 5 March 1949 Molotov was relieved of his office of Foreign Minister, and was succeeded by his deputy, Vyshinsky. He remained Vice-Premier and a member of the Politbureau.

MONACO, Principality of, 0·6 sq. m., population 19,000. The tiny state, one of the smallest in the world, is sovereign under the Grimaldi dynasty, which has been ruling since 968. Prince Louis II died on 1 May 1949. His daughter, Princess Charlotte, renounced her rights in favour of her son (born 1923) who succeeded as Prince Rainier III. Monaco is under French protection and in customs union with France. Until 1861 it had been under Sardinian protection, then the protectorate passed to France. There is a diet of twelve members, and government is constitutional. The state consists of the three towns of Monte Carlo, Monaco City and La Condamine. The large majority of the population are foreigners.

MONGOLS, Asiatic people inhabiting north-eastern China and the neighbouring regions. The name is believed to be derived from *mong*, brave men. In the thirteenth century, under Jenghiz Khan and Kublai Khan, their empire stretched from the Caucasus to the China Sea. They twice invaded India, in 1398 under Timur and in 1525 under Babur, who established the Moghul (Mongol) Empire in India. The Mongols of China collapsed in the fourteenth century. Those of the southern region, between China and the Gobi Desert, were soon conquered by the Chinese, but those of the northern regions, between the desert and Lake Baikal, were not overcome until the seventeenth century. These two regions are now the cores of Inner and Outer Mongolia respectively.

Inner Mongolia, north-western border province of China, area undefined, population 4,800,000, of whom most are nomad Mongolian tribes (Banners) under native princes. From 1932 to 1945 Japan controlled much of the province and formed a puppet state, Mengchiang, under Prince Teh, head of the Silingol League of Banners. When the Japanese withdrew in 1945, Teh went to Peking, where he negotiated with the central Chinese government for an autonomy which it was reluctant to grant, since it feared the revival of the Mongols. Other Mongol leaders formed an Inner Mongolian government with the support of

Russia and Outer Mongolia. They later joined the Chinese communists, who reorganized them into an Inner Mongolian Autonomous Movement. Meanwhile the Mongols of Manchuria and Jehol approached the Outer Mongolians, who refused to commit themselves, the Chinese government, opposed to autonomy, and the Chinese communists who alone welcomed them and in April 1946 formed an Autonomous Manchurian Mongol administration at Wangyehmiao. In the autumn the central government's forces regained Inner Mongolia, and the Autonomous Movement fled to Wangyehmiao, where it joined with the Manchurian Mongols to form a Mongolian Autonomous Government under the communist Yun Tse. The central government was supported by an anti-communist Mongolian movement at Gungmiso in northern China. In 1949 the communist forces occupied most of Inner Mongolia and reinstated the autonomous administration.

Outer Mongolia is now the Mongolian People's Republic, area about 1,500,000 sq. m. (the boundaries are not everywhere exactly defined), but only 550,000 inhabitants. A great part of the country is occupied by the Gobi desert. The sparse population consists largely of cattle-breeding nomads. The capital is Ulan Bator Khoto ('Red Rider City'), known as Urga until the revolution of 1924. Outer Mongolia was previously an autonomous outlying territory of China and was under a Lama government whose head was, as in Tibet (q.v.), regarded as the incarnation of Buddha and styled Khutuktu. A great proportion of the population consisted of Lamas (buddhist monks). After the Chinese Revolution of 1911 Outer Mongolia proclaimed independence. When the last Khutuktu died in 1924 a Mongolian People's Party carried out a revolution with Soviet Russian support and established the Mongolian People's Republic. The country has since been allied to Russia and for all practical purposes a Russian protectorate. The constitutional organs are the Great Huruldan, formerly a sort of Soviet congress, now directly elected, meeting once a year, and the Little Huruldan, chosen as an executive committee by the great one. The Little Huruldan chooses from its midst the President and the five Ministers. The constitution is drawn up on the Soviet model, but in view of the existing structure of the population and economy there can be no question of socialism. There are a few industrial and commercial undertakings established by the Russians. The area is of strategic importance. There is a small, modern Mongolian army with Russian training and equipment.

China refused to recognize the independence of the republic until 1946, when in accordance with a Russo-Chinese treaty of 1945 a plebiscite had been held and there was a great majority in favour of independence. But on account of a Mongolian raid into Sinkiang (q.v.), China opposed the Mongolian application to join the United Nations, as did also Britain and the U.S.A., who doubted whether Mongolia was an independent democratic state.

MONOPOLY CAPITALISM, a neo-Marxian term for a later development of capitalism (q.v.) marked by the predominance of trusts, combines and cartels. These are called monopoly capital. This kind of capitalism is supposed to evolve from free-competition capitalism through the concentration of capital The large enterprises oust the small ones and seek to substitute their (private) monopoly for free competition. To such monopolies a tendency is ascribed to restrict production with a view to keeping up prices and profits. One hundred per cent monopolies exercised by a single private concern are rare so far; more often a monopoly is shared between a few huge undertakings or exercised jointly by a number of concerns through a cartel. The cartel form of private monopoly is usually more complete, although it is often disturbed by outsiders. In the trust form private monopolies usually control only a certain, if high, percentage of production, ranging from 50 to 80 per cent, and some independent undertakings of the same kind remain in existence. So these are tendential rather than actual monopolies. Yet they are often able to dictate policy to the other concerns.

Various political theories have been connected with monopoly capitalism. (See *Capitalism, Imperialism, Lenin.*) Its upholders point to its planning and co-ordinating function which is also recognized by the socialists. But the latter see in monopoly capitalism only partial planning which is still dependent on the profit incentive. A

tendency has been ascribed to monopoly capitalism to foster authoritarian political systems in place of liberalism which used to be promoted by free-competition capitalism. In some European countries the promotion of authoritarian parties by monopoly capital has been obvious, but in some others, including the United States and Great Britain, fundamental democracy has not so far been appreciably affected by the existence of quasi-monopolist concentrations of capital. The strength of democratic tradition and other factors seem also to be concerned in this respect besides the economic phenomenon under review. However, monopoly capital is certainly a factor in politics. Critics of the socialist view point to the fact that on a long view production has positively expanded under the aegis of quasi-monopolist undertakings. Legal and political action against private monopolies is often called for by progressives and socialists. The measures proposed range from the public regulation of private monopolies to their dissolution by decentralization or their acquisition by the state. Nationalisation of monopolist concerns is demanded by socialists as a means of curbing monopoly capitalism, and is indeed regarded as the logical next step after such a degree of concentration and organization has been reached.

In Britain monopoly, as restraint of trade, was once hampered by the common law, but in recent decades it has been fostered. Thus the governments of the 1930s organized the marketing of certain agricultural products into producers' monopolies (see *Marketing Boards*) and promoted the formation of the British Iron and Steel Federation; general economic conditions favoured the growth of other monopolies and restrictive practices (q.v.). In 1948 a Monopoly (Inquiry and Control) Bill was enacted to provide for the investigation of monopolies and restrictive practices other than those of nationalized industries and trade unions. In the United States 'trust-busting', the regulation or dissolution of monopolies, has been attempted since 1890. The post-World War II constitutions of some countries (e.g. France, Italy) provide for the nationalization of all industries that have assumed the nature of a monopoly. German economic monopolies have been held responsible for Nazism and warlike policies, and their dissolution was initiated by the Allied military authorities in Germany after World War II. In Japan the famous *Zaibatsu*, or 'eight families', dominated the country's economy until their combines were dissolved in 1945–6.

MONNET PLAN, in France a plan for economic reconstruction after World War II, named after Jean Monnet, Commissioner-General for the National Plan.

MONROE DOCTRINE, a cardinal principle of United States policy, barring the intervention of non-American countries in affairs of the American continent. The doctrine, popularly summed up in the slogan 'America for the Americans', was laid down in 1823 by President Monroe. The immediate occasion was an attempt by Russia, which at the time extended into America owing to the possession of Alaska, to push farther south along the north-western coast of America and to bar navigation in the adjoining waters to all non-Russian ships, and, even more important, a coincident plan of the European 'Holy Alliance' for intervention in South America. The 'Holy Alliance' (Russia, Austria, Prussia) regarded it as its task to stop the forward march of liberty in the whole world, and having just put down the Spanish liberal revolution, was now contemplating intervention in the newly created South American republics with a view to making them Spanish colonies again. This scheme met with opposition in Britain also. The British foreign secretary, Canning, suggested a joint Anglo-American declaration against foreign intervention in South America. This did not materialize, but President Monroe announced the doctrine which bears his name in his annual message to Congress on 2 December 1823. The President declared: 'The occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects of future colonization by any European Powers. . . . With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected. The political system of the Allied Powers is essentially different from that of America. . . . We should consider any attempt on their

part to extend their system to any part of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.' Some historians have suggested that the Monroe Doctrine, although to some extent English-inspired, was directed primarily against England, notwithstanding the prominence given to the threat of the Holy Alliance in the official explanation. However, this interpretation is not generally shared, and in fact Britain backed the United States in the stand taken against intervention in South America, and it was the strength of the British fleet which was the real deterrent to action by the Alliance, which promptly dropped its plan for intervention.

The Monroe Doctrine has remained the basis of American foreign policy. It became popular only gradually, mainly during the conflicts accompanying the westward expansion of the United States about the middle of the nineteenth century. International respect for the doctrine was withheld for a long time. French intervention in Mexico in 1860 and the support given to the southern states by England in the Civil War were reprobated by the United States in the name of the Monroe Doctrine. When the Civil War was over, France was soon compelled by American pressure to quit Mexico The doctrine was then increasingly invoked by the United States as a means for reducing European influence in Latin America. In 1880 it was applied to the construction of the Panama Canal (q.v.); the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, which had provided for joint Anglo-American control of the canal, was replaced by the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, giving America sole control of the canal. In 1895, President Cleveland used the doctrine to get a dispute between Britain and Venezuela over the boundary of British Guiana settled by American arbitration. An Anglo-German-Italian naval demonstration on the shores of Venezuela in 1902, occasioned by non-payment of some debts, aroused grave misgivings in the United States as a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, and under President Theodore Roosevelt the doctrine was widened to include the principle of 'preventive action'. This meant that the United States felt henceforth justified on the strength of the Monroe Doctrine to forestall possible European intervention by itself intervening in minor American countries when such action was deemed necessary. American intervention in San Domingo was the first step in this line; the extended interpretation of the doctrine has since been invoked repeatedly for the justification of United States intervention in the Caribbean. By the Declaration of Havana (q.v.) in 1940 it was to some extent endorsed by the pan-American Conference (q.v.), but generally speaking enthusiasm for the Monroe Doctrine has traditionally been less great in Latin America, where it is suspected of being an instrument of North American hegemony in political and economic affairs. The Monroe Doctrine has never been officially recognized by other Powers; it is not international law but a national policy of the United States. In practice, however, it has in recent years been fairly universally respected.

MONTENEGRO, a small Balkan state on the Adriatic coast until 1918, when it became part of Yugoslavia (q.v.), in which it is now a constituent republic.

MONTESQUIEU, Charles de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et de, French political thinker, born 18 January 1689 at La Brède, near Bordeaux, died 10 February 1755 in Paris, travelled in Europe from 1728 to 1731 to study political conditions, and stayed for some time in England whose political institutions made a great impression on him. Already in 1721 he published the *Lettres persanes*, a satire on royal absolution in France. In 1734 he wrote the *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence*, a book in which he stressed the importance of objective factors in history. His most important book, *De l'esprit des lois*, was published in 1748 and had a great effect on the thought of all Europe. Montesquieu attempts a geographical, to some extent also, sociological, interpretation of history and law. Climate and soil are to him the paramount factors of history; custom, religion, trade and forms of government also play their parts, but may to a great extent be reduced to the influence of geographical conditions. Following Aristotle (q.v.), Montesquieu distinguishes three forms of government: a republic (aristocratic or democratic), a monarchy and despotism. Monarchy differs from despotism in that it rests on law and that intermediate powers, such as the nobility, estates or parliament, exist between the

ruler and the people. In a despotic system there is only one power, the despot directly confronting the people. A republic is based on civic virtue, a monarchy on the sense of honour of a military caste, and despotism on the fear and slave-mentality of the subjects. Montesquieu favoured a constitutional monarchy on the English pattern. He stressed the separation of powers (q.v.), which, principally through his influence, was incorporated in most European and American constitutions. He pointed out that laws must be adjusted to the conditions of life of the people concerned.

Montesquieu was on the whole a moderate, as he liked to emphasize. He rejected radicalism and revolution, and thought an equilibrium of political and constitutional forces to be the best safeguard of liberty. Montesquieu opposed absolutism, slavery, intolerance, arbitrary taxation and the old inhuman penal code; he advocated popular representation (though in a vague way), and formulated a theory of the Teutonic origin of political freedom. On the French Revolution he may have had influence only up to 1791; he was invoked by revolutionists as well as by conservatives wishing to restore corporate institutions. Nevertheless his influence on constitutional thought in Europe and America has been extraordinary and is still a living force. In economics he stimulated the physiocratic school.

MORAL REARMAMENT, a movement founded by Dr. Frank Buchman, an American who was leader of Christian work in the University of Pennsylvania until 1921, then went to England to organize the 'Oxford Group' which became known as such in 1928. The 'Oxford Group Movement' professed active, non-denominational Christianity and practised certain confessional rites. From 1934 onwards Buchman embarked on a world-wide campaign to spread his movement. It opposed rearmament against the Hitler menace and advocated 'moral rearmament' instead (hence the name); together with an utterance by Buchman, 'Thank God for Hitler', this led to the movement being accused of supporting Nazism. The Buchmanites replied this was Marxist calumny. There have been questions in the House of Commons as to the activities of the movement, and the wartime British government viewed it with some suspicion. After the war, the movement grew and established branches in many countries. Moral Rearmament preaches anti-materialism, is strongly anti-communist and declares that a return to moral principles as the guides of human action is necessary before political conditions can be improved. Its declarations consist of Christian and humanistic generalities. The movement holds summer schools in England, America and Switzerland. In June 1948 it held a world conference at Riverside, California, and a declaration on the necessity of a moral ideology for democracy to defeat godless materialism was signed by participants from twenty-four countries.

MORE, Sir Thomas, English political writer, born 1477 or 1478, died 1535. A lawyer, More entered Parliament in 1504, became Speaker of the House of Commons in 1523 and Lord Chancellor in 1529. A devout Catholic, he opposed Henry VIII's break with Rome. He resigned the Chancellorship in 1532, and in 1535 he was found guilty of high treason and executed. He was beatified by Pope Leo XIII in 1886.

More's chief work is *Utopia*, coined by More from the Greek *οὐ*, no, and *τόπος*, where . It describes an imaginary commonwealth with a democratic government and a communistic economy. Utopia is a federation of fifty-four city-states, each of which has a prince or mayor elected for life, and two councils elected annually. Each city sends three representatives to the federal council, which meets annually.

More important than the system of government is the social system. The Utopians live in co-operative communities, labouring for the common weal, receiving in return those goods they need, and enjoying their leisure in communal activities. There are neither rich nor poor, exploiters nor exploited. The chief occupations are agriculture, practised by everybody, and a few domestic crafts; More condemns most commercial and industrial activities as parasitical. Everyone has to work six hours a day and receives in return whatever he needs. Leisure time is occupied in education, religious services and innocent pleasures. Meals are partaken of in public halls, and many other activities are social rather than private. Women enjoy a high place, although More denies them the equality given them by Plato. The young are educated and the old succoured at the public

charge. The penal system is designed to prevent crime rather than to punish the criminal. There is religious toleration and the priesthood is pure.

Utopia is both a satire on the inequalities, cruelties and waste of contemporary society and a sketch of the ideal state. Influenced by Plato and Augustine (see both), More nevertheless goes beyond his predecessors. While Plato was authoritarian, he was liberal; while Augustine was intolerant, he advocated religious toleration. More's dream of an earlier, happier, co-operative community which was being destroyed by the social changes of his day was a false one. His picture of the ideal society has had some influence on later writers. *Utopia* has given its name to 'Utopianism' (q v.), the advocacy of an ideal system to be achieved peacefully by moral regeneration.

MORGENTHAU PLAN, a plan conceived during World War II by Henry Morgenthau, junr., Secretary of the Treasury under President Roosevelt from 1939 to 1945, to deindustrialize and 'pastoralize' Germany. The plan was never officially listed among the war aims of the Allies, but its author stated that it was privately adopted at the Quebec Conference (1943) as the basis of Germany's post-war treatment. In the course of the war Russia, which had initially rejected the Morgenthau Plan, seized upon it and championed a particularly radical version of it at the Potsdam Conference in 1945, whose decisions were in principle based on the plan. (See *Potsdam Decisions.*) The reparations announcement of 28 March 1946 provided for a restriction of German industry to roughly one-half, but still left substantially more industry to Germany than the Morgenthau Plan had envisaged. The industrial level for Germany was further revised upwards by the Anglo-American Plan of 1947 and the principle of 'pastoralization' was finally dropped. (See *Reparations.*)

MOROCCO, a sultanate in north-western Africa (Arabic *Moghreb el Aksa*, the 'Far West'), area about 170,000 sq. m. (the boundaries are not accurately delimited), population about 9,453,000, of whom 266,000 are French, 39,000 other Europeans, 217,000 native Jews, and 8,931,000 Moslems, most of whom are of mixed Arab-Berber stock and speak Moorish Arabic, but the intelligentsia is adopting standard (Eastern) Arabic. Most of the country is desert, but there are fertile areas in the north and forests in the west. There are mineral deposits, especially iron ore and phosphates.

In the Middle Ages Morocco had a high civilization and was the base for the Moorish conquest of southern Spain; in modern times it declined. At the start of the twentieth century its possession was disputed between Britain, France (which had advanced there from Algeria), Spain (which had obtained the Ifni territory in 1860), and Germany, which hoped to gain the rich iron ore deposits which were said to exist. Britain renounced her interests for French recognition of her own paramountcy in Egypt (the *Entente Cordiale*, q.v., of 1904), and Germany, after two European crises, renounced hers in return for the surrender of some French territory in the Congo (1912). By the International Act of Algeciras (q.v.) of 1906 the Powers resolved that Morocco should be open to the trade of all nations. By a treaty of 1912 France and Spain partitioned the country, most of which went to France, Spain receiving a zone in the north. The territorial integrity of Morocco and the position of the Sultan was recognized.

Nominally Morocco is even to-day under the rule of the Sultan, since 1927 Sidi Mohammed of the Sherifian Alaui dynasty, founded in the seventeenth century. The Sultan of Morocco regards himself as the successor of the Caliphs of Cordoba (see *Caliphate*) and bears the caliphian title *Emir el Mu'minin*, Commander of the Faithful. He mostly resides in Rabat, sometimes also in the two capitals, Fez and Marrakesh. Formally his rule is absolute, but the actual power is in the hands of the French Resident-General who takes his instructions from the French foreign minister, and is himself the Sultan's foreign minister. Morocco may not maintain diplomatic relations with other countries. There is a French administration all over the country, except the Spanish and Tangier zones. Laws and decrees emanate from the Sultan but are promulgated by the Resident-General. There are French garrisons all over Morocco, while there is no Moroccan army. About 266,000 French have settled in Morocco, many of them farmers. The French zone comprises all Morocco except the 19,000 sq. m. of the Spanish zone and

the port of Tangier. The main town of the Spanish zone, important for its coastline facing Gibraltar and including the sea fortress of Ceuta, is Tetuan. The Spanish zone is also nominally under the Sultan, whose functions are delegated to a *khalifa* or deputy appointed at the suggestion of the Spanish government. The real power is exercised by the Spanish High Commissioner. It was in Spanish Morocco that General Franco's rising against the Spanish Republic began in 1936. Spanish rule was challenged in 1921 by the leader of the Berber Riff Kabyles, Abd el Krim, who defeated the Spaniards at Anual and first set up an independent Riff territory, then proclaimed himself Sultan of Morocco He nearly reached Fez, the capital, when he was defeated by the French in 1926 and exiled to a remote island. (See below.) The third part of Morocco is the zone of Tangier (q.v.), which is under international administration.

The Moroccan population is 95 per cent illiterate. Pan-arabic and pan-islamic tendencies have made themselves felt in recent years. The Nationalist Party is known as the *Istiqlal*. The Sultan professed pan-arabic sympathies in a speech at Tangier in April 1947, hailed the Arab League (q.v.) and proclaimed a Moroccan desire for full rights and for relations with countries other than France. This was acclaimed by the nationalist Istiqlal Party, which wished to line up with the Arab League and rejects the inclusion of Morocco in the French Union. France suspects Britain of encouraging the nationalists. A month after the Sultan's speech, the French fetched back Abd el Krim, the ex-rebel leader and rival Sultan, from his exile at Réunion, and it was believed that this was a move against Sultan Mohammed. Abd el Krim (q.v.), however, escaped *en route* at Suez and took refuge in Cairo.

Economically, Morocco is still largely an agricultural country, but there is an important phosphate mining industry (1,500,000 tons annually), and some manganese, zinc and lead are also mined. The iron ore deposits which once agitated world politics are in the Spanish zone and have so far proved of limited extent. About 1,500,000 tons of ore are exported annually.

MORRISON, Herbert, British Labour politician, born 1883. In the second Labour government, 1929–31, he was Minister of Transport and prepared the way for the establishment of the London Passenger Transport Board of 1933. From 1931 to 1945 he was an alderman of the London County Council, of which he was Leader in 1939–40. In Churchill's coalition he was Minister of Supply 1940, and Home Secretary and Minister of Home Security 1940–5; he was a member of the War Cabinet 1942–5. Since 1945 he has been Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Commons in the Labour Ministry. At first he co-ordinated economic policy, but the rise of Sir Stafford Cripps (q.v.) caused him to concentrate on the management of the party and the House. He is regarded as a leader of the more moderate section of the party.

MOSCA, Gaetano (1858–1941), Italian sociologist and political thinker, was Professor of Constitutional Law at various Italian universities, for a time under-secretary for colonies, and became known by his 'theory of the ruling class' (*Elementi di scienza politica*, 1923). Like his contemporary, Pareto (q.v.), he applies to the social sciences an empirical method approximating that of the physical sciences. He rejects the monistic interpretations of history which try to trace all historical development to one cause only, be it climate, race, or the economic factor. History is subject to 'pluralistic causation', according to Mosca; several influences, continually interacting, mould historical developments. They include climatic, geographical, biological, technical, economic, intellectual and other factors. Mosca finds that all societies can be divided into a ruling and a ruled class or group. This division is also discernible beneath the cover of democratic institutions. The fundamental phenomenon of political life is the rule of minorities over majorities, not conversely. Elections do not alter the position, since minorities organize the elections, present candidates and influence the masses.

The ruling class determines the character of society; the history of society is the history of the ruling class. Acceptance into the ruling class is the aim of a universal 'struggle for pre-eminence' going on in human society, where it is more important than the mere struggle for life. Qualities like kindness, idealism and altruism do not pro-

mote political rise but are rather obstacles to it; the opposite qualities are more useful. The various sections of the ruling stratum represent 'social forces', such as agriculture, industry, technics, religion, science, army, commerce, etc., and the composition of the *élite* or ruling class changes with the prevalent social factors.

A ruling class needs a 'political formula', with the aid of which it governs. This formula, fundamentally irrational though often presented in pseudo-logical form, serves to justify the rule of the *élite* and the structure of the society it rules. Examples are the 'monarch by the grace of God', 'natural law', the 'sovereignty of the people', the 'leadership principle', the 'dictatorship of the proletariat', 'race', and so forth. All political programmes are at bottom nothing but political formulas. Human nature needs them, and they are indispensable for the coherence of society. (Hence the defence society puts up against the 'debunking' of the formulas by rationalist analysis.) The ruling class may exercise its power either in an autocratic or a liberal manner; also recruitment into the ruling class may follow either the aristocratic or the democratic principle. Mosca rejects political utopias and the striving for absolute justice; man is bad rather than good, and all that can be achieved is relative justice. This implies the *difesa giuridica*, the legal defence of the individual, which is codified in the well-known civic liberties; of these, free expression of opinion matters most. The higher the basic liberties are developed, the higher is the level of civilization in any given society.

Thus Mosca, starting from realist and sceptical assumptions, arrives at an endorsement of democracy, contrary to Pareto. (This was the reason for little mention being made of Mosca in fascist Italy, though he was called to the senate.) Power can be controlled only by power. Therefore there must be several powers in society, balancing each other, e.g. several classes, parties and constitutional factors. Freedom is the upshot of struggle and diversity, not of unity and harmony. Where only one class, party or po' ' 'l factor exists, there is unfreedom. Liberty rests on diversity, coupled with equilibrium. Also the autocratic and liberal, the aristocratic and democratic principles must be balanced on a middle line. After a lifetime's work devoted to the critique of the theoretical foundations of the democratic and parliamentary system, Mosca realized in 1923 that the great democratic governments of the nineteenth century represent the highest degree of human liberty and therefore civilization so far attained. It seemed to him, however, that this period had ended with World War I and was now being succeeded by a period of the destruction of liberty and the decline of civilization. (Compare *Burnham*, *Michels*, *Pareto*.)

MOST-FAVOURED NATION CLAUSE, a clause customary in treaties of commerce whereby the signatories undertake to extend automatically to the other party any reduction in tariff or other economic favour which they may in future accord to any other country. Thus, if a country at a later date grants a tariff reduction in respect of some articles to some other country, this will also apply to all the countries with whom it has previously made trade treaties. However, countries with whom no trade pact exists must pay the full duty according to the general tariff. The text of the clause is usually on the lines that both partners will in future grant to each other all the advantages which they accord in their trade treaties to the nation most-favoured at any given time. 'Most-favoured' means the country enjoying the lowest tariff for the article in question. The purpose of the clause is to ensure equal treatment of all nations ('equal favours clause' would be a better term), thus keeping the channels of international trade open in all directions and avoiding the formation of economic blocs by preferential tariffs. Yet regional reservations occur, such as British imperial preference (see *Ottawa Agreements*) and the 'Nordic clause' in trade pacts of Scandinavian states. The United States is very strict about the most-favoured nation clause. Contemporary systems of planned or state-controlled economy, however, have devised means for circumventing the clause, such as clearing agreements, manipulation of prices and rates of exchange, or simply the arbitrary choice of trade partners by a monopolist trading organization.

MOSUL, a town of 100,000 in Irak (q.v.), known for the Mosul oilfields which are from time to time mentioned in world politics. Anglo-German rivalry for their ex-

ploitation has often been mentioned among the causes of the international tension which led to World War I. The Mosul oil concession was acquired by the *Deutsche Bank* of Berlin before World War I, and passed to an Anglo-American-French oil group after the war. The oilfields are now operated by the Irak Petroleum Co., a joint concern of the Royal Dutch Shell, Anglo-Iranian, and Standard Oil groups, each of whom hold 23 75 per cent of the stock, and a French oil group which holds the same amount, the original holder of the concession, Sir E. Gulbenkian, still holds 5 per cent. Oil was struck in 1927. The company has constructed a pipeline to the port of Haifa, Palestine, with a branch going to Tripoli, Syria, for pumping the oil to the Mediterranean. The main centre of the oil industry is the town of Kirkuk in the Mosul district. Oil production was 4,600,000 tons in 1946. The area covered by the concession is about 30,000 sq m. Other companies are prospecting for oil in the neighbouring districts. The Mosul pipeline is to be co-ordinated with the oil transportation system of the Anglo-Iranian and Arabian oil companies and the oilfields are part of the Middle Eastern oil region in which the United States has recently shown considerable economic and political interest. (See *Oil, Persia, Saudi Arabia.*)

MUFTI of Jerusalem, the supreme religious official of the Moslems of Jerusalem; one earlier holder of the office is often erroneously termed the 'Grand Mufti'. Every Moslem town has a Mufti, i.e. a supreme religious official; the Muftis of the larger centres enjoy great respect, but there is no hierarchy among them and no Grand Mufti. Mohammed Emin el Husseini, Mufti of Jerusalem from 1921 to 1936, was born in Jerusalem in 1890, was first a customs official, then a teacher, combated Zionism in Palestine as an Arab nationalist, was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in 1920 for instigating disorder, fled to Transjordania, was reprieved in 1921 and made Mufti of Jerusalem. In 1923 he was appointed chairman of the Supreme Moslem Council in Jerusalem. He made himself leader of the anti-Zionist movement, founded the Palestine Arab Party (also known as the Mufti Party), and organized the Arab disorders in Palestine in 1936. The government deposed him and issued a warrant for his arrest. He fled to Syria. At the outbreak of war in 1939 he went to Irak, where he took a hand in the pro-fascist uprising of Rashid el Gailani and the subsequent massacre of Jews and Christians in 1941. (See *Irak.*) Then he went to Germany, where he was received by Hitler and made radio propaganda against the Allies until the end of the war. After the war he emerged in Paris, where he was not arrested by the French authorities in spite of his wartime activities, but only placed under supervision In the summer of 1946 he escaped by aeroplane to Cairo, where he was received by the King of Egypt. The Arab League (q.v.) appointed him 'spiritual leader' of the Palestine Arab Committee.

When the Arab armies invaded Palestine after the proclamation of the state of Israel, the Mufti was known to favour an Arab government in Palestine as opposed to the plans of King Abdullah of Transjordania for the inclusion of Arab Palestine in his kingdom. On 5 October 1948 an Arab government of Palestine was set up at Gaza under Egyptian auspices, with the Mufti as chairman of the national council and the supreme council, a position tantamount to that of head of the state. (See *Palestine.*)

MUNICH AGREEMENT, the agreement concluded on 29 September 1938, between Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy concerning the cession of the Sudetenland to Germany. (See *Sudeten-Germans.*) The agreement was the consummation of the policy of appeasement (q.v.) and became a symbol for surrender.

MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM, the conduct of trading undertakings by local government authorities. (See *Fabian Society.*).

MUSSOLINI, Benito, Italian fascist leader, dictator from 1922 to 1943, born 29 July 1883 at Predappio, Italy, the son of a blacksmith, executed 28 April 1945 in a North Italian frontier village. Mussolini was a radical socialist in his youth, lived for a time in exile in Switzerland, then returned to Italy to become editor of the socialist party's newspaper *Avanti,* in 1912. After the outbreak of World War I in 1914, Mussolini advocated Italian intervention, for which he was expelled from the Socialist Party. He then founded his own paper, *Popolo d'Italia,* in which he urged Italy to enter the war, and when this happened he

went to the front in 1915. He reached only the rank of corporal and returned to his newspaper after having been wounded. After the war he founded the movement of fascism (q.v.). The first *fascio di combattimento* was established in Milan on 23 March 1919, with only forty members. After the 'March on Rome' on 28 October 1922, Mussolini was appointed Italian Prime Minister. He suppressed left-wing radicalism, soon democracy also, and made himself dictator. Intellectually he was more influenced by Sorel, Pareto (qq.v.) and Nietzsche than by the socialism of his youth. He created a totalitarian system which served as a model for similar systems in other countries. Until 1935 Mussolini was critical of the German copy of his movement, Hitler's national socialism (q.v.), and scoffed at its racial doctrine. Then he embarked on a war of conquest in Abyssinia (q.v.). The resulting alienation of Italy from the West drove Mussolini into Hitler's arms; in the ensuing 'Axis Rome-Berlin' he soon became the weaker partner. Together with Hitler he supported Franco (q.v.) in the Spanish civil war, and in 1938 he made anti-Jewish laws contrary to his earlier point of view. In World War II he stayed neutral to begin with. On 10 June 1940, during the collapse of France, he entered the war on Hitler's side, believing a German victory to be certain. He sought great annexations, including Corsica, Nice, territories in the Balkans and in Africa. As the war took a turn against the Axis, Mussolini's star began to wane. On 26 July 1943, when Anglo-American armies had already landed in Italy, he was overthrown by a *coup d'état* of King Victor Emanuel III and Marshal Badoglio, indeed with the consent of a section of his own fascist grand council. Soon after liberated from prison by a German air expedition, he assumed government in German-occupied North Italy, proclaimed a fascist republic and continued the war against the Allies. Germany's collapse in 1945 spelled also the end of Mussolini. On 28 April 1945 he tried to cross into Switzerland with a woman friend and a few adherents, but was arrested in a frontier village by Italian partisans, tried and executed on the spot. His companions shared his fate. His body was hung up in public in the main square of Milan.

M.V.D. (See *G.P.U.*)

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NATIONAL, in Britain a term describing coalition of Conservatives and some dissident Liberals and Labourites in office 1931–40 and May-July 1945. The three main groups were called (National) Conservatives, National Liberals and National Labour (all q.v.); independents supporting the coalition were called Nationals. The term is sometimes applied to the May 1940–May 1945 coalition government, in which the major Labour and Liberal Parties (qq.v.) also participated.

NATIONALISM, (*a*) a group sentiment based on national characteristics, primarily language and culture, with a tendency to stress the differences between national units; (*b*) exaggeration of this sentiment. In languages other than English, the term 'nationalism' usually refers only to (*b*), while (*a*) is simply called national feeling.

Group-feelings that might be described as nationalism in the widest sense may be found in tribal, Graeco-Roman, medieval and other civilizations, but nationalism in the modern sense dates roughly from the eighteenth century. What distinguishes it from earlier, kindred sentiments is its claim to paramountcy: it seeks to establish itself as the highest value and to pervade all fields of human thought, sentiment and action. The interests of national groups become the sole determinants of their policies; the groups exalt their own properties, histories and achievements, or claim indeed to be the principal if not the sole originators of important ideas and inventions, or civilization at large. Nationalism almost (and sometimes literally) becomes a religion, and it has been said to have filled the vacuum in man's soul created by the secularization of the world which coincided with the rise of nationalism.

In the history of political thought, nationalism was the antithesis to the idea of a universal empire which had been prevalent in the Middle Ages, and had claimed to be the continuation of Roman universalism. Christian medieval universalism had bridled the nascent nationalisms which undoubtedly existed within its framework, and led to preference being given to multi-national political organizations, such as kingdoms and duchies comprising populations of different language, or to the formation of states ethnically uniform but covering only part of the territory of what we to-day call a national group. Loyalties were not directed toward a common origin, language or history, but toward a common overlord. Absolutism (q.v.) paved the way for the modern nation-state marked by sovereignty (q.v.) and the repudiation of any superior authority. The English, American and French revolutions combined the idea of the nation-state with that of democracy (q.v.), and nationalism remained associated with the striving for civic liberties throughout the nineteenth century; only in the twentieth century did it assume neo-absolutist forms as exemplified in fascism, Nazism and presumably also in Russian communism (all q.v.). Earlier nationalism had been compatible with its apparent contrary, internationalism (q.v.); it was essentially humanist and cosmopolitan, regarding the nations as subdivisions of a greater mankind which ought to live together in peace. (See *Mazzini.*) The romantic period in the first half of the nineteenth century tended to neglect this cosmopolitanism in favour of concentration on the romantic writers' own nationality, but sometimes one romantic nationalism kindled another; for instance, when the German, Herder, gave the cue to Slav nationalisms. Nationalism gradually became intertwined with economic interests. The Marxian school (see *Marxism*) believes these were primary, and nationalist thought and sentiment were but 'ideological superstructures' designed to cover up pre-existing commercial interests. In connection with the commercial competition of nations, but sometimes even

without it, the aggressive and warlike aspects of nationalism gradually came to the fore.

The political reorganization of Europe in the nineteenth century was the work of nationalism, which together with liberalism was the dominant principle of the age. In America the idea of the nation-state prevailed likewise, but the ethnographical principle (q.v.) did not play the part it did in Europe. In the English and Spanish-speaking world, language became neither the uniting nor the dividing principle it has been in European nationalism. States of the same language have developed strong group-sentiments described as nationalism, but as a rule the hatreds between them, if any, have never reached the ferocity observable between nations of different language. On the other hand, Anglo-Saxon (q.v.) feeling and *Hispanidad* (q.v.) are expressions of nationalism in the European sense, and the division between the Anglo-Saxon and Latin sections of America, or indeed that between Spanish and Portuguese-speaking Latin America, also follows 'European' nationalist lines.

Nationalism contains a democratic, egalitarian element; to political determinants centring on feudal lords it opposed determinants derived from properties of the common man, especially language. It was hailed as an organizing principle for Europe and the world at large, and as a rational system because linguistically homogeneous units could be more easily administered and the coherence of people of the same language and culture would be greater. Therefore national states were usually bent on assimilating populations of other languages, while such minorities reacted by nationalisms of their own. Only a few states in the world succeeded in peacefully uniting different national groups, Switzerland (q.v.) being the outstanding example. Progressives believe that nationalism was a step forward from feudalism, creating larger units instead of small ones, and that a supra-national federation of peoples should be the next step. Internationalism has been accompanying nationalism as its critic (and sometimes supplement) from the beginning. Yet the period of the two World Wars brought an unexpected upsurge of nationalism which rode roughshod over the internationalist propaganda of generations of pacifists and international socialists. Indeed a movement like communism, starting from the strictest internationalism, developed into Russian (and other) nationalism. Fascism in all its variants would have been unthinkable without nationalism. The World War against German Hitlerism, starting as an ideological war, quickly became a nationalist war. The peoples of Asia are awakening at the sign of nationalism. Thus, nationalism in rather extreme forms remains a powerful if not the dominant factor in the world's politics, and its critics regard it as the principal cause of war. The call for a world-state to end nationalism is to be heard widely, and both the League of Nations (q.v.) and the United Nations Organization (q.v.), if insufficient for the task, have in essence been attempts to overcome nationalism.

Psychologically, nationalism belongs to the group-affects. It is group-egoism and nationalists have indeed proudly spoken of *sacro egoismo*. To the individual, nationalism offers the gratifications of permitted self-praise (while individual self-praise is taboo, the praise of one's national group is obligatory and the individual may feel included in it), of feeling one with the group, and of releasing pugnacity. Biologists interpret nationalism as a manifestation of the herd-instinct and compare the behaviour of animal herds with that of human national herds. The amazing instinctual response nationalism nearly always finds with human masses is indeed an interesting subject both for the biologist and the psychologist, though the latter will hesitate to deduce any inevitability of nationalist sentiment. Social scientists have offered a variety of explanations and evaluations of nationalism. Its historical connection with the rise of the middle classes has led to its being regarded as a middle-class characteristic, but the Marxian claim that the working classes are immune from nationalism and are natural internationalists has been disproved by recent experience. Generally speaking, science is critical of nationalism and scientists are leading in 'debunking' it, the physical scientists having since the advent of the atomic bomb joined the social scientists in this respect. But during both World Wars outbursts of nationalism were also observed among scientists of all disciplines. (See *Chauvinism, Burke, Locke, Hegel, Mazzini, Rousseau, Internationalism, Internationals, Sovereignty.*)

NATIONALIZATION, the transfer of property and services to the state. The nationalization of the means of production, distribution and exchange is the primary aim of socialism (q.v.), but non-socialist parties have also engaged in nationalization, e.g. the postal services of most countries have long been under public ownership. In Britain there have been three forms of nationalization: (1) the undertaking is directly controlled by a government department, headed by a minister (e g. the post office); (2) the property is vested in a public corporation which is not subject to the detailed control of a minister, although it is responsible to one; the extent of the responsibility varies—the public corporations created since 1945 have been less free from ministerial control than those formed earlier; (3) the shares in the firm(s) conducting the industry are purchased by the government (e.g. Cable and Wireless Ltd.).

Three problems have confronted governments which have resolved to nationalize an undertaking: (1) How much control shall the minister have?—if too much the industry may be affected by bureaucratic control from a remote centre or by party politics, if too little the advantages of government control may be lost, (2) How shall the board of the public corporation be composed? Of the representatives of workers and consumers (who may seek sectional advantage), of technical experts (who may be ignorant of the general problems of the economy in which the industry has to play its part), or of general administrators, business men or civil servants (who may have unsuitable mental habits resulting from their previous employment)? (3) How shall the industry be organized—shall the central board intervene actively in the affairs of the various regions and sections, or shall there be extensive delegation of control to the districts and sections?

In the Soviet Union (q.v.) and in Soviet-controlled eastern Europe, practically all industries are nationalized and controlled by government departments. In Mexico (q.v.) some industries were nationalized and at first handed over to the workers; when this proved unsatisfactory, they were placed under state management with participation of workers and consumers. In France, nationalized industries came mostly under public corporations on which the government, the workers, and the consumers are represented. While in the Soviet sphere all nationalized industries operate within the framework of national economic plans, nationalized concerns in the other countries operate within an essentially capitalist economy (though in Britain there are elements of planning). Nationalization is not the only form of 'socialization' (the term used in continental Europe); the latter term covers also transfer to non-state collective owners, such as local authorities (see *Municipal Socialism*), co-operatives (q.v.), and trade unions (q.v.).

(See also *Anarchism, Corporate State. Guild Socialism, Syndicalism, Trades Union Congress, Working Party.*)

NATIONAL LABOUR PARTY, in Britain a small group which followed J. R. MacDonald when he left the Labour Party (q.v.) in 1931 to become leader of a coalition of the conservative and liberal parties (both q.v.). In 1945 it was dissolved.

NATIONAL LIBERAL PARTY, in Britain that section of the old Liberal Party (q.v.) which in 1932 preferred to remain with the Conservative Party rather than leave it on the issue of free trade and the general problem of co-operation with the conservatives. It is now led by Lord Rosebery, Lord Simon, E. Brown and H. Stewart. It advocates a return to free capitalism and the reduction of government expenditure and taxation. In the 1945 election it obtained 760,000 votes and 13 seats. In 1948 it changed its name from Liberal National to National Liberal. (The National Liberal Club is the club of the independent Liberal Party.)

NATIONAL SOCIALISM, (*a*) in general, a socialist school trying to combine the national idea with the socialist, in contrast to international socialism of the Marxian school. (See *Socialism, Marxism, Internationals.*) Parties with a national socialist programme emerged in various European countries during the opening years of this century; some were really socialist, others were founded by employers who wished to divert the workers from the socialist parties (so-called 'yellow' parties, sometimes connected with 'yellow' trade unions). They all remained insignificant, with the exception of the Czech national socialists (see *Czechoslovakia*), who became a mass party and later differed little from social democrats.

(*b*) In particular, a German national-

imperialist movement under Adolf Hitler (q.v.), which had only the name in common with the parties of the kind mentioned before. It was a party of the fascist type. (See *Fascism.*) Hitler's party was, after some forerunners in Austria prior to World War I, founded in Munich, Bavaria, by a worker named Drexler in 1919. Hitler joined the party in its infancy, made himself quickly its leader and ousted Drexler, who fell into oblivion. The history of the party (its full name was National Socialist German Workers' Party, soon condensed by its opponents into Nazi Party) is closely connected with the personal career of Hitler. The article on him should be read in conjunction with this one.

In 1920 the Nazi Party proclaimed a 25-point programme, the most important items being union of all Germans, abolition of the Versailles Treaty, expulsion of Jews from the national community, nationalization of trusts, protection of the small trader, suppression of department stores, land reform, military service, Press control, a strong central government and substitution of German law for Roman. More important was the unofficial programme of the party, stated rather frankly in Hitler's book *My Battle* and taught even more frankly at the higher party training centres. It consisted in a gigantic national imperialism aiming at the conquest by Germany first of Europe, then the whole world. All non-Teutonic peoples were to be made subject helots under a German-Teutonic master race. The racial theory (see *Race*) formed the centre of the party ideology; it culminated in fanatical anti-semitism (q.v.) and in myths about a 'Nordic' or 'Aryan' race. (See *Aryan, Nordic.*) Liberalism was rejected; it was to be supplanted by the ideal of a hierarchical society headed by a new aristocracy born of 'blood and soil'. National socialism aimed at nothing less than a world revolution after its own fashion, reversing all the progress made in the preceding centuries. The party preached the worship of blood, force and cruelty, the primacy of the body over the intellect, of instinct over reason, of what it called biological over ethical considerations. Christianity and humanity were rejected as expressions of weakness.

National socialism was derived intellectually from Nietzsche, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, and a host of nationalist, racialist and romantic writers (not all of them German) of the last fifty years. Politically it built on the foundations laid by pan-Germanism (q.v.), the German Free Corps of 1919 (see *Swastika*), and a number of obscure nationalist and anti-semitic sects. It was fanatically anti-communist. The Nazis adopted many features from Italian fascism (q.v.), e.g. the coloured shirt (brown in Germany) and the fascist salute, and borrowed also some items from their communist adversaries, e.g. the red flag, the radical catch-words and the technique of mass direction. From both models they adopted the single-party principle, government by terror and a secret police, and the principles of force and dictatorship at large. Psychologically Nazism took advantage of the coincidence of the mass despair created by the economic slump of 1930 with the national inferiority complex of the Germans dating from Versailles. By unscrupulous demagogy it first won over the ruined lower middle classes; big business promoted it as a weapon against trade unions and communism, once in power, it secured a larger or smaller footing in all classes of the population by means of propaganda and coercion. It abolished all civil rights, established a terrorist dictatorship and made Germany a totalitarian state. Its rule was based on the system of the Gestapo (q.v.) and the concentration camps (q.v.), on party troops consisting of the SA (*Sturmabteilung*, storm-troopers) and SS (*Schutzstaffel*, protecting squad), and on an army of spies. A centralist state divided into new *Gaue* or regions under Nazi stateholders superseded the historic *Lander* of Germany.

After the rise to power the party forced many people to join it, so that membership figures after 1933 present no reliable picture of its genuine following. Early in 1933 it had some 2,000,000 members; at the end in 1945 it had 6,000,000. To this must be added many millions of partly voluntary, partly involuntary members of its subsidiary organizations, such as Hitler Youth, Labour Front, Labour Service, and the party army. The party was organized on military lines. The members had no right to determine policy but had only one duty, viz. to obey the leader. Enormous sums were collected and spent by the party without any accounts being published. There was a party rally in Nuremberg every year.

The socialist promises of the party programme were never fulfilled. Labour parties and unions were suppressed. The small traders' businesses were closed down to recruit factory workers for armament production. Some social activities of the party, including 'Strength through Joy', Winter Relief, and People's Welfare, became quite popular, but failed to make up for the reduction of the former social services. The Nazis evolved economic planning on a comprehensive scale, partly with original methods, but this was for quick rearmament rather than for socialism. The party was not socialist as the term is usually understood, neither was it purely capitalist, as its left-wing opponents maintained.

German national socialism led to World War II (1939–45), to the murder of at least eight million people for the sake of racial hatred, and to the ruin of Germany and a large part of Europe. Its rule ended with the Allied victory in 1945. Next to Hitler, the leading men of the party were *Goring* (holder of many offices, for a long time the second most powerful man in the movement), *Hess* (Hitler's deputy till 1941), *Himmler* (head of the SS, the Gestapo, the concentration and extermination camps), *Goebbels* (Minister of Propaganda), *Rosenberg* (the party ideologist), *Frick* (Minister of the Interior), *Ley* (leader of the Labour Front), *Ribbentrop* (Foreign Minister), *Bormann* (Hitler's deputy after 1941), and *Streicher* (the chief Jew-baiter). In so far as they had not escaped retribution by suicide, they were tried by an Inter-Allied Court in 1945–6 and executed, with the exception of Hess, who was imprisoned for life. (See *Nuremberg Trial.*) The leader corps of the Nazi Party, the SS, and the Gestapo were declared criminal organizations by the Court. The Allied authorities in Germany suppressed the Nazi Party and instituted general denazification (q.v.), which was mishandled and proved a failure. Remnants of Nazism, presumably the most bestial political movement in history, seem to linger on underground in Germany, and its aftermath in the world, especially anti-semitism and a general lowering of the standards of human feeling, is evident.

(*c*) Outside Germany, the fascistic *Ossewa Brandwag* (q.v.) in South Africa also calls itself 'national socialist'.

NAURU, an island in the Pacific Ocean, 8 sq. m., population 3,000. An important source of phosphates, the island was German until 1918, since when it has been administered by Britain, Australia and New Zealand.

NAVAL DEMONSTRATION, the despatch of warships to the shores of some other state in order to demonstrate the power and determination of the despatching nation. A demonstrating fleet abstains from hostilities. However, incidents leading to war have sometimes arisen during naval demonstrations. Also the despatch of warships into the waters of another state with a view to assuring it of protection against a third state is a naval demonstration. Nowadays naval demonstrations are not always called by that name; it is fashionable to call them accidental visits. They are always significant acts.

NEGRO PROBLEM, in the United States the problem arising out of the presence of 13,000,000 citizens of African descent (the descendants of the former negro slaves) and racial aversion or prejudice against them on the part of the whites. While slavery was abolished throughout the Union by the 13th Amendment in 1865 (the northern states having abolished it considerably earlier), and in theory full equality of status was given to the negro under the Constitution, the negro has to this day failed to achieve real equality. At the time of the Civil War 92 per cent of the negro population was concentrated in the south. The southern states soon eliminated the negro from politics and adopted a 'lily-white' policy, which included segregation of the negroes and other forms of discrimination. Special franchise qualifications and direct terrorization became the means of keeping the negro from the polls. (See *Ku Klux Klan.*)

Negro reaction took two forms: one was 'northern philanthropy', the endeavour to obtain, not full equality, but special negro schools and institutions to enable the negro to live a life of his own. The leading exponent of this trend was the negro leader, Booker T. Washington. The other negro movement, demanding full equality, was led by Dr. Du Bois, and centred around the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. In the twentieth century a great migration of negroes to the

north took place, fostered by the expansion of industry, the two great wars and the stoppage of immigration. As a result, only some 74 per cent of the negro population are still concentrated in the south, while 25 per cent live in the northern cities and 1 per cent in the west. The proportion of negroes working in industry increased; by 1930 about 20 per cent of the negroes were occupied in industry, 36 per cent in agriculture (as tenants and labourers), 7 per cent in transportation, 28·6 per cent in domestic and personal services and 3 per cent in trade. Yet the negroes remain, as a whole, a depressed class. They are subject to residential segregation in the north as well as the south, to segregation in public conveyances and places of entertainment (the Jim Crow laws), to discrimination in employment and business, social and educational discrimination and other disabilities. In the south disfranchisement continues in practice though not in law. Some progress has been made in recent decades both with the uplifting of the negroes as a group and with the assertion of their right to equality. There are 100 negro colleges and universities, and some 120,000 negroes work in the professions, as clerks and in other non-manual occupations. The Roosevelt Administration from 1933 to 1945 endeavoured to improve the status of the negroes, and as a result the negro vote went democratic during this period. The rise of the CIO movement in labour (q.v.) gave greater opportunity to the negro worker, the CIO enrolling negroes freely, while the AFL unions (q.v.) had tended, and to a considerable degree still tend, to exclude the negro or segregate him in small negro locals. The Supreme Court has in recent years tended to uphold negro claims to real equality.

Suggestions for the solution of the negro problem have included Back-to-Africa schemes. One of these was the colonization movement of 1820 that led to the foundation of Liberia (q.v.). About 1925 a Jamaican negro named Marcus Garvey preached the foundation of a pan-African negro empire under the leadership of American negroes. (He was deported to Jamaica in 1927.) The Communist Party of the United States included in its earlier platform a demand for an autonomous negro republic in the south of the Union, though this was derided as a 'Jim Crow republic'. This suggestion seems to have been dropped, but the communists have always been anxious to demonstrate that they take negro equality seriously.

The experiences of the negroes in the two World Wars, when many of them served, though in separate units, in the armed forces, where their material conditions were very often better than those to which they had been used, and came to Europe where they were on the whole regarded just as Americans and not as an inferior social group, caused an increase in race consciousness. After World War II this, the revival of the Ku Klux Klan and the desire to purify American democracy in its conflict with communism, induced President Truman to appoint in 1946 a Committee on Civic Rights. The Committee's report stressed the many ways in which the negroes, and other minorities, were unfairly treated, and urged the enactment of a bill to make discrimination illegal. A bill was introduced into Congress, but obstruction by southern democrats prevented its enactment. Truman committed himself to a programme of ensuring civic rights to the negro and issued decrees forbidding discrimination in the armed forces and the civil service. (For the effect of this policy on the Democratic Party, see article on that party.)

NEHRU, Pandit Jawaharlal, Indian national leader, born 1889 from a Brahman family at Kashmir, was educated at Harrow and Cambridge, became a lawyer in India. His father, Motilal Nehru, was one of the older leaders of the Indian national movement. Nehru junr. was elected to the All-Indian Congress Committee in 1918. (See *India*) In 1921 and 1922 he was for some time imprisoned on account of his political activities. He became the most outstanding disciple of Gandhi (q.v.). In 1929, Nehru was elected secretary-general of the Congress Committee and was President of Congress in the next two years. In 1931 and 1932 he was repeatedly arrested for participation in the salt *satyagraha* of his master (see *Gandhi*) and other civil disobedience campaigns; and he was once more imprisoned in 1934. Released in 1935, he was re-elected Congress President in 1936, 1937 and 1946. He became the leader of the left wing of Congress, incurring to some degree the displeasure of Gandhi, who at times tried to counteract Nehru's influence behind the

scene. During World War I Nehru was again arrested in October 1940 on account of a campaign which was considered by the government to be harmful to the war effort, and was sentenced to four years' imprisonment. He was, however, released at the end of 1941. For a long time he had been known as an advocate of full Indian independence, opposing the trend for mere Dominion status within the British Empire. After the war he once more demanded an independent Indian republic. In 1946 he was appointed vice-president (in fact premier) in the first Indian National Government under the British Viceroy. At the beginning of 1947 the Indian Constituent Assembly declared on a motion by Nehru a sovereign Indian republic to be its aim. When India was made a Dominion on 15 August 1947 Nehru was appointed Prime Minister. He also took charge of foreign and commonwealth relations. One of his first actions was to convoke a congress of all Asiatic nations to state their mutual solidarity in the fight for emancipation from European domination. (See *Pan-Asia.*)

Nehru is a democrat and a socialist. His thought follows European lines, which was not always to the liking of his teacher, Gandhi. He wishes to make India a modern, powerful state. He often declared his enmity to fascism and nazism. Among the Hindus, Nehru is now the most prominent figure. Nehru bears the Indian scholars' title *Pandit.* He has written numerous books, including *Glimpses of World History*, books on India and Soviet Russia, and an autobiography.

NEJD. (See *Saudi Arabia.*)

NENNI TELEGRAM, in Britain a telegram of support sent by J. Platts-Mills, K. Zilliacus and twenty other members of the Labour Party (q.v.) to the Italian pro-communist socialist leader Nenni during the Italian general election of April 1948. The Labour Party had decided to support the right-wing, anti-communist socialists, Saragat and Lombardo. (See *Italy.*) The telegram was therefore regarded as disloyal, Platts-Mills was expelled and the other signatories reprimanded. Zilliacus was expelled later.

NEPAL, a kingdom in the Himalayas to the north of India, area 55,000 sq. m., population estimated at 5,500,000. The capital is Katmandu. Nepal was never part of India, but has always been an independent state. After a war with the British in 1815 the Treaty of Sagauli was concluded, providing for friendly relations between Great Britain and Nepal and the exchange of diplomatic representatives. With some subsequent agreements it was reaffirmed in 1923, Nepal's internal and external independence being emphasized again. Nepal is inhabited by several peoples of Mongol-Tartar extraction with a strong Indian strain, including the Gurkhas, the Magars, Bhotias and Gurungs. Hinduism and Buddhism are the principal religions. The Hindu Gurkhas are the dominant race, and a considerable number of Nepalese Gurkhas used to enlist voluntarily in the Indian army during British rule in India. Kingship is rather nominal, and the actual system of government is feudal aristocracy, the rule of the nobles known as the Bharadars who in 1867 forced the King to place all power into the hands of a prime minister representing their class. The dynasty itself is of Hindu Rajput origin; the present King, Tribbubana Bir Bikram, was born in 1906 and succeeded his father in 1911. His title is Maharajadhiraja. The actual ruler of Nepal is the prime minister who is styled Maharaja; he is always chosen from the members of the dynasty under special rules of succession. The present regent, Sir Padma Shumshere Jung, was installed in office in 1945. In February 1948 constitutional reforms were announced—fundamental rights have been guaranteed and a partly-elected bicameral legislature established. The effect of Britain's withdrawal from India is not yet certain—a temporary 'standstill' agreement between Nepal and the new Dominion of India maintains the previous relations between Nepal and the British government in India. To the withdrawal may, however, be attributed the new reforms. Britain and India are to continue to hire Gurkha troops. The status of the British Legation in Nepal was raised to that of Embassy on 11 July 1947. Nepal has traditionally shown interest in neighbouring Tibet, and its diplomatic and commercial representatives are among the few strangers admitted there.

NETHERLANDS, Kingdom of the, 127,000 sq. m., population 9,500,000. The capital is Amsterdam, while The Hague is the seat of the government and the royal

family. The present Queen, Juliana, born 30 April 1909, married to Prince Bernhard of Lippe-Biesterfeld, Prince of the Netherlands, succeeded to the throne in September 1948 on the abdication of her mother, Queen Wilhelmina (whose reign began in 1898). The dynasty of Orange-Nassau is derived from Prince William of Orange, the liberator of the Netherlands from Spanish rule in the sixteenth century. Formerly known as the Stateholders-General, the Orange rulers assumed the royal title in 1815. The Netherlands are divided into eleven provinces, including North and South Holland, which have given to the country the name most used in colloquial language and abroad. The inhabitants and their language are known as Dutch. The parliament is still known by the ancient name of the States-General and consists of a First and a Second Chamber. The Second Chamber, the Lower House, may initiate bills (as may the government), while the First Chamber or Upper House may pass or reject, but may not initiate, bills. The First Chamber has 50 members elected by the States-Provincial (regional bodies with limited powers), while the 100 members of the Second Chamber are chosen directly by the people on the basis of male and female suffrage and proportional representation. The Lower House is chosen for four years, the Upper House for six years, one-half of the latter being renewed every three years.

Until 1940 Dutch policy was traditionally one of neutrality. Yet on 10 May 1940 Hitler invaded the Netherlands simultaneously with Belgium with a view to outflanking France. There were also German aspirations to the incorporation of the Netherlands, since pan-Germans and Nazis regarded the Dutch as 'Lower Germans' who had once illicitly seceded from the *Reich*. The Dutch army had to surrender after five days of fighting. The Queen and government went to England to continue the struggle. Holland had previously been extremely pro-German in sentiment, but was by this outrage made an enemy of Germany. The Nazis appointed a *Reich* Commissar (Seyss-Inquart, executed at Nuremberg in 1946), and encouraged a Dutch Nazi movement under Mussert (executed in 1945), which had obtained four seats in the pre-war parliament. Gradually a resistance movement developed in Holland. When Japan attacked America and Britain in the Pacific region in 1941 the Netherlands government in London declared war on Japan. But the defence of the Netherlands Indies collapsed after short fighting, and the Japanese occupied the valuable colonial area, setting up a native nationalist government which persisted after the war.

During the war Holland suffered a great deal from floods, since the dykes which are a feature of the low-level country were destroyed partly deliberately, partly in the course of military action. Reclamation of the land lost in this way is in progress, but will require much time and effort. In 1949, Holland annexed a small German frontier area with 10,000 German inhabitants, despite German protests and many misgivings in Holland herself. Dutch reconstruction has been speedy and this is probably a cause of the return to pre-war political groupings and the absence of a strong communist party. The two main issues in post-war politics have been the extent of government control of the economy and the problem of Indonesia (q v.).

The two chief parties are the Catholic People's Party and the Labour Party which have been the bases of the post-war governments. They have been moderately collectivist and have sponsored the policy of reconciliation with the Indonesians. From the first, which is led by L. J. M. Beel, there has broken away the Catholic Committee of Action, under Welter, in opposition to concessions in Indonesia. Also opposed to the Indonesian policy is the Anti-Revolutionary Party, among whose leaders is the wartime Prime Minister, Gerbrandy, who wants continuance of Dutch rule in the Indies, and the Political Reform Party; both of these parties are Calvinist. The Christian Historical Union, a Protestant party, and the liberals (Freedom Party), though parties of the right, are prepared to accept the government's Indonesian policy. The Communist Party is opposed to the continuance of colonial rule. The election of 1946 gave to the Catholic and Labour Parties combined an absolute majority in the Second Chamber and they formed a government under Beel.

In 1948 a new election was required by the government's proposal to revise the constitution. Instead of the existing method which requires the dissolution of both Chambers they proposed that the changes concerning Indonesia should be effected by

a simple majority vote without dissolution of both houses. The Historical Union and the liberals both supported the government's scheme—the Catholic Committee and the two Calvinist parties opposed it. The election resulted in a victory for the right, although in votes rather than in seats, party representation in the new chamber hardly differing from that in the old, although the Labour and Communist parties each lost two seats and the communist vote fell by a quarter. Representation in the Second and First Chambers (the latter in brackets) is now: Catholic Party 32 (17), Labour 27 (14), Christian Historicals 9 (5), Liberals 8 (3), Communists 8 (4), Anti-Revolutionaries 13 (7), Political Reformers 2 (–), Catholic Committee 1 (—). The government's policy was thus endorsed by the electorate. The government was broadened to include the Christian Historicals and Dr. Drees (labour) became Prime Minister.

Although divided on the Indonesian question the major parties are united in support of the other part of the government's external policy—close association with Belgium, Luxembourg, France and Britain. With the first two states Holland is in economic union in the Benelux (q.v.) scheme. With all she is a party to Western Union (q.v.) and the North Atlantic Treaty (q v.).

Holland's greatest colony, Indonesia (q.v.), previously known as the Dutch East Indies, was granted independence within a loose union with the Netherlands as from 27 December 1949. The Queen remains the head of the union, but Indonesia is now a federal republic. The union statute provides for 'organized co-operation' on a voluntary and equal basis. Dutch possessions in the Americas are to be given self-government within the union, but in closer association with Holland. The Dutch West Indies consist of two groups of Caribbean islands known as Curaçao (area 403 sq. m., pop. 137,000, producing refined oil and salt), and Dutch Guiana or Surinam on the South American continent (area 55,000 sq. m., pop. 200,000, producing sugar, coffee and bauxite).

NEUTRALITY, non-participation in a war between other countries. According to international law, a neutral country must abstain from any interference with the war. It must neither favour nor hinder the forces of any belligerent. Certain gradations of neutrality which occur in practice, such as 'benevolent neutrality' or 'non-belligerency', are actually unlawful. No hostilities between belligerents may be undertaken or tolerated on neutral territory or in neutral waters. A neutral country is not only entitled, but obliged, to defend itself by force against troops, ships or aircraft of belligerents violating its neutrality. It must not permit the passage of belligerent forces, the establishment of bases by belligerents or the recruiting of belligerent forces in its territory. Warships of belligerents may stay in neutral ports only for twenty-four hours; they may refuel, take on food supplies and effect repairs necessary to render them seaworthy (for which purpose the twenty-four hour limit may be extended), but they must not undertake repairs or obtain equipment calculated to increase their fighting power. Prisoners on board such ships must be released when the ships enter a neutral port.

Neutral governments may not supply a belligerent with munitions of war, but private firms in neutral countries may do so. If the government decrees an arms embargo, this must apply to both belligerent sides equally. Often neutral trade with belligerents is permissible, but is subject to the laws of blockade (q.v.) and contraband (q.v.). The citizens and the Press of neutral countries are free to express their sympathies with one warring side or the other. A limited measure of discrimination in the treatment of belligerents is habitually tolerated.

The actual value of neutrality has been discounted by the two World Wars. Few countries have managed to stay neutral, indeed fewer in World War II than in World War I. They have either been dragged into the war through direct attack or occupation by belligerents, or found it necessary to intervene for reasons of state. Of the European countries which in earlier times used to conduct a policy of permanent neutrality (Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg), only Switzerland and Sweden were able to maintain their neutrality in the late war. The neutrality of Switzerland (q.v.) is guaranteed by international treaties.

NEUTRALIZATION, an international agreement declaring a certain territory or

country perpetually neutral. (See *Neutrality*.) The purpose is to ensure that none of the participants shall obtain control of the area in question. A neutralized territory is left to govern itself, in contrast to internationalization which places it under joint administration of the signatories.

NEW DEAL, a name given to the policy pursued by the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt (q.v.) in order to overcome the economic crisis in the midst of which it had taken office in 1933. The name sprang from Roosevelt's announcement that the 'forgotten men' would be given a 'new deal'. The New Deal consists of a series of far-reaching economic and social measures, many of which were unprecedented in America for their social tendency and for the recognition of government initiative in business which they implied. The New Deal was often described as a swing toward socialism, but this was an exaggerated view. Although government planning was extended in various fields, there was no systematic national plan comparable, say, to Soviet plans, nor any machinery to enforce it; and there was no nationalization of any industry. The New Deal was essentially a policy of incentives, public works and social legislation. It was said to have been inspired in its early stage by a 'brains trust' (q.v.) of economists and bankers advising the President.

The measures adopted in pursuit of the policy included stimulation of business by an expansion of credit; devaluation of the dollar by 40 per cent; government control of the banks; government loans to industries; establishment of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (A.A.A.) to aid farmers by the regulation of the market and the purchase of supplies at better prices; formation of the National Recovery Administration (N.R.A.) to secure re-employment, better wages, shorter working hours (40–44 a week), and a code of fair competition; a vast programme of public works and housing; the creation of the Civilian Conservation Corps (C.C.C.) to absorb part of the unemployed; final recognition of trade unions (q.v.) and the principle of collective bargaining; new codes of working conditions and pay and boards to enforce them; and social security legislation. Besides the agencies mentioned, other bodies were established to implement the policy —the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (R.F.C.), Federal Housing Agency (F.H.A.), the Works Progress Administration (W.P.A.), the Public Works Administration (P.W.A.), the Tennessee Valley Authority (q.v.) (T.V.A.)—which came to be known as the 'alphabet agencies' from the abbreviations used for them. The financing of the programme led to larger budgets, deficits and taxation. At the price of extra public expenditure totalling $20,000,000,000, the New Deal helped to restore partial prosperity with unemployment reduced to about one-half of its maximum by 1937 and agriculture revived.

The policy was extremely controversial, being regarded by conservative Americans as 'socialism' and as a violation of the constitution—some of the reforms were invalidated by the Supreme Court as unconstitutional. It has now, however, come to be accepted by many of its former opponents, and even the leaders of the Republican Party (q.v.), though opposed to many items of the New Deal (see *Taft-Hartley Act*), have acknowledged the need for more social reforms and government intervention in the economy than they had supported earlier. Within the Democratic Party (q.v.), the policy was criticized from the right but supported by the left. One of its chief supporters, Henry Wallace (q.v.), contended that since Roosevelt's death the party had abandoned the New Deal, and he formed a Progressive Party in its defence. But at the election of 1948 President Truman, Roosevelt's successor, claimed that he was the true defender, and he gained a great victory over both Wallace and the Republicans.

NEWFOUNDLAND, an Atlantic island on the eastern approaches to Canada and tenth province of the Dominion of Canada, 42,700, sq. m., population 325,000. The capital is St. John's. The mainland territory of Labrador with 110,000 sq. m. but only 5,000 inhabitants, belongs to Newfoundland. Both areas are rich in lumber and fish. Labrador also contains valuable iron ore deposits and potential hydro-electric power. Newfoundland is important as an air base.

Until 1934 Newfoundland (the oldest British colony) was a self-governing British Dominion. Then Dominion status was suspended in agreement with London, since

the country was unable to meet its financial obligations. It was a question of £18,000,000 at the time. Great Britain assumed financial responsibility for the Dominion, while the Newfoundland Constitution, Government and Parliament were suspended until such time as the country might become self-supporting again. By the Newfoundland Act of February 1934 all legislative and executive power was vested in the Governor acting on the advice of a Commission consisting of three Newfoundland and three United Kingdom members. The Governor was responsible to the British Dominions Secretary. The previous Newfoundland Parliament had consisted of a Legislative Council of 24 members and an elected House of Assembly of 27 members.

The finances of Newfoundland gradually improved under the new administration, but the existing state of affairs being generally felt to be unsatisfactory from a political angle, a National Convention was elected in June 1946 to recommend possible forms of government to be submitted to the people in a referendum. The alternatives envisaged were union with Canada, return to Dominion status, union with the United States, union with the United Kingdom and continuance of the existing system. Union with Great Britain or the United States was ruled out by the Convention, and only the three other possibilities were put to the referendum which was held in June 1948. The vote was as follows: 69,000 for Dominion status, 64,000 for union with Canada, 22,000 for the present system. A second referendum on the two first questions was held in July 1948, and 76,000 voted for Canada, while 71,000 wanted Dominion status. It was announced in Ottawa that union with Canada would come into force on or before 1 March 1949. A Newfoundland delegation had already discussed the financial side of the problem with the Canadian government. Union with Canada had on earlier occasions been prevented by financial considerations (1864, 1895).

A protest against union with Canada, signed by 50,000 Newfoundlanders, was sent to London in November 1948. Nevertheless the agreement on union with Canada was signed at Ottawa on 8 December 1948 and took effect from 31 March 1949.

The British North America Bill providing for the union was passed by the British Parliament in March 1949, and the Newfoundland Commission of Government also signified its assent. Newfoundland is to have the same status, rights and responsibilities as any other Canadian province. Her social services are to be those of Canada. She is to receive annual subsidies exceeding $7,720,000 in return for surrendering her customs and excise duties, income tax and revenue from certain public services. In addition there is to be a special transitional aid grant in the first twelve years of the union. These financial terms are to be reviewed after eight years. Newfoundland is to have 6 members in the Canadian Senate and 7 in the House of Commons.

NEW GUINEA, island in the East Indies, 320,000 sq. m., population about 1,000,000. The western, and greater, part of the island is Dutch (161,000 sq. m., pop. 200,000) and is part of Indonesia (q.v.; see also *Netherlands*); the rest is administered by Australia (q.v.). South-eastern New Guinea constitutes the territory of Papua (90,000 sq. m., pop. 300,000), which is a British possession. North-eastern New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago (with New Britain and New Ireland) and some of the Solomon Islands (the rest are part of the British Pacific Islands (q.v.)), were German until 1918, when the League of Nations mandated these territories to Australia; in 1947 she retained them in trusteeship from the United Nations.

NEW HEBRIDES, a group of islands in the South Pacific Ocean, 5,700 sq. m., population 45,000, of whom almost all are natives, although there are about 1,000 Europeans and 3,000 Asiatics. Since 1906 the islands have been an Anglo-French Condominium (see *Condominium*), under the joint administration of British and French officials.

NEW ZEALAND, Dominion of, 103,700 sq. m., population 1,700,000. The capital is Wellington. Great Britain took possession of New Zealand by a treaty concluded in 1840 between British settlers and the chiefs of the native Maoris. The Maoris, a people of Polynesian race, were decimated in several wars lasting until 1860, when a settlement was reached with the surviving remnant. The Maori population, which

had shrunk to 42,000 at the close of the nineteenth century, has since recovered to 90,000. The territory and culture of the Maoris are state-protected. The four Maori districts send four members to parliament on the same basis as the Whites. A Maori is customarily included in the government, usually as Minister for Native Affairs. In 1907 New Zealand was raised to Dominion status. The King is represented by a Governor-General. Parliament consists of a House of Representatives of 80 members, popularly elected for three years, and a Senate appointed by the Governor-General for seven years, with reappointment possible. British colonization was in the last century undertaken on a selective system with the declared intention of setting up in New Zealand a faithful replica of England. British imperial feeling is particularly strong in New Zealand to this day, and the country has been called the most British of all the Dominions. Desiring only British immigrants, New Zealand has been keeping immigration within narrow limits. An endeavour to be a progressive model state is traditional in New Zealand. As early as 1893 it adopted female suffrage, the first state in the world to do so.

From 1935 to 1949 the Labour Party was in power and effected a series of far-reaching reforms in the Dominion. New Zealand was regarded practically as a socialist state. Although the Bank of New Zealand, the coal mines and civil aviation were nationalized in 1946, New Zealand socialism did not rely chiefly on nationalization. Property relations were not changed, but economic legislation aimed at a planned economy of a prevailingly agricultural character under government control and guarantee. New Zealand is in the first place an agricultural country, exporting cattle and dairy products, fruits, etc., of which 90 per cent normally go to England and the rest of the Empire. The Labour government enacted also the 40-hour week, minimum wages, compulsory unionizing, generous social insurance, guaranteed prices for dairy products and a public marketing organization for all agricultural produce. The standard of living in New Zealand is in normal times among the highest in the world.

In World War II the Dominion immediately sided with the motherland, as it had done in World War I. It mobilized an army of 200,000, of whom 135,000 were despatched overseas. In 1940, conscription was adopted. In 1946, New Zealand concluded an agreement on joint defence with Australia. The labour majority was gradually reduced in successive elections. Before World War II the party had 53 deputies in the House; until 1943 the number fell to 44. The election of 28 November 1946 resulted in the return of 43 labour representatives. Labour remained in office, with its leader Peter Fraser (q.v.) as Prime Minister. The liberal-conservative National Party, led by S. G. Holland (q.v.) and A. Hamilton, had 50 seats in parliament until 1935 when it had to yield office to labour. Its representation then fell to 25, to recover to 37 in 1946. This party stands for free enterprise, but supports social legislation.

The election of 30 November 1949 ended Labour rule in New Zealand. The National Party obtained 46 seats and the Socialist Party 34. S. G. Holland, leader of the National Party, formed a government.

Attached to New Zealand are the Auckland, Chatham, Kermadec, Union and Cook groups of islands, of which the last (area 99 sq. m., pop. 14,000) are the most important; Niue (area 100 sq. m., pop. 4,000) was separated from the Cook Islands in 1932. In Antarctica (q.v.) New Zealand possesses the Ross Dependency.

Since 1919 New Zealand has administered the former German colony of Western Samoa (area about 12,000 sq. m., pop. 60,000). In 1947 the chiefs petitioned the Trusteeship (q.v.) Council of the United Nations for self-government under New Zealand protection and advice, and for termination of the present division of the islands into the New Zealand mandate and the U.S. colony of Eastern Samoa. New Zealand participates in the administration of the British Empire mandate of Nauru, a Pacific island rich in phosphates.

NICARAGUA, 57,000 sq. m., population 1,000,000, the largest and most thinly populated of the Central American republics. The capital is Managua The population is largely mestizo and concentrated in the west. Nicaragua is important because it offers an alternative route for a canal linking the Atlantic and the Pacific, if the Panama Canal (q.v.) should for strategic or other reasons be deemed insufficient. Under the Bryan-Chamorro treaty of 1916 the United States acquired for $3,000,000 the

option of a canal route across Nicaragua and also naval bases in Fonseca Bay and Cora Island. A survey of the canal route was made in 1939, but no decision has been taken so far to build the canal. It would be 173 miles long as against the forty miles of the Panama Canal, yet have fewer locks. It would take eight to ten years to build and cost about two thousand million dollars.

The constitution provides for a bicameral legislature and a president, all popularly elected for six years. The traditional political factions in Nicaragua are the liberals and the conservatives. There is no great difference between them. From 1912 to 1933 United States marines were intermittently stationed in the country, and the United States supported a conservative government. In 1926 a liberal revolution brought General Moncado to power. A general with radical leanings, Sandino, fought Moncado and the United States forces. In 1932 liberal President Sacasa made an agreement with Sandino, who surrendered but was murdered under the truce flag. From 1936 to 1947 General Somoza, also of the liberal party, ruled as dictator. On 2 February 1947 Somoza resigned and ordered a presidential election. He declared his own candidate, Arguello, elected, while Aguado, the candidate of the united opposition, consisting of both liberals and conservatives, maintained that he had in fact been elected and that Somoza had manipulated the results. On 25 May 1947 Arguello was overthrown by Somoza, who had remained at the head of the army, and Somoza made his friend Sacasa once more President. The United States, Mexico and some Central American states refused to recognize the Sacasa government. A constituent assembly was elected in August 1947. Dr. Román y Reyes, Somoza's former foreign minister, was elected President.

Nicaragua is economically entirely dependent on the United States. Customs revenue is under a lien to British bondholders and collected by an American collector-general.

On conflict with Costa Rica in December 1948 and subsequent treaty of friendship, see *Costa Rica*.

NIGERIA. (See *British West Africa.*)

NIHILISM, from Latin *nihil*=nothing, the denial of all values. An intellectual current in Russia in the 1860s, it was made famous by Turgenyeff's novel *Fathers and Sons* (1862). It challenged all authority, doubted all principles and values and offered freedom of action in all respects to every individual. It has sometimes been erroneously identified with anarchism (q.v.), but it has a remote relation only to the latter's most extreme form. Although a pioneer of revolutionary thought, nihilism remained a philosophical and literary current, without becoming a political movement.

N.K.V.D. (See *G.P.U.*)

NOEL-BAKER, Philip J., British Labour politician, born 1889. A University lecturer, he served in the League of Nations Secretariat 1919–22. In the Churchill coalition government he was Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of War Transport 1942–5. In the Attlee labour government he was Minister of State 1945–6 and Air Secretary 1946–7. In October 1947 he became Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

NON-AGGRESSION PACT, a treaty between two states by which they undertake not to use force against each other and to settle their disputes by negotiation or arbitration. Such pacts were frequently concluded in the inter-war period, but often had no effect on conduct. Sometimes a pact was meant genuinely, but often it was signed to disarm suspicion and to prepare the way for eventual aggression against the other partner.

NON-INTERVENTION, generally the principle of abstention from interference with the internal affairs of other nations. It rests on the recognition of sovereignty (q.v.) as the paramount factor in international relations and is one of the most often invoked principles in the policies of the world. Its opposite, the principle of intervention, declares interference justifiable if general human principles or, more frequently in practice, the interests of one's own country appear affected by events in another country, or if a certain ideology is to be promoted or combated. According to the French statesman Talleyrand (1754–1838), 'non-intervention' is 'a metaphysical and political word meaning the same as "intervention" '.

During the Spanish civil war of 1936–9

the term 'non-intervention' was used to describe a fictitious policy of the Powers, purporting neutrality towards that war. In spite of solemn agreements, the establishment of control posts and patrols, etc., the Powers managed to send considerable quantities of war material and quite sizeable armies to the side they were in sympathy with. In practice this kind of non-intervention favoured General Franco rather than the Spanish republicans. Towards the close of the civil war the non-intervention committee ceased its activities.

NORDIC, (*a*) a common term for the Scandinavian countries (Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Iceland) and their inhabitants. Sometimes a common 'Nordic policy' of these countries has been spoken of, but only rudiments of it have been observed in practice. The Nordic countries have democracy and a traditional policy of neutrality in common; the latter was, however, disturbed by Hitler's invasion of Denmark and Norway and the subsequent occupation of Iceland by the Allies in 1941. The regular conferences of the foreign ministers of Sweden, Norway and Denmark, which used to be held in earlier days, were resumed in 1946 and are now attended by the Icelandic minister. Sweden favours a return to the policy of neutrality, as far as possible, while Norway and Denmark, though continuing to regard this as an ideal, welcome closer links with the West after their experiences in World War II. Early in 1949 talks on a Nordic defence pact failed because Sweden wished to maintain the policy of neutrality, while Denmark and Norway decided to align themselves with the Powers of the North Atlantic Treaty (q.v.). All the Nordic countries co-operate in the European Recovery Programme (q.v.). In trade treaties with other countries they usually reserve a few mutual preferences in a Nordic clause.

(*b*) A term belonging to the racial theory. (See *Race.*) A 'Nordic race' is assumed and described as tall, long-headed, blond and blue-eyed. It is said to have its origin in Scandinavia or, according to another hypothesis, in South Russia. It is more or less identified with what used to be described as the Teutonic or Germanic race. Proponents arose in the nineteenth century to declare the Nordic race a particularly valuable breed of men, crediting it with a multitude of commendable properties which were alleged not to be present in darker races. They included courage, a noble character, loyalty, profound thought, lofty sentiments, idealism, a sense of order and talent for government. It was claimed that all European civilization had been created by Nordic men. This theory was first propounded by the French writer Count Gobineau, in his book *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (1853). It was later elaborated by writers of various nations, e.g. the German-naturalized Englishman Houston Stewart Chamberlain (*The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, 1908), the Americans Madison Grant (*The Passing of the Great Race*, 1920) and Lothrop Stoddard (*The Rising Tide of Colour*, 1921, *The Revolt Against Civilization*, 1924, *Racial Realities in Europe*, 1925), and the German Hans Gunther (*The Racial Elements of European History*, 1925). The Nordic theory spread especially in Germany, but to a considerable extent also in the United States of America, where the writings of Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard contributed to the decision to admit preferably immigrants from countries containing 'Nordic' elements when immigration quotas were fixed in 1921.

The advocates of the Nordic theory point out that Nordic peoples repeatedly migrated to the south and west, occasionally also to the east, and conquered countries inhabited by other races. The European migration of peoples about the fifth century A.D. is a case in point. In the conquered lands the Nordic men formed an upper class from which later sprang the aristocracy, said to show Nordic features in all European countries Gradually the Nordic men interbred with the subject races. All cultural and political achievements of the European nations as well as the ancient Greeks and Romans are ascribed to the Nordic element by this theory. It was alleged that the absorption of the Nordic element by the non-Nordic majority of the peoples was followed by a general decay of culture and political life in the nations concerned, and it was claimed that every stage of such decay could indeed be plotted against the degree of absorption of the Nordics reached at any given time. It was attempted to prove from pictures that all prominent men of history had been of Nordic type. Nordics were even looked for in ancient civilizations; thus the Aryans

(q.v.) of ancient India were identified with the Nordic race.

In Germany, and to some extent also in the United States, a 'Nordic movement' made itself felt. Societies were formed for the protection of the Nordic race, proposing the organized re-breeding of the Nordic element by a suitable choice of mates. The idea was to stop the 'denordization' of the peoples by 'renordization' or 'nordening-up'. German national socialism (q.v.) made this idea its official policy.

Frequently the terms 'Nordic' and 'Aryan' are used synonymously. Some racial theorists, however, prefer to see in the Nordics only a part, if the most valuable, of the supposed Aryan race in which they include all other Europeans. Anti-semitism is common to the adherents of both the Nordic and Aryan theories. In point of fact, the Nordic thesis is essentially a political myth, fostered by emotional factors which include an aesthetic appreciation of the tall, blond type, and primitive reactions on the light-and-dark pattern known from mythology and anthropology. It is uncertain to what extent the persons of the type under review may be regarded as descendants of a common race, the existence of a Nordic *Urvolk* or primary race has never been proved. Non-Teutonic peoples have an entirely different view of the Nordic race. The Mediterranean peoples, for instance, cultivate the 'Latin' racial myth in which the dark types figure as the superior men, while the Nordics appear as uncouth, crude and inferior beings.

The Nordic type, in various gradations, makes up some 70 per cent of the population in Scandinavia; in Germany, Great Britain and Holland it reaches about 20 per cent; in the United States and France it may reach some 15 per cent or a little over. (In southern Europe the type is rarer.) The rest of all these peoples consists of dark-haired types and of countless mixtures of these types among themselves as well as with the Nordic type. With regard to its origin, the Nordic-looking section of these peoples is but seldom purely Nordic, being likewise the upshot of centuries of interbreeding, and a Nordic 'phenotype' does not necessarily indicate a Nordic 'genotype'. The contribution of the Nordic-Teutonic peoples to the development of civilization is evident enough, but other races have done at least as much. The claim that only Nordics are responsible for the achievements of the European and American peoples is fantastic. Prominent men were as often as not of other types (e.g. Shakespeare, Beethoven, Napoleon, Einstein). It is one of history's ironies that some of the most vociferous advocates of the Nordic theory were anything but Nordic in appearance.

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY, shortly referred to as the Atlantic Pact, a regional defence pact signed at Washington on 4 April 1949 by the United States, Great Britain, Canada, France, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Italy, Denmark, Norway, Iceland and Portugal. The seven first-named countries had drawn up the treaty and announced its terms on 18 April 1949, and the others joined between this date and the day of signing. The treaty came into force on 24 August 1949.

The signatories declare they are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, and seek to promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area. They will (Art. 3) maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack. They will (Art. 4) consult together whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of them is threatened. The parties agree (Art. 5) that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or in North America shall be considered an attack against them all; in such an event each of them will assist the party attacked by taking forthwith such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area. Any such attack and counter-measures shall be reported to the Security Council and the measures shall be ended when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore peace and security. An armed attack is deemed (Art. 6) to include an attack on the territory of any of the parties in Europe or North America, on the Algerian departments of France, on the occupation forces of any party in Europe, on the islands under the jurisdiction of any party in the North Atlantic area north of the tropic of Cancer, or on the vessels or aircraft in this area of any of the parties. The parties will not enter (Art. 8) into any international engagement in conflict with this

treaty. A Council and a Defence Committee are established by the parties (Art. 9), and they may by unanimous agreement invite other states to accede to the treaty (Art. 10). After ten years or later (Art. 12) the parties shall consult together for the purpose of reviewing the treaty. After twenty years (Art. 13) any party may denounce the treaty at one year's notice.

The treaty, for all practical purposes a defensive grouping against Russia, evoked strong protests from the latter. Though not a formal military alliance (which was avoided in order not to infringe the sole right of the American Congress to decide on war and on military commitments), it is believed to amount to one and to signify the resolve of the United States to come immediately to the aid of the other parties if they are attacked. In practice it is regarded as the first deviation from the classical principle of American external policy to avoid military alliances. A new American lend-lease plan was announced to assist the parties in bringing their fighting forces up to full strength until mid-year 1950. Five regional groups were formed.

NORTHERN IRELAND, the Northern portion of Ireland, area 5,200 sq. m., population 1,353,000, capital Belfast. Northern Ireland consists of the greater part of the old province of Ulster, by which name it is often called, and is composed of the six counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Tyrone and Londonderry. It has been an autonomous part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland since 1920 (for the history of its establishment, see *Ireland*). The King is represented by a Governor, and Parliament consists of two chambers—a Senate of 2 ex-officio and 24 elected members and a House of Commons of 52 elected members (until 1929 election was by proportional representation; the simple majority system was then adopted in the interests of the ruling party). The powers of the Parliament are limited to matters of local concern, but have gradually been increased (the latest increase was in 1947 and dealt with social services and economic activities). Northern Ireland has 13 representatives in the United Kingdom House of Commons (under the 1948 Representation of the People Act she will have 12.)

Northern Irish politics are dominated by the issue of union with southern Ireland (Eire—q.v.) or maintenance of the union with Britain. The territory was established because most of the people were passionately opposed to union with the Catholic and republican south. The political organ of the majority is the Unionist Party, which is a part of the British Conservative (officially Conservative and Unionist) Party. This party has been in power since 1920 and its rule has been described as an 'Orange dictatorship' because of the repressive measures used to deal with advocates of union with Eire—the Irish Nationalists. (Orange has been the colour of the Ulster Protestants since 1689, when William III of Britain, Prince of Orange and Stateholder of the Netherlands, crushed the Catholic supporters of his father-in-law James II, who had been deposed for trying to subvert the constitution in the interests of the Catholics—12 July is celebrated in commemoration of the decisive battle of the Boyne. The Orange Order is a semi-secret political and social organization designed to perpetuate Protestant rule. The colour of the nationalists is green.) But the unionist movement has been weakened by divisions within its ranks. Its conservatism has led to the formation of a Labour Party, and the alleged dominance within it of a small section reluctant to share power with others has caused several attempts at 'Independent Unionism'. Nevertheless, the party is still supported by a majority of the electorate and the maintenance of union with Britain by a larger majority. In 1948 the fall in Eire of De Valera (q.v.) and his replacement by a coalition headed by Costello of Fine Gael, the party favouring close association between Eire and the Commonwealth resulted in a new attempt to unite Ireland. Irish unity is to some extent desired by the North also, as long as it is unity within the United Kingdom, or at least within the Commonwealth.

After the Parliament of Eire had passed the Republic of Ireland Bill, the Northern Irish parliament was dissolved in January 1949 to give the people a chance for voting, in effect, for or against union with Eire. The election took place on 10 February 1949, under the slogan 'King or republic?' An Eireann all-party committee gave support to Irish nationalists by sending money, cars and propaganda material. The result of the election was as follows (previous representation in brackets): Unionists 35

(32), Independent Unionists 2 (2), Irish Nationalists 9 (8), Independent Labour 1 (2), Socialist Republican 1 (1), Labour 0 (2), independents 0 (1). Four further seats filled by the university went to 2 Unionists and 2 Independents. There were 236,000 votes for the Unionists, 101,000 for the Nationalists, and about 35,000 for the minor parties. Eire (q.v.) declared the elections had been 'defective', while Sir Basil Brooke, the Northern Irish Prime Minister, denied these charges. In May 1949 the British Parliament passed the Ireland Act, which provides that Northern Ireland may be detached from the United Kingdom only with the consent of the Northern Irish Parliament.

NORTHERN RHODESIA, British colony in central Africa, 288,000 sq. m., population 1,566,000, of whom 22,000 are Europeans, 2,000 Asiatics and others, and the rest Africans. The capital is Lusaka. Government is by a Governor, aided by an executive and legislative councils appointed by him. The chief exports are maize, wheat, cattle; there are important silver, copper and iron mines. (See *Southern Rhodesia.*)

NORWAY, Kingdom of, 125,000 sq. m., population 3,123,000. The capital is Oslo. Reigning King: Haakon VII, born 3 August 1872. Heir-apparent: Crown Prince Olaf, born 2 July 1903. Until 1814 Norway was under Danish rule; then it became sovereign in personal union with neighbouring Sweden. The personal union was dissolved by Norway in 1905, the two states separating peacefully. Prince Charles of Denmark was elected King of Norway by the Norwegian parliament and ascended the throne under the name of Haakon VII. The Norwegian parliament (*Storting*) of 150 members consists of an Upper House (*Lagting*) and a Lower House (*Odelsting*). The *Storting* is elected every four years on the basis of proportional representation. Having constituted itself, it elects from its midst the Upper House, numbering one-fourth of the deputies; the others form the Lower House. Laws are considered by both Houses separately, while many other matters are dealt with in joint sessions. Differences between the two Houses are also settled in common session by a two-thirds majority. The King has the right of veto, but it may be overriden by three successively elected parliaments insisting on their decision. Government is parliamentary. Norway is an ancient democracy. Two languages are spoken, *Landsmaal* in the west and south, *Riksmaal* in the east and in the cities. The latter is a mixture of old Norwegian and Danish, while the former is an artefact construed from ancient Norse dialects by Norwegian patriots in the nineteenth century. The language dispute was of great importance in Norwegian politics for a time, but since 1907 both languages have been legally equal.

Until 1940 Norway pursued the same policy of neutrality as the other Scandinavian states did. After various incidents with belligerent ships in Norwegian waters the Germans invaded Norway on 9 April 1940, in agreement with the leader of the Norwegian Nazis, Quisling (q.v.), who was at once appointed Prime Minister by Hitler. The Norwegian army under King Haakon resisted the invasion, and Allied aid was despatched quickly though in insufficient force. After a few weeks the Germans had conquered the whole country, and King and government went to England. The Quisling government did not become popular in Norway, and was soon replaced by a German *Gauleiter.* A Norwegian resistance movement was active throughout the war.

After the end of the war in 1945 King Haakon returned. The pre-war Labour Party government of Nygaardsvold, which had continued to function in exile, resigned and on 8 October 1945 a new *Storting* was elected: 76 socialists were returned as against 70 before the war, which meant a majority in the *Storting.* A new Labour administration under E. Gerhardson took office. The socialists have been in power since 1935. The Labour Party used to be very left wing in the 'thirties. In 1938, however, it decided for the Second (socialist) International. Before the war the socialist government pursued a policy favourable to workers and peasants, but effected no nationalization of industry. So far, no substantial changes in the structure of the economy have been made after the war.

The *Storting* elected on 2 October 1949 is composed as follows (previous composition in brackets): socialists 85 (76), conservatives 23 (25), liberals 21 (20), agrarians 12 (10), Christian popular party 8 (8), communists 1 (11). The election was marked by the eclipse of the communists and the

increase of the socialist majority. The government remained in office.

Since the acquisition of the Finnish frontier strip of Petsamo (see *Finland*) by Russia, Norway has had a common frontier with the Soviet Union. Norway also owns the Spitzbergen archipelago in the Arctic, important for its coal deposits. The Norwegian title was recognized in 1920 by an international treaty signed at Paris, with the proviso that no military establishments should be installed in the islands. Early in 1947 Russia demanded a revision of this clause, pleading that the treaty had lost its validity through World War II. (Russia had not been an original signatory of the treaty but had accepted it later.) The Soviet Union demanded a strategic base in Spitzbergen. The demand was rejected.

Besides Spitzbergen, Norway possesses the Jan Mayen Islands, a fishing and meteorological station in the North Atlantic Ocean, and Bouvet and Peter I islands in the South Atlantic. In Antarctica (q.v.) she claims Queen Maud Land.

Talks concerning a Nordic defence pact, held early in 1949, failed because Sweden wished to continue the traditional policy of neutrality, while Norway (like Denmark) lined up with the Powers of the North Atlantic Pact (q.v.). In February 1949 Russia proposed a non-aggression pact, which was turned down by Norway, the latter pointing out that no differences had ever existed between the two countries.

NOTE, a formal communication from one government to another. A Collective Note is one addressed to the government in the same words by each of several other governments acting in concert; an Identic Note is one whose contents, but not words, are identical with the notes of the other governments. A Verbal Note is an oral communication, less serious than an ordinary note.

NUNCIO, the title of papal ambassadors, from the Latin *nuntius*, an ambassador. Where there is a papal nuncio he is automatically the doyen (q.v.) of the diplomatic corps. In Britain and the Dominions the papal representative is known as the Apostolic Delegate, enjoying no diplomatic status but performing the same functions as a nuncio.

NUREMBERG TRIAL, the trial of German Nazi and military leaders by an Inter-Allied Court at Nuremberg, Germany, after World War II. The Court consisted of representatives of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and France. The trial lasted from September 1945 to May 1946. The indictment was: (1) Conspiracy to commit crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. (2) Planning and execution of aggressive wars. (3) War crimes, including the killing and maltreatment of prisoners of war, mass deportation, looting. (4) Crimes against humanity, murder and enslavement of people, mass extermination, political, religious and racial persecution. Of the Nazi chiefs, Hitler, Himmler and Goebbels had escaped justice by suicide; also Bormann was absent, presumed dead. Of the twenty-two defendants von Papen, Dr. Schacht and a propagandist named Fritzsche were acquitted (but later sentenced to terms of hard labour by a German Court), while Goring, Ribbentrop, Streicher, Frick, Sauckel, Seyss-Inquart, Rosenberg, Kaltenbrunner, Frank, Keitel, Jodl and Bormann (the last-named one *in absentia*) were sentenced to death. Hess, Raeder and Funk were sentenced to imprisonment for life; Von Schirach and Speer got twenty years each; Von Neurath, fifteen years; Donitz ten years. The leader corps of the Nazi Party, the Gestapo, the SS and the SD (*Sicherheitsdienst*, security service, another Nazi police organization) were declared criminal organizations. (See *National Socialism.*)

NYASALAND, British protectorate in central Africa, 37,000 sq. m., population 1,687,000, of whom 2,000 are Europeans, 2,000 Asiatics, and the rest Africans. Government is by a Governor who nominates the executive and legislative councils. The chief exports are tobacco, tea, cotton and groundnuts. (See *Southern Rhodesia.*)

O

ODER-NEISSE LINE, a line along the rivers Oder and Western Neisse, proposed by Poland and the Soviet Union as Germany's eastern frontier. Poland claims Upper Silesia, Lower Silesia, Pomerania, the southern half of East Prussia, and parts of Brandenburg, apart from the former Free City of Danzig (q.v.), while Russia has annexed the northern half of East Prussia with the town of Konigsberg, now called Kaliningrad. The United States and Great Britain declared their readiness in the Potsdam decisions of 1945 (q.v.) to support Russia's claim, subject to the general settlement at the peace conference. However, they recognized only temporary Polish administration in the rest of the territory in question for the time being. The principle of compensating Poland by annexations of German territory for the areas lost to the Soviet Union in the east (see *Curzon Line*) had been accepted earlier at the Conference of Yalta (q.v.), but details had been left to the peace conference. The United States and Great Britain favour a frontier substantially farther to the east than the Oder-Neisse line. It is pointed out that this line would detach from Germany 46,000 sq. m. or one-quarter of its territory of 1937, including most of its agricultural surplus areas on which the rest of Germany used to depend for food; and that the territory in question, apart from some bilingual fringes in Upper Silesia and East Prussia (which voted for Germany, however, after World War I), has been inhabited by Germans for seven hundred years. Poland drove out the German population of 8,000,000 in 1945 and 1946, except for a small remnant, and settled a Polish population in the territory. (See Map X.)

O.G.P.U. (See *G.P.U.*)

O.E.E.C. (See *European Recovery.*)

OIL, in 1947 the world production of oil was 410,000,000 tons, produced as follows (figures denote millions of tons): U.S.A. 250, Venezuela 63, other Latin American countries 18, U.S.S.R. 26, Rumania 4, Iran 20, Iraq 5, Kuwait 3, Saudi Arabia 2·2, Bahrein 1, Egypt 1, British Borneo 2, Netherlands East Indies 1, others 4.

The chief oil companies of countries other than the U.S.S.R. and Mexico, where the industry is nationalized, are a few American, Dutch, British and French corporations. The Middle East especially is divided between a few powerful groups. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, controlled by the British government, develops the oilfields of Southern Persia. In Iraq the Iraq Petroleum Co. is owned by the Anglo-Iranian Co., Royal Dutch Shell, (U.S.) Standard Oil of New Jersey and the *Compagnie Française des Petroles.* In Kuwait the Kuwait Oil Co. is controlled by the (U.S.) Gulf Exploration Co., which sells oil to the sterling area through Shell Petroleum of London. The Anglo-Iranian Co., and two American companies—Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony Vacuum Oil —have formed Middle East Pipelines to build a pipeline from Iran and Kuwait to the Mediterranean Sea. The Iraq Petroleum Co. is to exploit the oil of Transjordania. In Saudi Arabia the Arabian-American Oil Co. is owned by Standard Oil of California, Texas Oil, Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony Vacuum—the last two joined in 1947 to help finance a pipeline from the Persian Gulf fields of Arabia to the Mediterranean Sea. A recently formed American company is the American Independent Oil Co. for the Middle East, formed by eleven independent companies. British influence has long prevailed in the whole area, at times rivalled by Russia, Germany and Italy; now the U.S. also is showing diplomatic interest in the area. (See *Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Mosul* and Map VII.)

OMAN. (See *Arabia.*)

OPEN-DOOR POLICY, the principle that trade with a country or territory should be

open to all comers on equal terms, without privileges or discrimination.

OPEN SHOP, in labour parlance a shop (=work-shop, factory, firm) employing any workers, whether members of unions or not. The opposite is the closed shop (q.v.), employing only union members.

OPPOSITION, Leader of the, in Great Britain the leader in the House of Commons of the largest party in opposition to the government of the day; since 1937 he has received a salary of £2,000 a year. Winston Churchill (q.v.) is the present Leader, but he does not draw the salary. The term is used also in the House of Lords and in Dominion legislatures. Freedom to oppose the existing government is fundamental to democracy, and the British practice of calling the opposition 'His Majesty's Opposition' (a term coined in 1826 by Sir John Cam Hobhouse), on the analogy of 'His Majesty's Government', is a recognition of the fact that the opposition is as loyal and essential to the state as the government.

OPTION, the right of the inhabitants of a territory that is changing sovereignty to opt for their former or some other nationality. Local option (q.v.) is the right of the people of a district to decide whether alcoholic liquor shall be sold there.

ORANGE, (1) House of, the ruling dynasty of the Netherlands (q v.). (2) movement, a conservative movement in Northern Ireland (q.v.).

ORGANIC THEORY OF THE STATE, the theory that views the state as an organism with a life of its own different from and superior to that of its members. Its origin may be traced to Plato and Aristotle (both q.v); in more modern forms it has been restated by Rousseau, Burke and Hegel (all q.v.); Plato and Hegel greatly influenced the British philosophers Bradley and Bosanquet of the 1870–1920 period. The theory, which is also called the idealist theory, has most influenced conservative philosophers and politicians, and is a basis of their exaltation of the nation; Rousseau, however, is regarded as a democrat, and the British idealist T. H. Green (1836–82) was a liberal. With it may be contrasted the theory that the state is only society organized in a certain way for certain functions—a piece of social machinery with no especial value of its own save its usefulness; this is, in general, the theory of liberals and socialists.

OSSEWA BRANDWAG (pron. Ossevah Brandvakh), in South Africa (q.v.) a nationalist Afrikander organization with fascist sympathies. The name means Ox-wagon Guard, and the organization was formed during the celebration in 1938 of the centenary of the Great Boer trek from British rule. It is a paramilitary organization, based on the leadership principle, using the Nazi salute and, indeed, calling itself National-Socialist; during the war it favoured Germany and its aim is a republic ruled by the Boers on Nazi principles. Dr. J. F. van Rensburg, a former provincial administrator, is Commandant-General.

OTTAWA AGREEMENTS, the agreements concluded at Ottawa between the countries of the British Empire in 1932 to establish the system of Imperial Preference (q.v.).

OWEN, Robert, British socialist and reformer, born 14 May 1771, at Newton, North Wales, died there 17 November 1858, was the son of a tradesman, engaged in industry at an early age, was manager of a textile factory at twenty, and then established himself as a textile manufacturer. Together with a few partners he bought a textile factory at New Lanark, Scotland, in 1799 and made it into a model enterprise. The factory was equipped with welfare institutions unheard of at the time; a model settlement and schools with novel methods of education were joined to it. Owen demonstrated that good wages and conditions of work are compatible with success in business. New Lanark became the Mecca of social reformers from the whole world, but there were few imitators. Owen advocated social legislation, factory laws, and the limitation of child labour. The first British factory law of 1819 was largely due to his influence. Owen proposed to abolish unemployment by co-operative settlements of the unemployed. In 1821 he went to America and later bought the communist colony of New Harmony, which had been founded by German Rappists. He tried to develop it along his own lines, but the colony collapsed after a few years.

In 1829 Owen returned to England, where a great trade union and co-operative

movement had meanwhile sprung up under the banner of his ideas. Without his own doing he found himself at the head of a strong labour movement, although he had previously rejected the ideas of class struggle and union policy, expecting social reform from ethical and rational propaganda and especially from socialist model colonies. In 1833 the first British trade-union federation was founded under Owen's direction and soon reached a membership of one million. The movement aimed at a unionist-co-operative kind of socialism; the workers' unions and co-operatives were to take over the industries or establish new, socialist industries of their own which were to supersede the capitalist ones. Owen established 'labour exchanges' in various cities to organize the exchange of products between the working-class enterprises. The movement soon collapsed under the counter-attack of the government and the employers. The government arrested and deported the leaders, while the manufacturers locked out the unionists. Owen himself dissolved the organization in 1834. Many of its demands, especially those for the eight-hour day and more factory legislation, were later adopted by the Chartist movement.

Owen sold his share in New Lanark and returned to his utopian socialism, giving all his time and means to ethical propaganda for his ideas and to further abortive experiments with socialist colonies. He took no further appreciable part in practical politics, though the Chartist movement sponsored most of his ideas. He had great intellectual influence on the co-operative movement, beginning with the Rochdale Pioneers (1844), who were Owenites. (See article on the *Co-operative Movement*.) Again, however, Owen had little interest in the co-operative movement as it really evolved; he had thought of co-operatives as elements of a socialist system of production, not as associations for the improvement of the position of the working classes under the present order. Owen was the main representative of 'utopian' socialism besides Fourier (q.v.) and St. Simon (q.v.). Most important among his numerous writings are *A New View of Society* (1812), *Essays on The Formation of Human Character* (1813), *Observations on the Effects of the Manufacturing System* (1817), and *Social System* (1826). Owen stood for a purely environmental theory of human nature; any kind of character could be produced by environment and social conditions, he said. ('Man's character is made for him and not by him.') Owen's writings and suggestions had a lasting influence on later social legislation and also on educational reform. Toward the close of his life he became a mystic and eventually a spiritualist. He preached a new rationalist religion, as was the fashion among the social reformers of his time. His adherents founded 'Halls of Science' all over England to propagate that religion. The movement was short-lived. Some of his ideas about the cure of unemployment re-emerged in Europe and America during the great slump of 1930.

P

PACIFISM, the movement for the abolition of war. It became organized about the turn of the century. Peace councils and similar societies which formed in various countries remained numerically weak, but pacifism had some indirect effects. It influenced the holding of international peace conferences, the erection of the 'Peace Palace' at The Hague, Holland, later the establishment of the League of Nations (q.v.), the International Court of Justice, the Kellogg Pact (q.v.), and the disarmament conference (q.v.), lately the foundation of United Nations (q.v.). All the conferences and pacts mentioned before were ineffective, and the two World Wars came instead of permanent peace as proposed by the pacifists. Conscientious objectors (q.v.) are active pacifists. In 1928 an International of Objectors was founded, but it gained no importance. The programme of pacifism consists in the abolition of war, international disarmament, the settlement of international disputes by an international court and the eventual creation of a world federation.

PAINE, Thomas, Anglo-American political theorist, born 29 January 1737 at Thetford, Norfolk, England, died 8 June 1809 in New York, N.Y. A farmer's son, he came to America in 1774 and plunged immediately into revolutionary politics. His pamphlet *Common Sense*, published in Philadelphia in 1776, prepared the ground for the Declaration of Independence. Paine also took part in the War of Independence, but returned to England in 1787 to write the *Rights of Man* in reply to the conservative *Reflections on the Revolution in France* by Burke (q.v.). *The Rights of Man* was published in London in 1791–2 and is to this day regarded as the classical exposition of the principles of the American and French revolutions. Prosecuted in England, he went to France in 1792, was elected a member of the Convention and helped to frame the French constitution of 1793. The Jacobins, however, found him too moderate. In Paris he published the *Age of Reason* (1794–5), critical of biblical religion and advocating deism. In 1807 he returned to the United States where he was looked upon with suspicion by moderate and religious circles during the last years of his life.

PAKISTAN, member of the British Commonwealth, area 233,000 sq. m., population 65,000,000, capital Karachi. It was created out of the prevailingly Moslem parts of India and came into existence on 15 August 1947, when India was divided into two dominions—Hindu India and Moslem Pakistan. (For the earlier history of Hindu-Moslem antagonism, for the division of India, and for the social problems of Pakistan as part of the Indian sub-continent, see *India.*) Pakistan consists of two parts—in the west are the former Indian provinces of Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier Province, and the western part of the Punjab, and in the east are the eastern part of Bengal and the southern (Sylhet) district of Assam; the two parts are separated by 1,000 miles of Indian territory. Like India, Pakistan contains a variety of peoples—48,000,000 of its peoples are Moslems and 18,000,000 Hindus and Sikhs—and a number of states ruled by their own princes. Government is by a Governor-General, now Mr. Khwaja Nazimuddin, a cabinet appointed by him, and a Constituent Assembly, the provinces have governors, cabinets and legislatures. The constitution has not yet been enacted. It is expected to assert that the state, which derived its authority through the people from God, would be an independent federation with full sovereign rights based on the democratic principles of Islam and providing religious and cultural freedom for the minorities. Policy is to be based on freedom and social justice; freedom of expression is to be safeguarded; and illiteracy and poverty

are to be eradicated. Concerning Pakistan's relations with the British Commonwealth (q.v.), Liaqat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister, stated after the Commonwealth Conference in April 1949 that his country's membership in the Commonwealth should not be taken for granted, and Pakistan reserved the decision as to whether she should continue membership on the existing basis, substitute membership on the lines of India (q.v.), or secede altogether. He hinted, however, as his government had done previously, that Pakistan desired to stay in the Commonwealth.

The most powerful political party is the Moslem League, of which the late M. A. Jinnah (q.v.) was the leader until his death in 1948. Under Jinnah, the League was the creator of Pakistan, whose national flag is the League's flag—green, with the crescent and star of Islam and a vertical white stripe alongside the flagstaff. Three groups can be distinguished in the League, first, Jinnah's conservative group, which is supported by the great landowners and to which the Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, also belongs; second, a very conservative group composed of the mullahs, religious leaders who want Moslem orthodoxy to determine the structure of the state, and third, a left-wing group led by young intellectuals, among whom is Iftikar-ud-din, a wealthy Punjabi. Outside the League are the Scheduled Castes Federation (of Hindu 'untouchables') with one member in the government, the Indian National Congress Party, and the Pakistan People's Party led by the former Congress leader Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who wants independence for the North-West Frontier Province ('Pathanistan'—Pathans constitute a majority of the population of the Province).

The new government is concentrating on developing the country's economy. It proposes to develop the natural resources more intensively and to establish industries to deal with them. First priority is being given to agriculture—during the war Bengal suffered from famine—and to cottage industries. The development of industries to process the natural products—jute, cotton, hides—and to provide consumers' goods is next proposed. Finally, heavy industries are to be developed. The powers of the central government are to be increased at the expense of the provinces. Monopolies and public utilities are to be nationalized, but foreign capital for manufacturing industries will be welcomed, as long as Pakistani nationals have a controlling interest in each firm.

Pakistan's relations with her neighbours have not been good. With India there has been some economic co-operation, but effective mutual aid has been prevented by residues of old Hindu-Moslem antagonism and the disputes over the states of Hyderabad and Kashmir (see both) and Junagadh (see *India*). Afghanistan announced claims to the North-Western Frontier Province after the establishment of Pakistan, and was believed to have been behind the secession movement of 1947, which was ended by a plebiscite deciding for Pakistan. In 1949, however, Afghanistan announced again that it no longer recognized the 'Durand Line', which was fixed in 1893 as the frontier between Afghanistan and the Province.

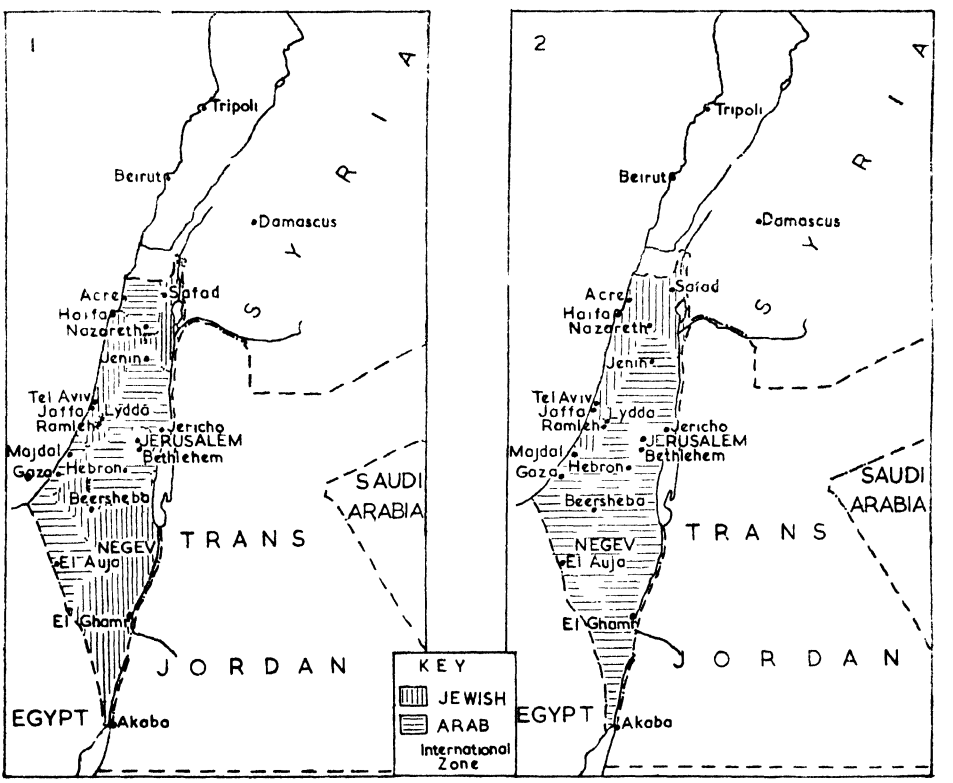
To-day, Pakistan is the largest Moslem state in the world (47,800,000 or 73 per cent of its people are Moslems). She has declared her aim as friendly relations with the Moslem states of the Near East and Middle East, and may indeed aspire to the leadership of the Moslem world.

PALESTINE, until 15 May 1948 a country under British mandate, 10,400 sq. m., approximately 1,800,000 inhabitants, of whom 1,100,000 were Arabs, 600,000 Jews and 100,000 Christians of various nationalities; Jerusalem was the capital (160.000 inhabitants, of whom 95,000 are Jews). Since 15 May 1948 the country has been divided into the Jewish state of Israel (q.v.) and an Arab part, the political organization of which was not clear when these pages went to press.

The country, Turkish since 1517, was conquered by the British in World War I (1917). Through the Balfour Declaration (q.v.) of 1917 Britain promised to support the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jews in accordance with the aspirations of Zionism (q.v.). The Declaration was endorsed by the other principal Allied Powers and incorporated in the peace treaty of Sèvres with Turkey (1920). Thereupon the League of Nations conferred a mandate on Great Britain for the administration of Palestine. The Mandate, dated 14 July 1923, also endorsed the Balfour Declaration. British interest in Palestine

was based on the strategic position of the country. Palestine was opened to Jewish immigration, but only within limited annual quotas. Arab resistance made itself felt from the start. The Arabs stated that Britain had promised in 1915 the inclusion of Palestine in an Arab state by the MacMahon correspondence (letters exchanged between Sir Henry MacMahon, British plenipotentiary, and Sherif Hussein of Mecca, the leader of the Arab independence movement). The Sherif was said to have demanded the incorporation of Arabia, Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia, with the Mediterranean as the western frontier. MacMahon, the Arabs insisted, had accepted this, with the exception of 'certain districts lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo'. Later Britain referred to this exemption clause to take Palestine out of the Arab state formation, but the Arabs declared this geographically indefensible as Palestine was not situated west of the Damascus-Aleppo line. Thus the Arabs invoked a British promise of 1915, while the Zionists invoked a British promise of 1917. English political wit was quick to call Palestine the 'too much promised land'.

In 1921 there were Arab disorders in Palestine; they were suppressed by the British, whose policy it was thereafter to manoeuvre between the Jewish and the Arab claims, inclining toward a restrictive interpretation of the Mandate's clause on the establishment of a Jewish national home. The first British High Commissioner (1920–4) was a Zionist (the present Lord Samuel); but no Jewish High Commisioner was appointed after him. Transjordania (q.v.), three times the size of Palestine, was detached from Palestine in 1923 and made an Arab state under separate mandate (which expired in 1946 in favour of independence); it was closed to Jewish immi-



1. The United Nations plan of November 1947

2. Count Bernadotte's plan of September 1948

Map XIV. The Partition of Palestine

gration. The Mandatory Power also kept Jewish immigration to Palestine proper within rather narrow limits in the subsequent period, a policy for which relatively small Jewish investments in Palestine and the limited revenue of the Zionist colonization funds to some extent supplied a handle. In 1929 the number of Jews in Palestine had reached only about 200,000, when new Arab disorders broke out in protest against Zionist colonization. The upshot was the despatch of a British commission to Palestine which recommended (in the reports of Lord Passfield and Sir John Hope-Simpson in 1930) the suspension of Jewish immigration and the establishment of a legislature, which would under the given conditions have had an Arab majority. This proposal was not accepted, but Jewish immigration was reduced to 5,249 in 1929 and to 4,071 in 1931.

The persecution of the Jews in Germany by Hitler gave a fresh impulse to Jewish immigration to Palestine. In 1933 it reached 9,553, in the following year it jumped to 42,359, and after another year to 61,854, not counting numerous illegal immigrants. Jewish capital investments also mounted, since most of the new-comers were owners of capital. These were favoured by the immigration laws, while quota limitation applied mainly to poor immigrants. In 1936 the Arabs reacted by new disorders, after the suppression of which another British commission, the Peel Commission, was sent to Palestine. The Peel Report of 1937 recommended the partition of Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state. The areas colonized by Jews in the north and along the coast were to be given to the Jewish state; the commission believed this state would have room for 2,000,000 Jews. The Arabs and most of the Jews declined this plan, but some Zionists favoured it.

On 17 May 1939 the British government restated its policy on Palestine in a White Paper, which was approved by Parliament. It emphasized that Palestine was not to become a Jewish state, but an independent state in which both peoples should share authority. Such a state was to be established after ten years. Jewish immigration for the next five years was fixed at a total of 75,000, and it was indicated that the Jewish proportion of the population should be kept at about one-third. The Zionists regarded this paper as an abrogation of the Balfour Declaration; the Arabs were not satisfied either. The mandates commission of the League of Nations rejected it by a vote of 4 : 3 as contradicting the mandate.

The outbreak of World War II interrupted the negotiations. In 1940 Jews in Palestine were barred from purchasing land, except in some districts. As Hitler extended the persecution of the Jews all over Europe, illegal immigration to Palestine grew once more during the war, and this movement persisted after the end of hostilities in view of the conditions prevailing in eastern and central Europe. The British tried to stop the immigration movement by naval and military means, they seized immigrant ships and deported the passengers to Cyprus and elsewhere. Jewish extremists attempted to enforce a change in British policy by organized terrorism. This entailed further military and political measures on the British side, and tension grew between Britons and Jews. The partition plan and a federal solution known as the Morrison Plan were again rejected by both Arabs and Jews. On 18 February 1947 the British government announced that it was taking the Palestine question to the United Nations, the mandate having, in its view, proved impracticable.

On 31 August 1947 a United Nations Special Committee on Palestine submitted a report, signed by seven out of eleven members, which recommended partition. The three members against were India, Persia and Yugoslavia, which favoured a federation such as had been previously suggested by British quarters (the Morrison Plan). Australia abstained. The partition plan was adopted by the United Nations Assembly in November 1947. It provided for a Jewish and an Arab state in Palestine, both geographically incoherent. The Jews were to get East Galilee in the north, the coastland in the centre and the large but arid and empty south known as the *Negev*. The Arabs were to have West Galilee, the central inland area, the port of Jaffa with a corridor leading to it, and the southern coast with the port of Gaza. Jerusalem was to come under United Nations administration. The plan was supported by the United States and the Soviet Union, accepted by the Jews and opposed by the Arabs. (See Map XIV.)

By the time the mandate came to an end, the Jews had reached the number of

600,000, had founded 300 agricultural communities, about one-third of them socialist co-operatives, had drained swamps, founded numerous industries, built the town of Tel-Aviv (160,000 inhabitants) and new parts of other towns. They had bought 500,000 acres of land, one-half of which belonged to a national trust, the Jewish National Fund. Jewish capital expenditure totalled £37,000,000 at the end of 1947, and an additional £25,000,000 had been spent by the Zionists since 1918 for education and other public purposes. The Hebrew language had been revived and an educational system, including the first sections of a university, had been built up in that language. A *Vaad Leumi* or national committee had been elected.

The economic, social and cultural position of the Arabs in Palestine showed little progress since 1918. The development of the country had almost entirely been the work of the Jews. The structure of Arab society had remained the same as in other Arab countries (see *Arabs*). Still the Arabs regarded Palestine as an Arab country into which the Jews had come as foreign intruders. A Higher Arab Committee had been set up in Palestine to oppose Zionist policy.

On 15 May 1947 the British mandate over Palestine terminated. During the night from 14 May to 15 May the Jewish state of Israel (q.v.) was proclaimed at Tel-Aviv, with Dr. Weizmann as President and D. Ben-Gurion as Prime Minister. The new state was recognized by the United States, the Soviet Union and a number of other nations, but not, for the time being, by Britain. The British forces left Palestine. A Jewish army was organized out of the *Haganah*, a militia dating back to the war. On the day of the end of the mandate the armies of the Arab states invaded Palestine from all sides. Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordania and Irak sent together about 40,000 men, while Saudi Arabia sent only a token force. (See *Arab League*.) Generally speaking, the Arab armies were held at the frontiers of Israel. The Jewish state received arms supplies from the states of the Soviet bloc and elsewhere. The Arabs conquered the old quarter of Jerusalem, while the Jews held the new quarters. The United Nations sent a mediator, Count Bernadotte of Sweden, who negotiated a four-weeks' armistice in June. The mediator proposed a plan providing for a union of Palestine and Transjordania, divided into autonomous Jewish and Arab states; the Jews should give up all or part of the south and receive West Galilee in the north, and Jewish immigration was to be subject to United Nations control. The plan was rejected by both Jews and Arabs, and fighting was resumed in July. The Jews improved their positions. After a week a new truce of indefinite duration was arranged. The uneasy truce, repeatedly broken by both sides but mended by the United Nations mediator, continued thereafter. In September Count Bernadotte was assassinated by Jewish extremists, and succeeded by Dr. Ralph Bunche, an American of African extraction. An Arab government of Palestine, headed by the Mufti of Jerusalem (see *Grand Mufti*), was set up at Gaza on 5 October 1948, under Egyptian auspices. It was viewed with disfavour by King Abdullah of Transjordania (q.v.), desirous to incorporate Palestine, or at least Arab Palestine, in his domains. The military weakness of the Arabs was aggravated by dissensions between the Arab states. Israel began to demand a frontier revision and the incorporation of the Jewish part of Jerusalem. The United Nations Assembly in Paris dealt with Palestine in the autumn of 1948. The United Nations had banned arms supplies to Palestine, but supplies continued to some extent. Israel had American and Russian support (the latter despite the old Soviet hostility toward Zionism), while British policy seemed to favour the Arabs. The United Nations repeatedly threatened sanctions if the truce were broken.

On 8 December 1948 an Assembly of Arab notables at Jericho proclaimed Abdullah King of united Palestine and Transjordania and there were reports of a secret understanding between Israel and Abdullah on the division of Palestine. (See *Arabs, Israel, Zionism.*)

PANAMA, Central American republic, 28,500 sq. m., population 650,000, of whom two-thirds mestizo, 70,000 white, the rest negroes and Indians. The capital is Panama City. Panama was part of Colombia (q.v.) until 1903. When the Colombian Congress refused to ratify the grant of the Panama Canal Zone to the United States a revolution was induced in Panama on 3 November 1903, and ten days later the United States recognized the independence of

Panama. Another five days later the new republic granted to the United States in perpetuity the use and occupation of, and sovereign rights in, a zone five miles wide on each side of the Canal route. Sanitary jurisdiction in Panama City and Colon also passed to the United States. The United States paid $10,000,000 and undertook further to pay $250,000 a year. The annual payment was increased in 1936 when a new treaty provided for consultation with Panama before the use by the United States of territory outside the Canal Zone for defence purposes. During World War II the United States built thirty-eight military bases outside the Canal Zone; in 1947 the Panamanian National Assembly refused to extend the lease for their sites, and the American forces withdrew to the Zone. The Zone is administered by an American governor appointed by the President; in 1939 it was placed under the control of the United States army.

The country is very primitive. The jungle extends to a few miles from the Canal and is not cleared, since it forms a natural defence. Panama has no army, but a national guard. The republic lives on the Canal Zone. The Panama Canal is of paramount strategic importance to the United States, so that although it respects the republic's independence, the United States is vitally interested in having a friendly government in the neighbourhood of the Canal. When President Arias showed fascist and anti-American leanings in the early stage of World War II, he was deposed by a *coup d'état* in October 1941 and replaced by President de la Guardia, more friendly to the United States. De la Guardia suspended Arias's 1941 constitution and after the war called a constituent assembly. A liberal coalition won a majority. The assembly adopted the 1946 constitution providing for a national assembly, meeting annually, and a President elected for six years; then it constituted itself as the national assembly until 1948. H. A. Jimenez was chosen provisional President until the same year. The national assembly was composed as follows: Liberal Reform Party 12, National Liberals 7, Doctrinary Liberals 7, National Revolutionaries 8, Democrats 7; 10 others, including some socialists and communists. Ex-President Arias, heading a *Partido Nacional Revolucionario Autentico*, conducted an abortive uprising in December 1945. He stood for the presidency in the May 1948 election, and after his supporters had clashed with the police and the government had declared a state of siege, he fled to Costa Rica, in July. In August the election results were announced. Dr. Diaz Arosemena was declared elected by a majority of only 2,364 votes over Arias. After a series of *coups*, Arias returned to the presidency in November 1949.

PANAMA CANAL, a canal through the isthmus of Panama, connecting the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean. The plan to build the Canal dates back to the middle of the nineteenth century, when the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850 provided nominally for neutralization, in effect for joint Anglo-American control of the Canal. Work was begun in 1883 under the direction of the French engineer, de Lesseps, the designer of the Suez Canal, but this first phase ended in a famous financial scandal. A new Anglo-American agreement, the Hay-Pauncefote treaty of 1899, gave the sole control of the Canal to the United States. In 1903 the United States acquired the Zone through which the Canal would pass (for details see *Panama*). Work was carried on by American engineers, and the Canal was opened in 1914. It is forty miles in length, and its width ranges from 300 to 1,000 feet. The summit elevation is eighty-five feet above sea-level. The average time of passage is about eight hours. With a view to improving the Canal's capacity, the construction of a third set of locks was undertaken in 1940, but the narrowness of the Canal and the vulnerability of the lock system has kept suggesting the construction of an alternative canal, either a lockless one in the vicinity, which would take twenty years to build and cost $2,000,000,000 or more, or one with few locks, but four times longer, in Nicaragua (q.v.) which would cost about as much.

PAN-AMERICANISM, the idea of the community and close political collaboration of all North and South American nations. It is mainly propagated from the United States, while the Latin American countries are somewhat reserved about it, suspecting pan-Americanism to be a cloak for what they call *Imperialismo Norte Americano* or *Yanqui* Imperialism. The pan-American idea seeks to bridge the national and cul-

tural differences between North and Latin America, but it is exactly these differences which stand in its way. As a political concept, it may be traced back to the Monroe Doctrine (q.v.).

The *Pan-American Union* was founded in 1890, as an association of the twenty-one American republics designed to promote political and economic collaboration between the nations of the Americas. (Canada is not a member, although she is interested in it.)

The Union held regular *Pan-American Conferences*, which met at varying places in the Americas. The results of pan-American conferences were (*a*) declarations of solidarity couched in general terms, (*b*) the creation of various institutes for cultural and economic collaboration, (*c*) some forty agreements on questions of communications, migration and trade, and a plan for a pan-American highway, sections of which have already been constructed, (*d*) agreements on hemisphere defence, somewhat vague in character but placing increasing emphasis on the principle. The principle was affirmed in 1938, was implied in the Declaration of Havana (q.v.) of 1940, and was taken a step further by the Act of Chapultepec (q.v.) of 1945 and the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro (q.v.) of 1947. Arrangements are, however, still rather vague. A United States proposal for standardizing the equipment of all armed forces in the Americas was shelved by Congress in 1947 and received coolly in Latin America, but individual arrangements were made with some Latin American states concerning United States training missions and supplies of military equipment.

In World War II, as previously in World War I, rudiments of a joint foreign policy of the United States and a number of Latin American republics were noticeable. Some Latin American countries declared war on the Axis and Japan, while others severed diplomatic relations with them at various stages of the war. They did not participate appreciably in warfare. Argentina was regarded as rather pro-Axis. After the war the United States worked for closer cooperation between the American nations. At the Bogota Conference in 1948 the American states agreed on forming an *Organization of American States*, a regional organization in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. The Charter of the Organization declares the rights and duties of states, provides for the pacific settlement of disputes, for collective security, for economic, social and cultural cooperation, and establishes the organization. This is to consist of a quinquennial Inter-American Conference, a consultative meeting of the Foreign Ministers whenever necessary, on the lines of the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro, a permanent Council, and specialized conferences and organizations. The Pan-American Union continues as the Organization's permanent central organ. It acts as its general secretariat and offers technical and information services. The Pan-American Union was neither a federation nor an alliance, but a mere club of states. The Organization of American States is in essence not much more, but in certain circumstances it may assume political functions which were denied to the old Union.

The Latin states wanted a Marshall Plan for them like that provided for Europe (see *European Recovery Programme*). With the U.S., Brazil, Chile and the Dominican Republic abstaining, the Bogota Conference passed a resolution condemning European colonies in the Americas—this was sponsored by Argentina and Guatemala which claim British colonies.

The first task of the new pan-American organization was to investigate Costa Rica's allegation that Nicaraguan forces were aiding the rebel Costa Ricans who invaded the country in December 1948. The organization sent an Inquiry Commission, which successfully investigated the dispute (see *Costa Rica*).

PAN-ARABISM, the movement for union of all Arabic-speaking peoples in one empire or federation. It is not co-extensive with pan-Islamism (q.v.), although it seeks to make use of feelings of Islamic solidarity. It is built on national sentiment, not religion; the Christian minority among the Arabs collaborates with the Moslem majority in the national movement. The pan-Arabic idea is about as old as Arab nationalism in general which came into being in Syria about the middle of the nineteenth century, fostered by the activities of American and French missionaries. (See *Arabs*.) When the Arabs became free from Turkish rule after World War I, no great united Arab state was created as had been expected, but several independent Arab coun-

tries were set up, whose rivalry and domestic difficulties for a long time overshadowed the endeavour for unity. To some extent the governments of the Arab states are more interested in their domestic affairs than in a federation, but on the whole the differences would seem to concern the leadership in a future union rather than the idea as such. As a basic concept, pan-Arabism has already taken deep root in the intelligentsia and partly in the masses of the Arab countries also. Its first embodiment so far is the Arab League (q.v.) founded in 1945. Pan-Arabism has been considerably promoted by Arab opposition against Zionism, which provided a rallying point. (See *Palestine.*)

Pan-Arabism started among the Asiatic Arabs, but after initial aloofness it was taken up by the Egyptians and is now spreading westwards over North Africa. Although Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia are arabized rather than truly Arab, pan-Arabism seems on the increase there. The ultimate aim of pan-Arabism is an Arab federation stretching from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf, which would have some forty-five million inhabitants.

PAN-ASIA, the idea of the solidarity of the peoples of Asia. Among the educated and political classes this concept has found favour as nationalism developed and the Asiatic peoples sought to free themselves from European rule or predominance. The Japanese defeat of Russia in 1904–5 caused nationalism to develop and for some nationalists to dream of a united Asia expelling the Europeans. This idea was one of the causes of the welcome given to Japan when she over-ran East Asia and threatened India in World War II. It was used by Japan as an ideology for her Asian 'Co-Prosperity Sphere' (q.v.), and other Asian Powers aspiring to the leadership of the Asian continent also seem inclined to make use of the pan-Asian formula. In practice, the pan-Asian movement has, like other pan-movements, remained a vague sentiment and has not prevented hostility and war between the nations concerned.

Promoted by Pandit Nehru (q.v.) and convened by a non-partisan Indian council, an Asian Relations Conference was held at Delhi in March 1947. It was attended by representatives from all the countries of Asia, free and dependent, except four Arab states, which had not had time to send representatives and Japan, which was prevented by the Allied Control Council from sending representatives; the Moslem League also abstained. The conference called for an end of imperialism, political and economic, for safeguarding minorities, for scientific research (especially into health and agriculture), and for industrial and agricultural development and reform. An Asian Relations Organization was formed to promote study and foster friendship. (See also *Indonesia.*)

PAN-EUROPE MOVEMENT, a movement for a United States of Europe, founded in 1923 by Count Nicholas Coudenhove-Kalergi in Vienna. It envisaged a European federation without Russia and Britain, to work with similar pan-American, pan-Russian, pan-Asiatic and British Empire groupings. The flag of the movement was a red cross on a golden ground. The movement held conferences in Vienna (1926), Berlin (1930) and Basle (1932) with twenty-six nations represented. France's famous Foreign Minister, the late Aristide Briand, expressed sympathy with it and made some vague proposals along its lines in 1930, but it was looked upon with disfavour by the other Powers, especially Great Britain. The movemen ebbed after initial progress. In 1938 it moved from Vienna to New York, where Count Coudenhove set up a committee for a Free and United Europe in 1941 and a Research Centre for European Federation in 1942. A new United Europe movement (q v) was organized in England in 1947 under the leadership of Winston S. Churchill It was mainly responsible for the establishment of the *Council of Europe* (q.v.) in 1949.

PAN-GERMANISM, German *Alldeutschtum,* prior to 1914 a German imperialist movement aiming at uniting all German-speakers in a common empire and at German expansion abroad. The movement was fostered by the influential *Alldeutscher Verband* (Pan-German Association) which was led by a German lawyer named Class. Its programme included conquest of territories in Eastern Europe, colonial expansion and a big navy for Germany. The pan-Germanists also evolved racial theories and were anti-semitic. The movement found considerable response in the German-speaking parts of the old Austrian Empire, and Hitler

(q.v.) grew up in the atmosphere of Austrian pan-Germanism, which moulded his outlook. When he came to power in Germany he sent a telegram of recognition to Class. The pan-Germanists used to worship the late Bismarck, who had, however, advocated the preservation of Austria and the 'Little German' solution of the German question in contrast to the pan-German scheme. A large part of the pan-German programme was temporarily put into effect by Hitler. Some pan-Germanists even claimed the Low Countries (Holland and Belgium), whose inhabitants they described as Lower Germans. Pan-Germans differed from the liberal 'Greater Germans' (*Grossdeutsche*) by their reactionary outlook and also the striving for expansion outside the area inhabited by German-speaking peoples. On the whole, pan-Germanism was a forerunner of Nazism.

PAN-IBERIANISM, the concept of the spiritual unity of (1) Spain and Portugal, (2) those countries and their former colonies in America—the Latin American states, which are sometimes termed Ibero-America. The name is derived from the Iberian peninsula, which consists of Spain and Portugal. During World War II some Spanish Falangists (q.v.) hoped to unite under Spanish leadership Portugal and Latin America, which had all been under the Spanish crown between 1580 and 1640. A Council of Hispanidad (q.v.) was formed to foster relations between Spain and Spanish America.

PAN-ISLAMISM, the idea of political solidarity and collaboration of the Islamic peoples, with the ultimate aim of a pan-Islamic empire or federation. The principle of the *Ukhuvat el Islamiya*, the brotherhood of Islam, is inherent in the Moslem religion, as is the political unity of the faithful under a caliph. Modern pan-Islamism started in the 'eighties, propagated by Sultan Abdul Hamid II as a tool of Turkish imperialism. After the abolition of the caliphate (q.v.), the leadership of pan-Islamism passed to the Arabs (q.v.), who linked it to some extent with pan-Arabism (q.v.), although the two are by no means identical. There are about 250 million Moslems in the world (higher estimates are regarded as exaggerated), and fewer than 50 millions of them speak Arabic: the strongest Islamic group is the Indian Moslems (90 millions, see *Pakistan*); and the Malayan-Indonesian, Turkish and Persian Moslems are also considerable non-Arab sections, apart from numerous other racial groups within Islam. About 230 million Moslems belong to the sunnite school. The shiite school dominates Persia and has also some adherents in India and Irak.

Since the days of the early caliphs there has been no universal Islamic empire; the geographical, national and cultural differences between the Moslem peoples living between Morocco and China make its re-establishment unlikely in any case. Yet pan-Islamism has been a weapon of some significance in the movement for national emancipation of the Moslem peoples from European colonial domination. About 140 million Moslems now live in independent or self-governing states, and a measure of self-government for another 50 or 60 millions seems in the offing. The pan-Islamic idea fosters the mutual sympathy and solidarity of the Moslem peoples, it remains vague and uncertain, but is an entity which has to be reckoned with in world politics. The support given to Arab movements by the Indian Moslems, e.g. is based on pan-Islamic feeling. Still, pan-Islamism is an emotional current of varying intensity rather than an organized movement; since the disappearance of the caliphate, which was rather shadowy in any case, it has lacked a centre, and all attempts to create a new organization by means of pan-Islamic congresses or even to elect a caliph have failed so far.

A pan-Islamic congress was held in Mecca in 1926, but brought no results; neither did a simultaneous rival congress in Cairo and a later, smaller congress in Jerusalem in 1931. Agreement is made difficult by the differences of the various sects and trends, and also by growing nationalism among the Moslem peoples. It must not be forgotten that of the 250 million Moslems only 10 millions are able to read and write at present. The new intelligentsia of the Islamic countries often cultivates a deistic and rationalistic interpretation of religion, reminiscent of European trends in the Age of Reason, and upholds Islam essentially in view of the religious fanaticism of the illiterate masses; it sees in it also a means of national policy, indeed a national symbol.

PAN-SLAVISM, the movement for political alignment, or indeed federation, of all Slav peoples. (See *Slavs.*) To some degree pan-Slavism was inspired by Herder, the German rediscoverer of Slav culture, and the German romantics. The first pan-Slavist congress was held in 1841. About 1860 Russia, realizing the usefulness of pan-Slavism as a tool for its foreign policy, assumed the patronage of the pan-Slavist movement. A romantic literary school known as the Slavianophiles arose in Moscow to credit the Slavs with the mission of rejuvenating and leading Europe. Russian policy used pan-Slavism to make Russian domination more acceptable to Ukrainians and Poles, to promote Russian aspirations in the Balkans and to weaken the Austrian Empire by fostering the emancipation movements of its Slav peoples. The Sokol movement (q.v.) displayed a pan-Slavist tendency, and more all-Slav congresses followed. Prior to World War I, delegations of the Slav peoples of Austria-Hungary and the Balkans used to go on pilgrimages to Russia. The schools of all Slav peoples emphasized the Slav idea.

Pan-Slavism definitely contributed to the disintegration of the Austrian and Turk empires, but like the other pan-movements it remained essentially a romantic, emotional trend which in practical policy usually had to take a back seat in the face of geographical, historical, economic and cultural realities. There were no fewer conflicts between Slav nations than between other nations speaking kindred languages; between Poles and Russians, Serbs and Bulgars there were more wars than declarations of Slav fraternity; friction between Czechs and Slovaks, Serbs and Croats, etc., increased after the emancipation of these peoples. Disunity was enhanced by the cultural divergencies between the Roman Catholic western Slavs and the Greek-Orthodox eastern Slavs, one of these two branches of the Slav family having developed in the orbit of Western culture, the other in the orbit of Byzantine culture.

The communist revolution in Russia anathematized pan-Slavism as an abomination born of Tsarist imperialism. In World War II, however, it was resuscitated by the Russian government under Stalin, himself not a Slav. All-Slav congresses were held in Moscow, and Russian policy and propaganda exalted the Slav idea on the earlier pattern. By the agreements of Teheran and Yalta, the Soviet Union secured a sphere of influence in Europe which for the first time in history united all Slav peoples under Russian hegemony. At international conferences and United Nations meetings, a Slav bloc has made its appearance, consisting of the Soviet Union and its member-states the Ukraine and White Russia, and its Slav satellites. The formation of this Slav sphere on the lines of a combination of communism and pan-Slavism has caused misgiving in the West. There are, however, counter-trends among the Slav peoples concerned, especially among the Poles and Czechs, but these are at present held down by the communist governments. Under Russian control radical social reforms have been carried out in all Slav lands, and the Slav racial frontier has been pushed forward to the Oder-Neisse line and the northern slopes of the Sudeten mountains by the mass expulsion of the eastern and Sudeten Germans.

PAN-TURANISM, the idea of uniting all Turanian peoples (Turks, Azerbeijanis, Turkomans, Usbeks and other Turki peoples of Central Asia) in one empire. It has occasionally been proposed as a romantic idea by some Turkish writers and officers, but cannot be called a political movement at this stage. It is unknown how far the peoples speaking Turki dialects, and sparsely inhabiting parts of the vast area between Turkey and China, feel sympathy for each other. In Turkey a certain interest is kept alive in the development of the Turki peoples of the Soviet Union. The latter is allergic to any such pan-Turanian hints, but views with favour the interest shown by Turki peoples of neighbouring Afghanistan in the development of the Soviet Turki peoples, mainly Turkomans and Usbeks. The Turkomans, a not very numerous but far-flung race, live under Russian, Persian, Afghan and Chinese rule, the Azerbeijanis are divided between Russia and Persia, while all the other Turki peoples live in the Soviet Union. There they have their own self-governing republics, as the term self-government is understood in the Soviet Union, and are encouraged to develop their national cultures. Sometimes also the Tatar-Mongol peoples of Siberia and some adjacent areas are reckoned among the Turanians. In Europe there are

Turanian reminiscences in Hungary, the Magyars being of Turanian origin.

PARAGUAY, South American republic, 150,000 sq. m., population 1,100,000. The capital is Asunción. The comparative smallness of the population, which is almost entirely concentrated in the *Oriental*, the eastern and smaller half of Paraguay, and mostly of mixed Spanish and Indian descent, goes back to the 1865–70 war with Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay, in which Paraguay lost about 500,000 men. Only 28,000 male inhabitants are said to have survived at the time. Nearly everybody speaks both Spanish and Guarani, the language of the warlike Indian aborigines. Illiteracy exceeds 80 per cent, and Spanish newspapers have a circulation of only 20,000.

Paraguay is landlocked, like its western neighbour, Bolivia, with which it has been in conflict for a century over the Chaco region; but it has a waterway to the Atlantic, the Paraguay River, albeit through the territory of other states. The little developed country is economically controlled by neighbouring Argentina. The Argentine government owns the majority of the stock of the Paraguay Central Railway, an English corporation. Argentina is the main source of food supplies to Paraguay. Argentine interests control the quebracho industry; and Argentina controls the river outlet. But political interference from Buenos Aires is rarely visible. There used to be some Argentine apprehension lest Brazil gained influence in Paraguay, and the development of road and railroad communications northward in the direction of Brazil, undertaken by American companies, is not viewed with favour by Argentina. Paraguay's old dispute with Bolivia (q.v.) over the Chaco, an almost uninhabited jungle region in the *Occidental* or west, extending over 100,000 sq. m., was terminated after the 1932–5 war by the arbitration of the United States and five South American republics: 70,000 sq. m. of the Chaco went to Paraguay and 30,000 sq. m. to Bolivia.

The country's traditional parties are the *Colorados* or conservatives, the party of the landowners, paradoxically also known as the 'Reds', and the 'Blues' or liberals, representing urban interests. *Colorado* rule ended in 1910, and the liberals were in office till February 1936, when Colonel Rafael Franco overthrew an unusually corrupt liberal administration. The Colonel was later exiled to Argentina, and General Estigarribia became President in August 1939. He had a rather authoritarian constitution ratified by a plebiscite in 1940. President Estigarribia was killed in an air accident in September 1940, when his war minister, Colonel Higinio Morínigo, supported by a *junta* of officers and students, seized power. He had himself elected President for the 1943–8 term subsequently, and proclaimed himself dictator on 30 November 1943, in the name of a Paraguayan Nationalist Revolution. His régime was a totalitarian dictatorship with the usual promises of social progress and development During the war he sympathized with the Axis until its defeat became certain. In June 1946 he admitted the conservative *Colorados* and a group known as the *Febreristas* (followers of Colonel Franco) into his government, but in January 1947 they left after a dispute. The conservatives returned later. In March 1947 an uprising began against Morínigo, and a 'people's army' said to be backed by Febreristas, liberals and communists approached Asunción. In sight of the capital it was repulsed and defeated; Franco fled to the Argentine. The insurgents claimed that Morínigo had been supported by Argentina and advised by the United States military mission. In February 1948 the Presidential election was held—Morínigo's candidate, J. N. Gonzalez, the Finance Minister, was elected. In June Morínigo was expelled because it was believed that he would try to retain power unconstitutionally. In October a military uprising was quelled by the Gonzalez government. Gonzalez was leader of the Red Standard group of the *Colorados*, believed to be more democratic. A Black Standard Group of the *Colorados*, led by Colonel Montanaro, was responsible for the abortive October uprising.

On 30 January 1949 the government was overthrown by a bloodless *coup d'état* led by the Minister of Education, Molas Lopez, and General Rolon was elected provisional President. General Rolon was in turn deposed by another *pronunciamento* on 26 February 1949, and M. Lopez assumed the presidency. He claimed to represent an even more democratic faction of the *Colorados*. He released political prisoners but banned liberals, communists and

Febreristas. On 23 October 1949, Lopez was deposed and Dr. Chavas became provisional President.

PARAMOUNTCY, in India the relation between Britain, the paramount power and the Indian states until August 1947. (See *India, Suzerainty.*)

PARETO, Vilfredo Federigo Marchese, Italian economist and political theorist, born 15 July 1848 in Paris, died 20 August 1923 at Celigny, Switzerland Originally an engineer, he tried to apply the methods of mathematics and physics to social science. He was a member of the mathematical school of economics and elaborated theories of economic function not only for a liberal-capitalist system, but also for monopolist and collectivist systems. However, he rejected socialism on which he wrote a critical book, *Les systèmes socialistes* (1902). These studies led Pareto to sociology and general political theory in which he likewise endeavoured to apply the empirical and positivist method, to some degree following Comte and Spencer. But he reached quite different conclusions. His theories are expounded in his great work, *Trattato di sociologia generale* (1916), known in English as *The Mind and Society.*

Pareto distinguishes 'logical behaviour' from 'non-logical behaviour'. The greater part of human conduct is non-logical; this is the first basic fact of politics. Non-logical behaviour is governed by two factors, one constant, called the 'residues', and one variable, called the 'derivations'. The 'residues' are certain fundamental instincts and attitudes appearing in varying disguise at all times, in all societies, and in all political systems. The 'derivations' are the disguise, the shell of theories and principles surrounding the core of 'residues'. These vary from age to age, from party to party; their purpose is to give a pseudo-logical justification to the residues which are in themselves non-logical. In modern terms we might call them 'rationalizations'. Pareto lists thousands of historical examples in support of his theory. The residues include the 'instinct for combinations' (the capacity for thinking and organizing), 'group-persistence' (instinctive cohesion), the 'permanence of abstractions' (man's eternal need for abstract notions and symbols), the 'integrity of the individual' (the Ego-instincts), and the sex residue. The derivations include all religions, philosophies, superstitions, conventions, taboos, political theories and principles, programmes, -isms, etc., which are nothing but the supposedly logical superstructure of innate residues. The derivations are founded on dogmatic assertion, reference to authority, reference to an abstraction, and ostensible proof by confusion of terms and other faulty logic. The efficacy of the derivations does not depend on their logical value, but on the instincts and sentiments to which they appeal. Men do not act because they think, but they think because they act. At bottom, there is no progress, but an eternal cycle.

Starting from these assumptions, Pareto evolves a cyclical theory of social change. In any society only the *élites*, the leading groups, are of real importance; the masses just follow. There are two residues alternating rhythmically in the *élites*: Class I, the 'instinct for combinations', and Class II, 'group-persistence'. The fate of society depends on the distribution of these residues within the *élite*. The distribution varies with the perpetual 'circulation of the *élites*', the most important social process. When a community is formed, it is initially governed by bearers of Class II residues, the men of instinct, the fighters, the faithful, those who ask no questions but act. These represent the qualities necessary for the foundation of states or new social orders. The necessities of government in normal times, however, require the employment of bearers of Class II residues, the 'foxes' contrasting with the 'lions' of Class I. They are the clever ones, the practical, combining men, but deficient in instinctual vigour. Gradually Class I increases in the *élite*, while Class II decreases; simultaneously Class II accumulates in the masses whose attitude is anyway governed by the residue of group-persistence. The *élite* degenerates, becomes weak and corrupt, relies ever more on combinations, tricks and haggling, loses the will and the ability to use force. It is attacked and overthrown by a new *élite*, which has meanwhile formed on the basis of Class II residues within the people and re-embodies the original virtues. Then the cycle begins anew.

Pareto raises the question whether this circulation of the *élites* could not be consciously controlled so as to take place with-

out periodical catastrophe. The best plan would be to secure fully free circulation, allowing the most suitable individuals to rise into the *élite* at any time, while the less suitable types would sink back into the masses. This is, however, prevented by the existing tendency towards 'closed' *élites*, the aristocratic principles of exclusiveness and heredity, which have their advantages, yet also favour degeneration. The most desirable arrangement is the following: (1) Residues of Class II are widespread in the people (faith in an integrating ideology, group-solidarity, readiness for physical sacrifice), (2) Class I residues (intelligence, talent for combinations) are concentrated in the *élite*, (3) Class II is also strongly represented in the *élite*, and (4) The *élite* is 'open' as far as possible so that a great amount of circulation can constantly take place. Such societies have survived longest in history, says Pareto, and political institutions promoting such a state of affairs are those most desirable.

Pareto remained an extreme liberal in economics throughout his life, but politically he inclined towards conservatism. He is regarded as the theoretician of fascism and kindred political systems. Mussolini admired him and bestowed the honours of the fascist state on him during the one year which Pareto still lived after the advent of fascism to power. Pareto accepted them, but nothing is known of any actual association of this thinker with fascism.

PARLIAMENT, from the French *parler*, to speak, and literally a 'parley' or 'conference', the assembly of the representatives of the people. The official names vary—Parliament, Congress, National Assembly, Diet, etc. Most parliaments consist of two houses—in Britain the House of Lords and the House of Commons (both q.v.)—but the term 'Parliament' is popularly applied to the lower house only. In Britain 'a Parliament' means the period between the election of a new House of Commons and its dissolution; the standard period is five years, but the government can advise the King to dissolve Parliament before the expiration of this period and the period can be extended by an Act of the Parliament (see *Parliament Act*). A parliament freely elected by the adult population is regarded as essential to democracy (q.v.), but the existence of a parliament (other than a freely elected one) does not in itself guarantee that the state is a democracy.

Primary rights of parliaments include legislation, budgeting, taxation, control and inquiry. ('No taxation without representation.') The oldest parliament in the world is the Icelandic Althing, which dates back to 930. English parliaments have been a permanent institution since 1265. Most other countries adopted parliaments in the nineteenth or early in the twentieth century.

PARLIAMENT ACTS 1911 AND 1949. The British Parliament Act 1911 was an act regulating the relations between the House of Commons and the House of Lords (see both), passed after the conservative majority in the latter house had used its legal power to reject bills sent to it from the former to reject or mutilate many liberal bills in the periods 1892–5 and 1906–9, especially the Lloyd George budget of 1909. The Act provides that (1) a bill certified by the Speaker of the House of Commons as a money bill, dealing only with the raising and allocation of revenue, shall receive the royal assent and thus become an act within a month of having been sent to the House of Lords, even if that House has not passed it; (2) any bill other than a money bill or a bill to extend the duration of Parliament, shall receive the royal assent even if not passed by the Lords, provided that the Commons have passed it in each of three sessions within a period of not less than two years from the first time it has been given a second reading in the Commons; (3) that the duration of Parliament shall be 5 years, not 7 as before.

The Act was intended as the prelude to the reform of the composition of the House of Lords, but no scheme of reform received general support, or even the full support of any of the parties. The Labour Party feared that a reformed upper house might be a strong one, and for long intended to abolish the House of Lords without replacing it. In 1945 its election manifesto declared that it would not tolerate obstruction of the people's will by the House. None of the party's bills for nationalizing industries was rejected, although some of them were amended by the Lords—amendments which the government itself admitted were often improvements. Nevertheless, fearing that the Lords might reject a bill to nationalize

the iron and steel industry, the government decided to reduce the Lords' power in advance. It therefore introduced a Parliament Bill to reduce the period of delay to two sessions in one year; moreover, since it was possible that the Lords would delay the passage of this bill until 1950 when the present Parliament is due to be dissolved, the Bill contained a clause making it applicable to any bill introduced into Parliament during its own passage—thus an Iron and Steel Industry Nationalization Bill could be passed before the dissolution in 1950 even if both it and the Parliament Bill were opposed by the Lords. Despite liberal and conservative criticism, the Bill passed the House of Commons. In the Lords its second reading debate was interrupted to allow the party leaders to discuss the whole problem of the House. They agreed to recommend to their parties that the House should become a chamber of Lords of Parliament for Life, appointed by the King on the nomination of the Prime Minister, who would consult the Speaker and the Leader of the Opposition They failed to agree on the powers of the new chamber. The Labour Party, supported by the Liberals, suggested a delaying period of nine months from the first time the Bill was given a third reading in the Commons, if this should prove longer than the Parliament Bill's twelve months from the first time it received a second reading. The conservatives wanted twelve months from the third or, if possible, eighteen from the second reading This difference of three months was important because under the conservative scheme a bill introduced in the last year of a parliament could be delayed until the parliament had been dissolved and the electorate had been able to express its opinion on the bill. In June 1948 the Bill was again debated in the Lords, and the conservative majority secured its rejection by 177 votes to 81, the minority consisting of labour, liberal and independent peers, the Archbishop of Canterbury and two bishops. The government announced that it intended that the Bill should be passed under the Parliament Act, and in September 1948 a special session of Parliament was held to pass the Bill through the Commons a second time; it was again rejected in the Lords. On 1 November 1949 it was finally passed by the Commons, and though once more rejected by the Lords, it received the Royal Assent and became law under the old Parliament Act.

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT, Parliamentarism, the political system in which the government is responsible to parliament, usually the lower house, and may be dismissed, or forced to resign, by the latter. In the majority of democratic countries (not in the United States and Switzerland) the government needs, by custom or constitution, the confidence of the parliament. In case of doubt it puts the question of confidence and if possible obtains a vote of confidence. If it gets a vote of no confidence, it resigns. England is the classical country of Parliamentarianism. When a British government is defeated in the House of Commons, it may advise the King to dissolve parliament. It will do so if it hopes that its policy will be endorsed by the new house elected afterwards. In other countries with parliamentary government, dissolution is not customary but usually permissible.

Democracy is also possible with non-parliamentary government. In the United States the President appoints his cabinet according to his own choice (subject to Senate approval); it needs only his confidence and remains in office also in case of conflict with Congress. It goes, however, with the expiry of the President's term. This is known as presidential government. In Switzerland the government is elected by the parliament, but instead of resigning when its proposals are rejected by the latter, it merely changes its policy and remains in office to execute the will of the parliament. Parliaments may make governing difficult also for non-parliamentary governments by refusing means to them, the rights of taxation and appropriation remaining the prerogative of the parliament in any case. Therefore also non-parliamentary governments are in a high degree dependent on parliaments.

PERÓN, Juan, President of Argentina, born 1899. Until it voluntarily dissolved itself in March 1944 the influential G.O.U. (variously interpreted as *Grupo de Oficiales Unidos*, Group of United Officers, and *Gobierno, Orden, Unidad*, Government, Order, Unity) was led by Perón, who gained power through it. He was the directing force behind the *coup d'état* of General

Ramirez in 1943 and the *coup d'état* of General Farrell in March 1944. Under these two presidents he held the posts of War Minister and Labour Minister, and his work at the latter ministry won him the fervent support of the masses. In October 1944 one section of the government secured his dismissal and arrest, but popular demonstrations in favour of him and his policy of not co-operating closely with the U.S.A. and the Allies, as desired by some of the government, caused his speedy release and the appointment of a cabinet of his supporters. In 1946 he was elected President; the elections, which were fair and free, were followed by enthusiastic demonstrations in his favour. In power, he established what in fact amounts to a dictatorship, though the external forms of democracy were maintained. The opposition was more or less paralysed by administrative measures, and elections continually resulted in large majorities for Perón. His adherents acclaim him as a reformer of the Roosevelt type, while his critics describe him as a fascist demagogue. His policy has been one of nationalism, and large social reforms have been announced. (See *Argentina.*)

PERSIA, official name *Iran*, 630,000 sq. m., population not known exactly, presumed between 9,000,000 and 10,000,000, but some estimates go as high as 15,000,000 and even 18,000,000. A large proportion of the country is uninhabited desert, and some 3,000,000 inhabitants are nomad tribesmen (Kurds, Turkomans, South Persian tribes). The capital is Teheran. The ruler is styled Shah-in-Shah (King of Kings), usually just Shah. The present Shah, Mohammed Riza Pehlevi, born 1919, succeeded to the throne in 1941. The 1906 constitution provides for a *Mejlis*, or parliament, of 140 members. The elections are normally to be held every two years. The franchise is limited. Elections usually yield results favourable to the government in power. The population of Persia is shiite Moslem, and about 90 per cent are illiterate.

This once-powerful country decayed in the nineteenth century and became a bone of contention between the Great Powers, mainly England and Russia. The Turkoman Kajar dynasty was on the throne. A revolution compelled the Shah in 1906 to grant a constitution, but it remained largely on paper. An Anglo-Russian treaty of 1907 divided Persia into a northern (Russian) and a southern (British) sphere of influence. In World War I various parts of Persia, although it stayed neutral, were occupied by the Russians, British, Germans and Turks. One of the first deeds of the Soviet government after the Russian October Revolution of 1917 was the annulment of the 1907 treaty and the renunciation of all Russian privileges in Persia. When the belligerents had evacuated the country, an officer of the Persian Cossack Brigade named Riza Pehlevi, coming from a northern peasant family, took the lead of a nationalist movement. He became Minister of War in 1920 and Prime Minister in 1922. He forced the Shah to leave the country and made himself the actual ruler of Persia. He reorganized the army, suppressed brigandage and embarked on a policy of modernization on the model of his neighbour, Turkey's Kemal Atatürk (q.v.). In 1925 he had the Kajar dynasty deposed and himself elected hereditary Shah. He then enacted drastic reforms; he broke the power of the mullahs, the influential shiite clergy, abolished women's veils, established industries, and made Persia for a while really independent. He extended the system of education, and the number of children attending school grew from 50,000 to 300,000 under his reign. On the whole, however, the reforms were only superficial, and the primitive basic character of the country with its masses of peasants and nomads living in abject poverty and ignorance remained unchanged. The landlord class kept its power, and the peasants are for the greater part tenants having to give one-third and more of their crops to the landlords. Wealthy merchants and landlords, with a sprinkling of the new intelligentsia, continue to form Persia's ruling class.

In World War II Persia stayed neutral again, but in August 1941, shortly after the outbreak of the German-Russian war, it was occupied by British and Russian forces. American troops joined in later. The Allies stated that Riza Shah had favoured German and Italian agents, and he was forced to abdicate on 16 September 1941, in favour of his son Mohammed Riza. Riza Shah died in Johannesburg, South Africa, in 1944. Persia was once more divided into a British zone in the south and a Russian zone in the north. The Allies agreed to

evacuate the country six months after the war. The British and Americans left in December 1945, while the Russians withdrew only in March 1946 after securing autonomy for the Persian north-western border province of Azerbeijan (q.v.) and obtaining the signature of the Persian Prime Minister, Qavam es Sultaneh, on an agreement providing for a joint Soviet-Persian company to develop and exploit the oil resources presumed to exist in North Persia. For twenty-five years Russia was to hold 51 per cent of the shares. Qavam first followed a pro-Russian policy and took three representatives of the communist *Tudeh* (=*Mass* or *Proletarian*) party into his administration. The *Tudeh* had originally been a liberal party, but had come under communist leadership in recent years. Qavam indeed ordered the right-wing leaders to be arrested. Later in 1946 American influence grew stronger in Persia. In October 1946 Qavam formed a new government without the *Tudeh*. He announced an election. A tribal autonomist rising in the south was settled by a compromise. In December 1946 Qavam sent government troops to Azerbeijan, stating that the proper holding of the election had to be supervised, and the communist autonomous government was liquidated. This caused misgiving in Russia. The *Tudeh* was banned in Persia.

In September 1947 the Soviet Union reopened the question of the North Persian oil concession. Now according to the constitution oil concessions to foreigners may be granted only by the Persian parliament, and a law passed in 1944 made it unlawful for Persian ministers even to enter into negotiations with foreign countries on new oil concessions. Qavam's action had therefore been illegal but he excused it by the pressure exerted by Russia at the time. The United States encouraged Persia to maintain her freedom of choice, while Britain advised the Persians to continue discussions with the Russians even in the event of rejection of the concession. On 23 October 1947 the Mejlis decided by 102 votes to 2 to ignore the oil agreement signed by Qavam. This was in answer to a question by the Prime Minister whether the Mejlis wished him to submit the bill on the mixed oil company. Russia pointed out that the agreement had expressly provided for the agreement to be presented to the Mejlis for endorsement. The Mejlis also voted that during the next five years prospecting shall be carried out by Persian or neutral experts, and afterwards, if sufficient oil exists, negotiations can be started for the eventual sale to Russia. Further foreign oil concessions were once more declared forbidden and the government empowered to ask for a revision of oil concessions in the south. Qavam es Sultaneh resigned in December 1947, having incurred the Shah's displeasure. He went abroad, but returned later. His successor was I. Hakimi who was unwelcome to the Russians, and was in June 1948 succeeded by A. Hajir, believed to be Qavam's candidate. He in turn was succeeded in November 1948 by Mohammed Said. At the same time the Shah divorced his wife, an Egyptian princess.

Political parties are, as elsewhere in the East, affairs of personal cliques rather than popular mass organizations. Qavam's democratic party, founded in 1946, secured a majority in the Mejlis elected in 1947 while Qavam was head of the government. There are several small parties, including the conservative *Irade-i-Milli* (National Will) and the liberal *Hizb-i-Iran*. The communist *Tudeh* continues underground. All parties profess adherence to a policy of reform.

Persia has once more become a point of friction between the Great Powers. In the south there are the huge oilfields of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., the majority of whose stock is held by the British government. Annual production is about 10 million tons. British concern about Persia has been based on strategic considerations also. Recently the United States also has taken a growing interest in Persia, partly in connection with oil, partly for reasons of world strategy. The neighbouring oilfields of Saudi Arabia (q.v.) are American-owned, and an Anglo-American oil pact of 1947 provides for the linking of British oil interests in Persia with American interests in Arabia, the Americans taking over part of the Anglo-Iranian's oil production and constructing long pipelines across Arabia to pump all this oil to the Mediterranean. From the north the Soviet Union, forgetful of the revolutionary renunciation of 1917, seems to have renewed the old Russian aspirations to Persia, which aim, among other things, at obtaining an outlet to the Indian Ocean.

A general election held from August to November 1949 was annulled by the government, which announced that the election had been improperly conducted, and a new election would be held.

PERSONA NON GRATA, Latin for unwelcome person, a term denoting an envoy or other member of a diplomatic staff who is not, or is no longer, welcome to the government of the country to which he is accredited.

PERU, South American republic, about 482,000 sq. m., population about 6,300,000. The capital is Lima. About one-half of the population are Indians, the rest mestizo or white. Statistics as to the composition of the population vary. The language is Spanish, but the Indians largely speak their own languages, mostly Quechua and Aymara. There is a considerable Japanese community. The territory is not surveyed and the precise area of Peru is not known, although the boundary with Ecuador (q.v.) was settled, after 100 years of intermittent fighting, by arbitration in 1942, some disputed border areas having been ceded to Colombia (44,000 sq. m.) after a brief frontier war in 1927 and to Chile (8,000 sq. m.) in 1928.

The 1933 constitution provides for a Chamber of Deputies of 153 members, popularly elected for six years, with one-third retiring every two years, and a Senate of 40 members with a similar term. All literate males over twenty-one are voters, and voting is compulsory. There are about 500,000 registered voters in Peru, one-quarter of whom are in the Department of Lima. Women have only the municipal franchise. The President is elected for six years and not eligible for a consecutive term. Government is centralist. The background of Peruvian politics is a primitive, largely illiterate country, in which two-thirds of the land are owned by the Church and great landowners known as *gamonales*, and the Indian population lives in abject poverty. Practically all important industries are foreign-owned (railroads and coffee, British; mines and sugar, American). There is no substantial middle class.

President Leguia ruled as dictator from 1908 to 1912, and again from 1919 to 1930, supported by the landowners, the Church and the army. In 1930 he was overthrown and died in prison. In 1931 a series of revolutions and *coups d'état* occurred, resulting in General Sanchez Cerro becoming President until 1933. The candidate of a progressive movement known as the Apristas, Haya de la Torre, claimed to have been elected President in 1931 but to have been forced out by conservative Cerro. The Apristas are the adherents of Apra (*Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana*), designed as an All-Latin American movement with a programme of radical reform. In 1932 Cerro had 6,000 Apristas executed. He was in 1933 succeeded by the conservative General Benavides. Again in 1936 Haya de la Torre claimed to have been elected President, but Benavides' parliament declared the election void. Benevides was President until 1939, when Haya de la Torre, whose movement was banned for being an international party, was not permitted to run. Benavides was in 1939 succeeded by President Prado, also conservative, who governed his full term until 1945. Many reformers were jailed or exiled under the conservative governments.

In 1945 the candidate of the left-wing Democratic National Front, Bustamante y Rivero, was elected President against General Ureta, candidate of the right-wing alliance, the National Democratic Union. In Bustamante's coalition was the *Partido del Pueblo* (People's Party), which was the Apra in a new guise. In October 1948 an Apra-sponsored naval rising took place at El Callao, the port of Lima. Bustamante banned the Apra. At the end of October, however, General Odria carried out a *pronunciamento* in South Peru and declared himself president of a *Junta* with the powers of the Head of State. He outlawed both the Apristas and the communists.

PHILADELPHIA CHARTER, a declaration made by the International Labour Organization (q.v.) at Philadelphia, U.S.A., in May 1944. It claimed the right of all people to material well-being and spiritual development, to freedom and dignity, to economic security and equal opportunity.

PHILIPPINES, Republic of the, the north-eastern part of the Malayan Archipelago, comprising eleven larger and several thousand smaller islands with a total area of 115,400 sq. m. and a population of 19,234,000 mostly Malay with some Chinese admixture. The capital is Quezon City,

which is near to Manila, the former capital. The Philippines were under Spanish rule until 1898, and the after-effects of this period can be seen even to-day in Spanish cultural influence, the use of Spanish as the language of the educated class, the Spanish names of many Philippinos and the strong position of the Roman Catholic Church. A tendency toward Malaization is, however, on the increase. After the Spanish-American war of 1898 the Philippines were ceded to the United States. A Philippino national movement, first directed against the Spaniards, now turned against the Americans and achieved increasing stages of self-government. The Home Rule Act of 1916 provided for self-government in the Philippines under an American Governor-General. It was followed by the Tydings-MacDuffie Act of 1934 which granted independence to the Philippines, with American control until 1946. An American High Commissioner took the place of the Governor-General. Foreign policy and defence were to remain in American hands until 1946.

In 1941 the Japanese conquered the Philippines; one part of the Philippinos collaborated with the Japanese who set up a puppet government, first under B. Vargas and then under P. Laurel; another part resisted them. President Quezon, elected 1935, fled to America where he died in 1944. He was succeeded by Vice-President Sergio Osmeña who held office until 1946, when President Manuel Roxas was elected, after the Americans had returned in 1945. The President is elected for a term of six years. Parliament consists of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The Senate of 24 members is elected for six years, one-third retiring every two years. The House of Representatives has 98 members and is elected for four years. The franchise is limited to persons who can read and write any of the languages in use in the Philippines. Up to 1941 all seats in parliament were held by the *Partido Nacionalista Consolidado*, a party dominated by landowning and industrial interests; the leader of its right wing, Roxas, held an important position during the Laurel puppet government under Japanese occupation. The resistance movement against the Japanese was largely an affair of left-wing partisans coming from the peasantry. In January 1946 the Nationalist Party split into a left group under Osmeña and a right group under Roxas. In April 1946 Roxas was elected President by 1,350,000 votes against 950,000 for Osmeña. The House of Representatives, elected at the same time, is composed as follows: Roxas faction (calling itself the Liberal Nationalists) 62, Osmeña faction (calling itself the Loyal Nationalists) 29, Democratic Alliance (a left-wing, resistance-born federation of Liberals, Peasants and workers, led by Judge Jesus Barrera) 7. There are also a Labour Party led by José Avelino, and a National Democratic Party led by M. de le Fuente. The Senate contains 12 Roxas and 10 Osmeña men. Left-wingers complained of the United States favouring the Roxas faction.

On 4 July 1946 the Philippines obtained full independence in accordance with the previous Act, but remained connected to the United States by an aid pact for ninety-nine years under the provisions of the Bell-Tydings Act, accepted by a plebiscite in the Philippines in March 1947. The United States keeps a number of military, naval and air bases in the islands, and an American military mission remains with the Philippino forces. The United States also continues to represent the Philippines abroad until the republic has trained suitable personnel for a foreign service of its own. Trade between the United States and the Philippines remains free until 3 July 1954; then the United States will levy on Philippino goods 5 per cent of the normal duties until the end of 1954, and thereafter another 5 per cent will be added annually until 3 July 1974, when the full United States tariff will apply to Philippino goods. The United States lent the new republic $300,000,000.

Roxas's policy aimed at creating a class of independent smallholders, but the left wing found his pace too slow. Clashes occurred between the communist-led Hukbalakaps (Anti-Japanese People's Army), the organization of partisans of World War II, and the landowner-sponsored conservative wartime resistance movement, known as the United States Far Eastern Forces, although it was not part of the regular American army. In March 1948 Hukbalakaps was banned by the government. An amnesty was granted to wartime collaborators, including Laurel. In April 1948 President Roxas died and was succeeded by Vice-President Elpidio Quirino.

A presidential election was held on 4 November 1949, and E. Quirino was elected president by 1,266,000 votes. Laurel obtained 594,000 and Avelino 288,000 votes. Fernando Lopez was elected vice-president.

The official national language of the republic is now Tagalog, the tongue of one of the Malay tribes in the islands. This provision was made in 1940 but is resented by other linguistic groups. A total of sixty-four languages and dialects is spoken in the Philippines, eight of them standing out as languages of considerable importance. About one-quarter of the population understands English, and only 400,000 people talk Spanish, but they include the majority of the educated class. For official and commercial purposes, English and Spanish are used. There are various internal racial conflicts, one of them being the problem of the Moros, a strong Moslem tribe which was disarmed by the Americans in 1911, but obtained arms in World War II and clashed with the army in 1946. In the Philippines the land question is the main problem of politics, as everywhere in the East. The structure of land tenure is still largely feudal. Rural illiteracy disfranchises most of the peasant masses, although popular education is progressing and 30 per cent of the people can now read and write.

PLATO, Greek philosopher and political thinker, born 427 B.C. in Athens, where he died in 347. Plato came from one of the noblest families of Athens, and his outlook always remained aristocratic. He was a disciple of Socrates, whose execution, ordered by a democratic government after the overthrow of the aristocratic régime in Athens, prejudiced him against democracy. In 388 he founded his Academy in Athens, a philosophical school probably also meant as a training centre for future political leaders, with whose help Plato secretly hoped to reform Greek political life. About 380 he wrote his great work *The Republic*, a description of a supposedly ideal system of government. Twice in the following years he intervened in the politics of Syracuse where he attempted to establish a philosophic state; each time he failed. Probably as a result of this, in his late work, *The Laws*, Plato makes greater concessions to reality than in the utopian *Republic* and rediscovers the virtues of constitutional government. His third political book, *The Statesman*, is intermediate between the other two. Plato died at eighty-one; he was well aware of the contradictions in his teaching and of the contrast between theory and practice, but found no solution.

Plato's *Republic*, the model of all utopias, was a pure construction, deliberately abstaining from the study of concrete conditions. Its main ideas are as follows: Only a few are able to govern, mainly the members of the aristocracy. They must receive long and thorough training. Education is equal for men and women; the latter are also admitted to office and into the army. The people are by nature inept for participation in government. All they want is peace and security. Plato's state consists of three classes, viz. the top class of the φιλόσοφοί, the philosophers, who alone rule the state, the middle class of the ἐπίκουροι, soldiers and officials, and the δημιουργοί, the artisans, meaning the people, who have no political rights. The philosophers govern in the form of a benevolent despotism. To make them unselfish, they must have neither property nor family; they live in communist settlements and take their meals together. Marriage is replaced by state-controlled breeding of human beings on eugenic lines. These rules also apply to the middle class. The people, however, may keep property and family. They receive no appreciable education; they are to be directed by 'noble lies', religious and other myths, which make them obedient. (This is the first hint in history of government by propaganda.) All publications and cultural activities are subject to censorship. The rulers are not bound by any law, but are to govern justly on the basis of philosophical judgment. Class differences, in which Plato early recognized the root of the long struggle between the oligarchs and the democrats in the Greek city-states, were to be overcome through a voluntary renunciation of wealth by the upper class which was to be compensated by the pleasures derivable from knowledge and power. To Plato, the state is supreme, while the individual does not matter. Plato held that owing to pressure of material interests every state tends to degenerate, step by step, from aristocracy to military dictatorship, oligarchy, democracy and tyranny. The main shortcoming of democracy is the ignorance of the politicians. Tyranny, how-

ever, is rejected by Plato on account of its natural inhumanity.

In the *Laws* the 'second best' state is described, supposed to be more practicable than the best. Absolutism is now dropped and the state is ruled by the 'golden cord of the law'. Plato becomes more empirical and discusses existing constitutions and historical experience. Communism is reluctantly dropped in favour of property and family for all classes. Women remain essentially equal. Only farmers may be citizens; the land is shared out in equal, indivisible lots, and other property may not exceed four times its value. Citizens may not engage in trade and industry; this is left to foreigners, who are freemen but not citizens. Democratic institutions reappear: the Popular Assembly, the Council and elected officials. The Popular Assembly chooses the 37 'Custodians of the Law'; this is about all it can do. The Custodians are the government, while the Council of 360 members elected by four electoral colleges with differential franchise, votes the laws. A large section of the people are now to receive education. The practice of religion is reserved to an authorized priesthood, while private worship, heresy and atheism are banned. In the last pages of the *Laws* Plato adds the 'Nocturnal Council', which makes the democratic rights practically illusory. It consists of the 10 oldest Custodians, the Director of Education and some especially 'virtuous' priests, and is above the law. It may interfere with all government branches.

In the *Statesman* Plato still thinks it is not wrong if men are 'forced, against written law or tradition, to do what is better, juster and nobler'. But his later constitutionalism is foreshadowed in the line he draws between king and tyrant. A king knows how to govern with the consent of the governed, while a tyrant rules only by force. Plato distinguishes three main forms of government, each possible in a lawful and a lawless variety: monarchy (lawless: tyranny), aristocracy (lawless: oligarchy), moderate democracy (lawless: extreme democracy). Democracy is now held by Plato to be the best of the lawless forms of government, although still the worst of the lawful forms; yet in both forms it is preferable to oligarchy. Not without irony, Plato remarks that now even the execution of Socrates must be approved.

Plato began political science as such. He anticipated many modern notions and problems, including division of labour, socialism, emancipation of women and eugenics. The Platonic doctrine that government should be guided by ethical and rational principles has since been the tacitly assumed basis of nearly all political theories. His aristocratic communism has indirectly influenced the modern labour movement. The most diverse political schools have invoked him. Like those of his most prominent disciple, Aristotle (q.v.), his political writings are in a sense timeless.

PLEBISCITE, another name for referendum (q.v.), although it is usually applied only to referenda on the form of government or transfer of sovereignty.

PLURALITY, the excess of the votes for one candidate over those for the candidate with the next highest number. The same as a relative majority. (See *Proportional Representation.*)

PLURALISM, the concept that society is essentially plural, consisting of many overlapping groups and interests, and that political institutions should be reconstructed to take account of this. In Britain Guild Socialism (q.v.) was based on pluralism, which has influenced syndicalism, corporativism (both q.v.) and more orthodox democratic theories.

PLURAL SOCIETY, a society which consists of two or more communities which do not feel themselves to be truly 'one' with each other. All countries contain many communities; the essence of a plural society is that the communities are not on amicable terms. The existence of several mutually inimical nationalities caused the disruption of Czechoslovakia (q.v.) in 1938–9, while India (q.v.) had to be partitioned into Hindu and Moslem states in 1947.

PLUTOCRACY, from Greek πλυτός, rich, and κρατείν, to rule, a satirical and critical name for (1) the rule of the rich, (2) states ruled by the rich, (3) the ruling class itself (the plutocrats). The term has not been precisely defined or recognized by political science. It was much used by fascist and Nazi propaganda which alleged veiled plutocracies ('Plutodemocracy'). This

was a variant of the communist (Marxian) doctrine that democracy is only a political superstructure veiling the rule of capital. The term has recently also been heard from Moscow with reference to the United States and Britain.

POGROM, Russian for destruction, a term for mass raids on Jewish quarters in Tsarist Russia; killing, looting and arson were practised. After the 1917 revolutions pogroms, which had been organized by the Tsarist police, were forbidden in Russia. They were later introduced into Germany by the Nazis—the most violent being the revenge for the murder by a Jew of a German official in Paris in 1938. Pogroms were later overshadowed by the mass extermination of the Jews by Hitler. (See *Anti-Semitism, Jews.*)

POLITBUREAU, short for political bureau, the leading body of communist parties. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (q.v.) has a Politbureau of 11 members, viz. (1948) Stalin, Molotov, Kaganovitch, Bulganin, Voroshilov, Mikoyan, Beria, Shvernik, Khrushchev, Malenkov, Andreev; and 2 deputy members, viz. Voznesensky and Kossygin. The Politbureau is regarded by many as the real government of Russia. Every communist party in whatever country has a Politbureau.

POLAND, population 24,000,000; area not yet fixed definitely with the Oder-Neisse frontier (q.v.), not so far recognized internationally, it would be 121,000 sq. m. Poland's pre-war territory was 150,000 sq. m., including the eastern lands later annexed by the Soviet Union. After a history reaching back to A.D. 966, Poland was partitioned in three stages (1772, 1793 and 1795) between its neighbours, Russia, Prussia and Austria. On the third partition it disappeared as a nation. For 120 years the Poles endeavoured to regain their independence which they eventually obtained in World War I. Besides 23 million Poles, about 11 million members of racial minorities (Germans in the west, Ukrainians in the east) were included in Poland.

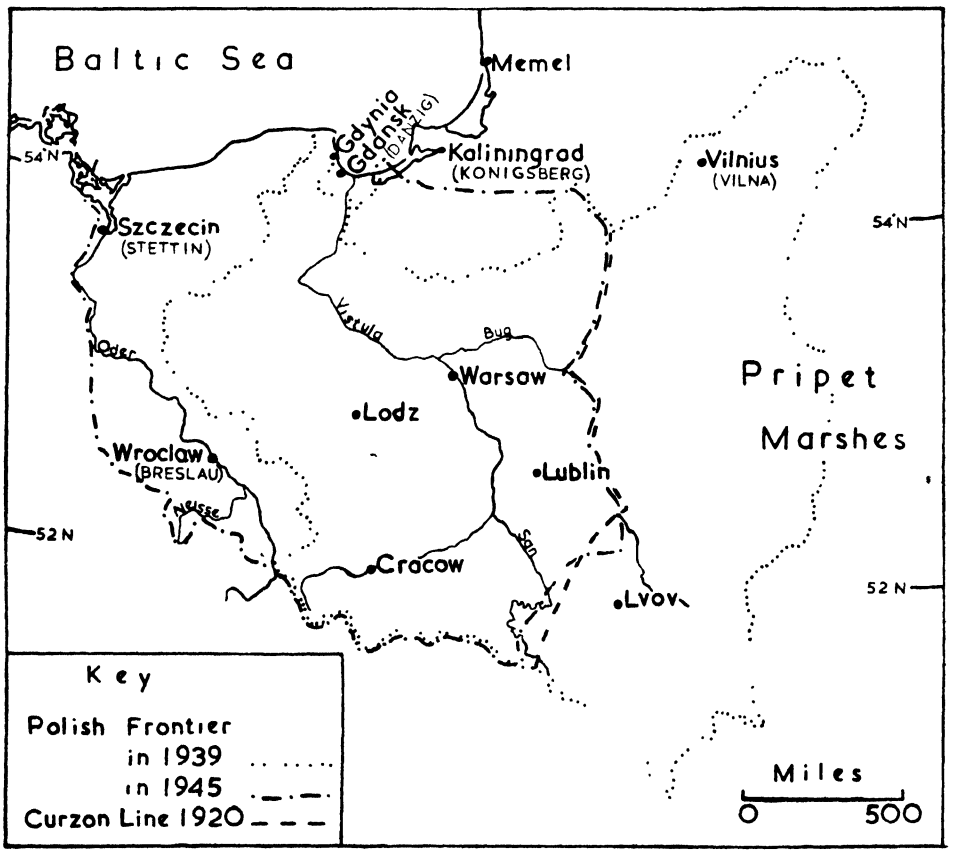
These annexations caused constant minority trouble and friction with Poland's neighbours, against which Poland sought protection in an alliance with France. After a brief democratic period disturbed by social unrest, Marshal Pilsudski, who had during the war led the Polish legions organized by Austria and had been Poland's first President from 1918 to 1922, seized power by a *coup d'état* in 1926. Thenceforward Poland was ruled dictatorially, although parliament and parties continued a shadowy existence. In 1934 Pilsudski concluded a ten-year pact of friendship and non-aggression with Hitler. After Pilsudski's death in 1935 his place as commander-in-chief was taken by Marshal Smigly-Rydz, while President Moscicki, elected 1926, remained the nominal head of the state. The opposition (Democrats, Socialists, Peasant Party, National Democrats) boycotted the government-controlled election of November 1938.

In the spring of 1939 Hitler (q.v.) suddenly turned against Poland to which he had shortly before permitted a share in the partition of Czechoslovakia. He demanded the return of the Corridor and Danzig (both q.v.). The Polish government resisted these demands and obtained a guarantee from Britain and France, followed by an alliance. On 1 September 1939 Hitler invaded Poland, and World War II began. Left without aid from its allies for the time being Poland quickly succumbed to the German attack, and by mid-September Russia marched into eastern Poland. The fourth partition of Poland ensued; it had been provided for by secret clauses of the German-Soviet pact of 23 August 1939. The Soviet Union annexed all Polish territories east of the Curzon Line (q.v.) and some others, where about 4 million Poles lived, besides 6 million Ukrainians and White Russians. Germany reannexed the territories lost in 1918 and also a large portion of western Poland called the *Warthegau*, which it began to settle with Germans. The rest of Poland was placed under a German Governor-General.

The Polish government fled to Rumania after the 1939 collapse. President Moscicki resigned and appointed an exiled Polish democratic politician living in Paris, Raczkiewicz, his successor. Marshal Smigly-Rydz was interned in Rumania and died soon after. President Raczkiewicz formed a government in exile out of politicians banished by the former régime, which promised democracy and reorganized a Polish army abroad. The Prime Minister, General Sikorski, lost his life during the war in an air accident, and was succeeded by the

peasant leader, Mikolayczyk. The Polish army gradually grew to 100,000 and fought by the side of the Allies in all theatres of war. After the outbreak of the German-Russian war in 1941 the Polish government in London made a treaty with the Soviet government providing for the organization of a Polish army in Russia also. Later in the war the Polish government in London withdrew the Polish forces serving in Russia, where a communist-controlled Polish national committee was set up and a new, communist Polish army was formed. The Polish resistance movement combating the Germans inside occupied Poland also became divided into a pro-London and a pro-Moscow camp. With the conquest of Poland by the Russians in 1944 the Moscow committee, which temporarily took its seat at Lublin, Poland, was recognized by the Soviet Union as the provisional Polish government (31 December 1944), while the western Allies for a time continued to recognize the London government which had been reorganized under the socialist, Arcziszewski. Gradually the Lublin committee assumed power in all Poland under Russian protection, and at the Conference of Yalta (q.v.) it was stipulated that it should be broadened by the inclusion of democratic elements from Poland and abroad, and that free and unfettered elections should be held in Poland. With this proviso, the Western Allies eventually recognized the Polish provisional government in Warsaw and withdrew recognition from the London government. (President Raczkiewicz died in London in June 1947.)

The Yalta decisions also provided for substantial accessions of territory to Poland at the expense of Germany to compensate Poland for loss of territory to Russia. The details of the new boundary were to be settled at the peace conference. Russia,



Map XV. Poland

however, induced Poland after the occupation of eastern Germany immediately to annex all German territories east of the Oder-Neisse line (except the northern half of East Prussia which Russia annexed for itself) and to expel the German population. Enraged by their previous suffering under the Nazis, the Poles retaliated in kind and great cruelties modelled on the Nazi pattern were reported. The methods applied during the expulsion caused repeated American and British protests. The unilateral drawing of the frontier has so far not been recognized by Great Britain and the United States who in the Potsdam decisions (q.v.) of 1945 consented only to temporary administration of the occupied territories by Poland. They also indicated that they favoured a frontier markedly farther to the east. Poland hastened to settle the German territories, especially Silesia, with Poles, but its present population is believed to be only one-half of the previous number, and production has fallen accordingly. (See Map XV.)

At the end of 1945 Mikolayczyk, the leader of the Polish Peasant Party, who had been Prime Minister in the London Polish government, joined the Warsaw government, but soon differences arose between his party and the government. The Polish government is essentially communist, although in name a coalition of parties whose policies are more or less co-ordinated with those of the communists. Nominally the republican constitution of 1921 is in force again, save that by a referendum in July 1946 the Senate was abolished. The former chairman of the Lublin Committee, B. Bierut, is President. Seven parties were permitted, viz. socialists, communists (known as the Polish Workers' Party), a Democratic Party, a Labour Party, a Catholic Labour Party, Mikolayczyk's Peasant Party and a new, communist-sponsored Peasant Party founded as a rival for Mikolayczyk's party. On 19 January 1947 a Polish parliament was elected. The British and American ambassadors protested repeatedly against the methods used in the preparation of the election. The election was held under strong government pressure; the opposition was paralysed by arrests and prohibitions, its candidates were cancelled from one-half of the lists and the voters were intimidated. The government bloc polled 9,004,000 votes and secured 394 seats, of which 122 went to the Communist Workers' Party (P.P.L.) led by Vice-Premier Gomielka, 122 to the Socialist Party (P.P.S.) led by Premier Osubka-Morawski, 40 to the Democratic Party (P.S.D.) led by Foreign Minister Rzymowski, and 110 to the Peasant Party (S.L.) composed of ex-members of Mikolayczyk's party. His own party polled 1,155,000 votes and secured 28 seats; the Catholic Labour Party (left-wing Catholic) obtained 531,000 votes and 12 seats, the New Liberation Party (dissident Peasants) 398,000 votes and 7 seats, others 3 seats. Mikolayczyk protested against the methods of the election and resigned. A new coalition was formed by the government bloc and the Catholic Labour Party under the socialist Cyrankiewicz. Mikolayczyk opposed also the enactment of an interim constitution giving extensive powers to the government and to a State Council, but supported a very liberal guarantee of rights. Yet the treatment of the opposition continued to deteriorate until in October 1947 Mikolayczyk and others fled to London after many of his supporters led by Wycoch and Niecke had turned against him.

The greater part of the Polish army abroad, under General Anders, refused to return home in the circumstances, and remained in Britain under the name of Polish Resettlement Corps; the corps is being disbanded and its members are being transferred to civilian occupations or emigrating overseas. An underground movement against the communist-controlled régime in Poland has been in evidence for some time and has been credited by the Polish government in Warsaw with connections with General Anders's Poles and the Anglo-Saxon powers. Numerous arrests, trials and also armed clashes were reported in this regard in 1946 and 1947. The opposition is said to include a National Liberation Movement (NSZ) and a 'National Defence Organization' (WIN), and the existence of a secret 'Ukrainian Independence Army' (UPA) has also been reported. The exiled Polish government continues to exist in London, with Zaleski as president of the republic and Tomaszewski as prime minister. This government is recognized by Spain, Ireland, and the Vatican. There is also a Polish national council in London, on which socialists, national and Christian democrats are represented.

The Polish government in Warsaw has carried out drastic social reforms, nationalized most of the industries and shared out the land among the peasants. A referendum held in July 1946 with the usual amount of government influence resulted in 77 per cent for the nationalization and 91 per cent for the Oder-Neisse frontier. The Polish government always lines up with the Soviet Union in foreign affairs. Close economic collaboration with Czechoslovakia is official policy and the two countries have agreed on a canal to link the Danube with the Oder.

In September 1948 Vice-Premier Gomulka was accused of opposing collectivist policies in agriculture and was deposed from his post of secretary-general of the Communist Party. In December the Socialist and Communist Parties were fused, with President Beirut as chairman of the united party. In the autumn of 1949, Russia's Polish-born Marshal Rokossovsky was appointed Polish war minister.

POLITICAL BOSSES AND POLITICAL MACHINES, a phenomenon of American politics on the state and local levels. A politician gains power by devious and corrupt methods and governs his community by means of a political machine. He packs the legislature and public offices, including the law courts and police force, with his nominees, and sometimes assumes high office himself, though many bosses prefer to remain in the background. In power, he rules in the interests of himself and any section that is prepared to pay for his aid, although he may use the name of one of the great parties. Such practices are possible because of the political apathy of the electorate in many places. Among famous bosses were Tweed of New York's Tammany Hall (q.v.), Huey Long of Louisiana and Platt of New York.

POLL TAX, a tax on the individual, regardless of his income. In the U.S. it is levied in some states and although quite small (about $1) is used to disfranchise negroes, since payment of it is made a qualification of voting and it is not properly collected.

POPULAR DEMOCRACY, another name for Communist dictatorship. According to communist theory, a half-way house on the road to communism (q.v.).

POPULAR FRONT, a name given by the communists to the political collaboration of communists, socialists and democrats against Nazism and fascism, 1935–8. The popular front policy, earlier rejected by communists as 'opportunism' and 'reformism', started in 1935. It was conditioned by the failure of previous revolutionary communist policies, especially in Germany, and the increasing threat to the Soviet Union from Hitler, which Stalin sought to counter by an alliance with the West. The popular front platform provided for the defence of capitalistic democracy and moderate reforms, while the adoption of socialism was left out for the time being. Popular front governments were formed in 1936 in France and Spain. The Spanish popular front was defeated by General Franco in the Spanish civil war, 1936–9, while the French popular front, which gave but insufficient support to the Spanish, gradually lost momentum and dissolved in 1938. Its reforms included the 40-hour week, nationalization of armament industries and the Bank of France. In Britain Sir Stafford Cripps led a popular front campaign. It has been suggested that the popular front policy was adopted three years too late by its communist originators. Applied in Germany in 1932, it would probably have prevented Nazism.

POPULATION PROBLEMS. The present century has been marked by a growing appreciation of the possibility, indeed the probability, of a great reduction in the numbers of the peoples of Europe and the areas outside Europe inhabited by Europeans. The nineteenth century was a period of increasing populations; that increase was world wide and had started about the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the plague, which had previously often greatly reduced the population of Europe and Asia, died away. The increase was greatest amongst peoples of European origin and was due to the maintenance of a high birth rate while the death rate was being reduced. These two processes were due to better food (the wider use of vegetables as human food, the winter feeding of livestock), to better clothing (the use of cotton, which could be washed easily, instead of wool which could not), to improvements in sanitation and medical science. Thus the population of Britain increased

eightfold in two hundred years—from about 6 millions in 1750 to 50 millions to-day; Europe, which had about 140 million people in 1750 had 530 millions in 1939; the U.S.A., recruited from Europe, had 4 millions in 1790 and 132 millions in 1940.

In this century, the rising standard of life due to applied science, enterprise, and social reform has led to a change in population trends—a change which started in the more advanced countries in the late nineteenth century. Although the populations of most Western countries are still increasing, they will shortly start to decline. This is due to each generation failing to reproduce itself. There has been a decline in the birthrate so great that every 1,000 inhabitants of Britain are producing only 800 to succeed them. The population is still increasing because of the low death rate and the present large numbers of young adults raising families. But the population is ageing and insufficient children are being born to replace those who die. This trend, common to all economically developed countries, has been ascribed to the desire of adults to limit their families so that each member can enjoy a higher material standard of living, or so that the parents have less trouble, or so that children will not be born into a world of war and economic insecurity; such limitation is now possible through easy birth control practices. The decline in fertility (production of children) has also been ascribed to a decline in fecundity (the power to produce) due to modern foods and urban conditions of life; but this theory has not been proved.

In many countries attempts have been made to reverse this trend by encouraging parenthood (family allowances, free food and education, other social services) and discouraging bachelorhood (taxes on unmarried persons). These attempts have failed, both in totalitarian Germany and Italy and in democratic Sweden. The failure to reproduce of the peoples of Western Europe, the British Dominions and the U.S.A., has not yet affected other countries. In the U.S.S.R., Eastern Europe and Latin America population trends are like those of the West in the later nineteenth century—the death rate is falling rapidly because of better living conditions and the birth rate is falling slowly, so that the population is still increasing quickly, but will start to decline in a few generations' time. World War II will probably hasten the decline in Western Europe and reduce the increase in Eastern Europe. In Eastern and Southern Asia, and to a less extent in Africa, the populations are rapidly increasing and will continue to do so as industrialization proceeds, save in so far as they are reduced by famine resulting from population outstripping food supply or by the adoption of birth control practices. The pressure of increasing population on the land is a chief cause of the social troubles of China, Japan, Burma and India (all q.v.; see also *Communism*, last paragraph).

Note. Some technical terms: (1) *birth rate* —the number of births per 1,000 people; (2) *death rate*—the number of deaths per 1,000 people; (3) *natural increase* or *decrease* between two years—the increase or decrease of the population expressed as a rate per 1,000 of the earlier population; (4) *gross reproduction rate*—the difference between (1) and (2); (5) maternal net reproduction rate—the proportion of daughters, born to the women of this generation, who are likely to survive to become the potential mothers of the next generation, expressed usually as a decimal—thus a N.R.P. of ·8 means that for every 1,000 women there have been born only 800 daughters who will survive to child-bearing age and that the population will decline. (It is with this figure that future population statistics are compiled, since it enables the effect of an unusually large or small number of men or of old or young people to be discounted.)

PORTUGAL, 34,700 sq. m., population 8,000,000. The capital is Lisbon. The monarchy (last king: Manuel II of the House of Braganza) was overthrown in 1910, and Portugal has been a republic since. Between 1910 and 1926 there were twenty-six revolutions and *coups d'état*, most of them rather bloodless. The last democratic government was overthrown in 1926 by a military *coup* which brought the present President, General Carmona, to power. Like its predecessors, the new government was incapable of ending the national bankruptcy, and in 1926 it had to give full financial power to Dr. Salazar (q.v.), who succeeded in restoring the finances. In 1932 he was appointed Prime Minister, having made himself the real dictator of Portugal, which he converted by the constitution of 1933 (the *Estado Novo*, the new state) into

an authoritarian, corporate republic of a fascist type. His *União Nacional* is the only permitted party; it has a militia known as the Portuguese Legion, and a youth organization known as the *Mocidado Portuguese*, to which all young people from seven to twenty must belong. The Portuguese population grows at the rate of 90,000 per year. Fifty-three per cent of the people are still illiterate.

Under the present system the parliament consists of a National Assembly and a Chamber of Corporations. The Assembly has 120 members and nominally has the right of legislation. It is elected for four years by all male Portuguese who can read and write, or are taxpayers; over one-half of the Assembly consists of government servants. The Chamber of Corporations has 79 members representing local 'autarchies' and vocational associations; it deals with economic and social affairs and may also examine other bills. The President of Portugal is chosen for seven years. Since 1926, General Antonio de Fragoso Carmona, born 1870, has always been re-elected. Salazar embodies a Catholic authoritarian régime; the position of the Roman Church is very strong in Portugal. Salazar's policy aims at gradual reform and at the strengthening of Portuguese national consciousness. The great history of ancient Portugal is invoked by government propaganda, which also attempts to focus attention on the vast Portuguese colonial empire, the third largest in the world.

There is an underground opposition movement known as the M.U.D. (*Movimento Unidade Democratica*—Democratic Unity Movement), embracing several parties from the liberals to the communists. At the election in the summer of 1946 this movement was given a short period of freedom of propaganda, which was, however, quickly followed by a new wave of repression. The opposition boycotted the election, at which only 60 per cent of the electorate voted. At the election of 13 February 1949 General Carmona stood again for the presidency. The M.U.D. put up 81-year-old General Norton de Matos as its candidate. Matos withdrew one day before the election, stating that the government had not given the opposition sufficient freedom. Carmona was re-elected by an 80 per cent vote. There is a political police known as the P.U.D.E., under Colonel Moniz, and there are many thousands of political prisoners in Portugal. The election for the Assembly in November 1949 was again boycotted by the democratic opposition. Only a few conservative Independents were allowed to stand besides the government party, which won its usual victory.

A law of March 1949 permitted members of the former ruling dynasty of Braganza to reside in Portugal, which had been forbidden since 1910. The pretender is Dom Duarte (Prince Edward).

The empire consists of the Azores—islands in the North Atlantic which are part of Portugal and in which Portugal granted naval bases to the Allies in 1945, —the Madeira Islands, also part of Portugal and further south; and the Cape Verde Islands, a colony (1,600 sq. m., pop. 181,000) further south again. On the African mainland are Portuguese Guinea with the islands of St. Tome and Principe (total area of those two colonies, 14,300 sq. m., pop. 402,000), Angola (Portuguese West Africa) (298,000 sq. m., pop. 5,086,000). In Asia Portugal has several ports in India—the chief is Goa, the port of Macao in South China, and the eastern part of the island of Timor in the East Indies.

In foreign policy Portugal is traditionally allied to England: the alliance dates back to the fourteenth century. It provides for mutual aid if one of the two countries is attacked. In World War I Portugal participated on the Allied side; in World War II she stayed neutral. (Some of her maritime possessions were temporarily occupied by belligerents; the Allies occupied the Azores and Timor by consent, while the Japanese temporarily took by force Macao and, later, Timor.) There are close cultural ties with Portuguese-speaking Brazil. Portugal's application for admission to the United Nations was vetoed by Russia. In 1949 Portugal acceded to the North Atlantic Treaty (q.v.). She has a treaty of friendship and non-aggression with Spain.

POTSDAM DECISIONS, the preliminary decisions on the shaping of the peace in Europe after World War II, taken by a conference of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, held in Potsdam, near Berlin, in July 1945. The conference began on July 1945 at Caecilienhof Palace in Potsdam, the Allied leaders present

being President Truman, Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin; on 25 July Churchill returned to England pending the announcement of the result of the British general election, and when this proved to have been a victory of the Labour Party, Churchill resigned, and on 28 July the new Prime Minister, Attlee, returned to the conference in his stead. Attlee had already taken part as an observer in the first half of the conference. The conference ended on 2 August 1945. The main points of the decisions were as follows:

A council of the foreign ministers of the five principal Allied Powers, including France and China, is to draw up the peace treaties; the German treaty is to be accepted by the German government as soon as an adequate German government has been created. German Nazism and militarism are to be destroyed; the requisite steps are to be taken to ensure that Germany will never again menace her neighbours or the peace of the world. The Allies do not intend, it was stated, to destroy or enslave the German people; it is to have a chance of eventually rebuilding its life on a peaceful and democratic basis and in due course to resume its place among the free and peaceful nations of the world. For the time being, the four Allied commanders-in-chief exercise supreme power in Germany. As far as possible the population is to be treated equally in all four zones of occupation. The object of occupation is the complete disarmament and demilitarization of Germany; the removal or control of all industries which might be used for military purposes; the disbandment of all armed forces, Nazi Party troops and similar organizations; the taking over or destruction of all stocks of weapons and other munitions of war, and of all plant for their production; annihilation of the Nazi Party and all its organizations; preparation of the reconstruction of German political life on a democratic basis; abolition of Nazi laws; trial of war criminals; denazification of the administration; decentralization of Germany's political structure; restoration of local self-government; admission and encouragement of all democratic parties; the setting-up of *Land* governments in the states of Germany, but no central government for the time being; the establishment of some central agencies, however, to deal with economic tasks; restoration of free labour unions, a free Press, and freedom of expression of opinion as far as compatible with military security.

Industrial and commercial provisions for Germany included the following items: prohibition of the manufacture of any kind of weapons or other munitions of war, of the construction of aircraft of any kind and of seagoing ships; strict control of the manufacture of all metals, chemicals and machinery which might be of importance for warlike use; the fixing of a permitted level of industry for Germany and the removal as reparations, or the destruction of all industrial plant exceeding the capacity deemed necessary for this level; decentralization of economic monopolies; the shifting of economic emphasis to agriculture and peaceful domestic industries. It was stipulated that Germany should be treated as an economic unit and a common economic policy should be laid down for all four zones. Germany's standard of living was not to exceed the average standard of living in Europe, reckoned without England and Russia. Equal distribution of goods between the zones was to be ensured with a view to reducing the need for imports. Further provisions were the following: The development of a war potential in Germany is to be prevented, and scientific research is to be controlled. Reparations should leave enough means to Germany to subsist without external help. The proceeds of exports is to be used in the first place for the payment of imports. Russia's reparations claims are to be satisfied by the removal of industrial plant in the Russian zone, and Russia undertakes to satisfy Poland's reparations claims out of this quota. The reparations claims of the other Allies are to be satisfied in the western zones. Of industrial plant defined as 'surplus' to the permitted level of industry in the western zones, 25 per cent are to go to Russia, especially metallurgical, chemical and engineering plant; of this quota, 10 per cent need not be paid for, while Russia undertakes to supply to the western zones various products of the eastern zone of Germany, such as potash, zinc, foodstuffs and timber, in exchange for the remaining 15 per cent. Dismantling of plant for reparations is to start as early as possible and to be completed within two years. The Allied Control Council is to determine which plant is to be dismantled; actual dismantling is subject to

the approval of the zonal commander. (On details of dismantling and on the level of industry, see *Reparations*.) The German navy and merchant fleet is to be shared out among the Allies.

Territorial provisions were as follows: The western Allies agree in principle to the eventual transfer to the Soviet Union of Königsberg and the East Prussian coast, and will support this proposition at the peace conference. Poland's western boundary will be finally laid down by the peace treaty. Pending this, German territory east of the Oder-Neisse line (q.v.) is placed under the administration of Poland and does not form part of the Soviet zone of occupation. It is recognized that transfers of populations, or parts of populations, from former German territories may be necessary, but such transfers are to be carried out in an orderly and humane manner. The peace treaties with Italy and the former German satellites are to be tackled first. The decisions also made provision for international talks on a revision of the Convention of Montreux relating to the Dardanelles (q.v.).

A number of important provisions of the Potsdam decisions have remained unfulfilled, and while the decisions are still sometimes invoked at international conferences, general world opinion is that they have in fact become obsolete.

POWER POLITICS, (*a*) the policy of maintaining and expanding national power for power's sake; (*b*) the sum total of international relations in a world consisting of sovereign states whose existence depends on power; (*c*) by a more narrow definition, the use of threats and force for the achievement of political objects in international relations, without consideration of right and justice. The term is a translation of German *Machtpolitik*. It is customary to speak of sovereign nations as Powers. Critics of power politics wish to substitute for it the rule of ethics, law and justice in international relations. One school of thought holds that power politics is the only possible form of international politics in a world composed of independent sovereign states, and that moral or ideological motivations of any kind are but a veil for national power politics. The trend of modern opinion is that only a real world-state, based on freedom, justice and equality, can end power politics. (See *Balance of Power, Geopolitics, Sovereignty*.)

PRASAD, Rajendra, M.A., LL.D., President of India (q.v.), born 1884, a lawyer, joined Gandhi (q.v.) before 1920, became one of the leaders of the Indian National Congress, was several times imprisoned: President of Congress, 1932, 1934, 1939, 1947; Minister of Agriculture in Indian Government 1946-8, Chairman, Constituent Assembly 1946-9; unanimously elected first President of India, 26 January 1950.

PRESIDENTIAL GOVERNMENT. (See *Parliamentary Government*.)

PRESSURE GROUP, a term applied, especially in the U.S., to any group or organization bringing pressure to bear on legislators or public officials to influence legislation and policy in the interests of a section of the public. (See *Lobbying*.)

PRIMARIES, short for primary elections, an American institution designed to safeguard the purity of the nomination of candidates for the actual election. Often corrupt politicians and vested interests, through 'political machines', secured the nomination of their candidates, and these alone were available for election. About the turn of the century, the movement for primaries began in order to end these manipulations. At a primary election not the holder of an office is chosen, but the candidate who will run for it in the real election. In primaries, normally only party adherents take part, while the real election is held with the participation of the people at large. The primaries, then, are tantamount to the election of party candidates by the party members. Although party affairs, they are arranged, supervised and paid for by the state, and are regulated by legislation.

There are three types of primaries: (1) *the closed primary*, the archtype of primary, held only for one party at a time. (2) *The open primary*, usual only in a few states. It is open to all without any questions being asked about party adherence. (3) *The non-partisan primary*, differing from (2) mainly in there being only one ballot; the voter may, however, choose any candidate appearing on it. The two last-named kinds of primary (and closed primaries in states dominated by one party) are, if not equivalent to the real election, usually indicative of its outcome. All kinds of primary may be either

direct primaries, in which the candidates for office are chosen, or *indirect primaries* choosing delegates for nominating conventions, it usually being known for whom the delegate will vote at the convention. This applies especially to the *presidential primaries*, now held in some twenty states sending one-half of the delegates to national conventions. Their object is to indicate the voters' choice of a presidential nominee. The primaries have considerably improved political standards, though they have failed to eliminate all evils.

PRIME MINISTER, in Great Britain and many other countries with parliamentary government (q.v.), the name given to the principal minister. The French term *Premier*, short for *Premier Ministre*, is often used; in Australia the term 'Prime Minister' is popularly reserved for the head of the Commonwealth government, and the term 'Premier' for the prime ministers of the states.

Although Sir Robert Walpole, who was chief minister 1721–42, is regarded as the first British Prime Minister, it was not until 1907 that the office was recognized in an Act of Parliament, and its holder draws his salary of £10,000 as First Lord of the Treasury (sometimes he holds another office—in 1924 Ramsay MacDonald was Foreign Secretary also). He is appointed by the sovereign whose choice, however, is limited since by convention he chooses the leader of the largest party in the House of Commons or, if that party has no leader (as was the case of the Conservative Party in 1923), the person who he thinks will obtain the support of that party. The Prime Minister determines the composition of the government and exercises a general control of the policy of the government as a whole and of individual ministers; the more important Crown appointments are filled on his nomination and he advises the sovereign on the distribution of honours; until recently he was usually Leader of the House of Commons (q.v.), but Attlee, like Churchill before him, has delegated that office to another minister. (See *Cabinet, Privy Council.*)

PRIMROSE LEAGUE, an organization founded in 1883 to commemorate the memory of Disraeli, the conservative imperialist and social reformer who was Prime Minister 1868 and 1874–80 and whose favourite flower was the primrose. (19 April, the anniversary of his death in 1881, is observed as Primrose Day.) It was founded by Lord Randolph Churchill, the exponent of Tory Democracy (q.v.) whose son, W. S. Churchill (q.v.), is now Grand Master of the League.

PRIVILEGE, PARLIAMENTARY, in Britain 'the sum of the peculiar rights enjoyed by each House collectively as a constituent part of the High Court of Parliament, and by members of each House individually, without which they could not discharge their functions, and which exceed those possessed by other bodies or individuals' (Erskine May—q.v.). Breach of privilege by a member of either House or by any other person is a serious offence, punishable by the House concerned. Each has a Committee of Privileges, appointed each session, to which is referred any conduct that appears a breach of privilege (a *prima facie* breach); the report of the Committee is discussed by the House, which may or may not take action upon it. In 1947 one M.P. (G. Allighan) was expelled and another (E. Walkden) reprimanded by the House of Commons for breach of privilege.

PRIVY COUNCIL, in Britain a council advising the King—privy because its advice is given secretly and its members take an oath of secrecy. They are styled 'Right Honourable' and addressed 'My dear Cousin' by the King. As a full body the Council meets only for the proclamation of a new monarch, but selected groups of members are constantly being summoned for various purposes of government, since many of the powers of the Crown (q.v.) are exercisable only by the King in Council. There are several committees of the Council, e.g. the Board of Trade, which do not, however, actually meet, their powers being exercised by their presidents. The chief committee which actually works as a committee is the Judicial Committee, composed of the chief judges of the United Kingdom and representative judges from the Commonwealth and Empire. It is the highest judicial authority for the overseas territories, just as the House of Lords (q.v.) is the highest authority for the United Kingdom (save for ecclesiastical cases which go to the Committee). Appeal to the Committee may be

'by right' or 'by special leave' of the court from which the appeal is being made. Canada has abolished appeals; in the other Dominions appeal is restricted; this is because the Committee is regarded as a British rather than a Commonwealth institution. The Cabinet (q.v.) is regarded as an informal committee of the Privy Council. Membership of the latter is automatically conferred on cabinet ministers, and is conferred on other persons for political and public services.

Some Dominions also have Privy Councils, but the members of their Councils are styled 'Honourable' and not 'Right Honourable'.

PROGRESSIVE PARTIES, the parties standing for the programme of reforms and the way of living commonly associated with the word progress. The philosophy of progress implies the vision of a better, if not ideal, humanity living rationally in freedom, peace, harmony and prosperity, and conceives of mankind as being on the march toward such a goal. The policy of progressive parties aims at removing institutions which they consider to be obstacles in this path, and the adoption of new institutions nearer to their ideal. A certain optimism concerning human nature underlies the policies of progressive parties. Apart from ancient and Christian sources, the Age of Reason is their main inspiration. Their social basis usually lies in the middle classes, especially during the period of their rise, and the working classes. Progressive parties as understood to-day, and largely synonymous with 'left-wing' parties, include liberals, radicals, socialists and communists, though the interpretation of 'progress' differs from party to party. The opposite are the conservative parties (q.v.), which desire to maintain the existing order of things, but often profess sympathy with gradual, orderly progress.

Parties calling themselves Progressive played a great part in the political reforms of the nineteenth century in many European countries. In America, an ephemeral party of that name was launched in 1912 as a 'third party' (Theodore Roosevelt's 'Bull Moose' party) on a platform of political and social reforms nearly all of which have since been enacted by other parties. A Progressive Party, led by the La Follette brothers and concentrated in Wisconsin, broke away from the Republicans in 1934 after some years of nominal allegiance. Having done badly in elections after 1938, it returned to the Republican fold in 1946. In 1947 another Progressive Party was founded by Henry Wallace (q.v.), who polled 1,100,000 votes in the 1948 presidential election.

PROHIBITION, the illegalization of the manufacture, transport and sale of alcoholic liquors. In most countries these activities are regulated, in some they are prohibited. In Britain there is general regulation and, in Scotland alone, local option (q.v.). In the U.S.A., the whole country adopted prohibition by the 18th amendment to the constitution (1920); this 'experiment noble in motive' had to be abandoned by the 21st amendment (1933) because widespread evasion of the new law was leading to general lawlessness. Some states have retained prohibition and a Prohibition Party still exists—in the 1948 presidential election its candidate polled 75,000 votes.

PROLETARIAT, from Latin *proletarius*, one who serves the state with offspring (*proles*) and not property, a term applied to the propertyless working class dependent on the sale of labour. The exact delimitation of the proletariat is uncertain—often the term means only the industrial workers, with or without office workers, sometimes it means also the agricultural workers and even peasants with small property. In Marxism (q.v.) the proletariat is opposed to the bourgeoisie (q.v.), the employing class, and will eventually overthrow it. In the process the poorer part of the bourgeoisie will become merged in the proletariat. (See also *Class.*)

PRONUNCIAMENTO, Spanish for proclamation, a military *coup d'état* (q.v.) in Spain and Latin America, so called because it usually begins with the proclamation of a new government and its policy.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION, an electoral system under which seats in the legislature or other elected body are distributed among the parties in accordance with the proportions of the total votes cast that they received, so as to ensure the representation of minorities. In the simple plurality (q.v.) system, usual in Britain and the

United States, the candidate with most votes wins even though the other candidates together may have more support. A number of devices have been invented to provide representation for minorities. Among them are (1) the limited vote—in multi-member constituencies each elector has votes one less in number than the number of seats to be filled; this does not prevent a party monopolizing the representation of that constituency, as was shown in Britain 1868–85, but requires that the majority be large; (2) the cumulative vote—each elector has as many votes as there are candidates and can distribute them as he pleases; as with the limited vote, this can be used by well-disciplined parties to secure monopoly; (3) the second ballot—if at the first ballot no candidate has an absolute majority a second ballot is taken later at which by legal compulsion or agreement with each other the least popular candidates withdraw and a plurality suffices in the election of one from the remainder; this has been much practised in Europe, especially in France, and leads to bargaining among the parties, support here being traded for support there; (4) the alternative vote—the voter indicates his preferences among the candidates for a single seat; this gives him more freedom of choice than the second ballot but does not guarantee proportional representation. All these devices are crude amendments of the plurality system, designed to prevent unduly disproportionate representation. True systems of proportional representation are (5) the single transferable vote (it is this that is generally meant by 'P.R.' in Britain)—in multi-member constituencies the elector indicates the order in which he prefers the candidates, and in successive counts by the electoral officials the candidates with most preferences are elected and their surpluses over the minimum quota necessary for election transferred according to the voters' preferences until all the seats are filled; this system is used in the election of M.P.s for some of the British universities and in Eire, among other countries; (6) similar systems in which electors vote not for individual candidates but for lists proposed by the parties, to which seats are then allocated according to the proportions of votes they have obtained.

P.R. systems were developed in the nineteenth century, when they were adopted in several states. After World War I, most continental European countries, in so far as they had not had it before, adopted P.R., mostly of the type (6). France did so after World War II; she had previously had the second ballot, except from 1919 to 1929 when a hybrid form of P.R. was used. West Germany has a mixed P.R.-plurality system, and other compromises have been adopted elsewhere.

The upholders of P.R. argue that it is the most democratic system of representation, and that legislatures thus elected will truly mirror the political composition of the people. A party obtaining, say, 40 per cent of the votes will obtain 40 per cent of the seats under P.R., while under the plurality system of election it will usually obtain much more or much less. Opponents argue that P.R. unduly strengthens the power of party organizations, since it is party headquarters that compile the list of candidates; that P.R. eliminates personal contact between the voter and the candidates because the constituencies have to be so large; and also that it promotes political fragmentation of the country by favouring small parties. The plurality system is credited with favouring a simple two-party system, since only large parties can hope for any substantial number of seats under it; as a result, there are clear majorities in the legislatures and political bargaining for coalitions, which may be unstable, is unnecessary. It is further argued that if there is any large trend towards a change, it may find adequate expression in plurality elections. In reply to the first charge, the advocates of list systems of P.R. say that the modern voter consciously chooses a party platform rather than an individual candidate, since in any case he has not a serious chance of getting to know the candidate properly; supporters of the single transferable vote say that this system retains the personal factor and does not give control to the party organizations. In reply to the third charge, the adherents of P.R. claim that while it is true that non-P.R. parliaments make government easier, it is also true that they often involve the government of minorities over majorities, an actual minority of votes securing a majority of seats. Comparatively small shifts in the vote may sway government decisively. The debate on P.R. has never ended, Anglo-Saxon countries are traditionally opposed to P.R., although it has its

friends there also. In Britain the single transferable vote is proposed by the Liberal, Common Wealth and Communist Parties, which all suffer from under-representation in the present system. The Conservative and Labour Parties favour the existing system which has given them in turn large majorities and unquestioned power.

PROTECTION. (See *Free Trade.*)

PROUDHON, Pierre-Joseph, French labour leader, theoretician of socialism (q.v.) and anarchism (q.v.), born 15 January 1809 at Besançon, the son of a cooper, died 19 January 1865 in Paris. He was first a typesetter, then a shop assistant, and soon became interested in political and social questions. In 1840 he published a pamphlet called *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* (What is property?), containing the famous answer: '*La propriété, c'est le vol.*' (Property is theft.) Yet Proudhon rejected communism, in which he saw a menace to freedom, no less than capitalist property. In 1846 he wrote a book called *Système des contradictions économiques ou Philosophie de la misère*, advocating a middle road between socialist doctrine and classical economics. This was to consist in an economic system mixed of socialist and individualist elements, doing away with money and interest, 'the two despots of social life'. Interest-free loans and 'just' exchange of products between independent small producers, organized by 'popular banks' and co-operative associations were to create a prospering, harmonious society in which all laws and government institutions would become superfluous. Proudhon rejected forcible revolution and expected peaceful social transformation from his popular banks and co-operatives. This work caused Karl Marx (q.v.) to write a reply under the title *Les contradictions économiques ou la misère de la philosophie*, which became the first systematical exposition of Marxism (q.v.).

Proudhon did not call his system socialism, but mutualism, yet he later agreed to being called a socialist. He was elected to the French National Assembly of 1848 and tried to win it over to his popular bank scheme. He opposed state socialism and any interference with social arrangements by the state, even a democratic state. Finally he limited his attack on property to big property acquired by the exploitation of others, while he defended small property acquired by the owner's labour; now he said: '*La propriété, c'est la liberté.*' (Property is freedom.) Toward the end of his life he somewhat moderated his anarchist views and advocated a democratic federation of small self-governing units, such as the townships, as the best system of government. Such national federations ought eventually to federate on an international basis. ('The twentieth century will inaugurate the era of federations.') He now also thought the use of force permissible in certain cases.

In his last years Proudhon welcomed the *Manifeste des 60*, which announced the secession of working-class organizations from France's republican opposition, and his last book, *De la capacité politique de la classe ouvrière* (On the Political Capacity of the Working Class) underscored working-class socialism. Proudhon's teaching had great influence on the French labour movement whose representatives in the First International advocated self-aid, popular banks and co-operatives, while they opposed revolution and proletarian dictatorship. Marx refuted these ideas as 'petty bourgeois'. Later Proudhonism was eclipsed by Marxism, but anarchists and syndicalists harked back to it. Proudhon has also influenced co-operative socialism and the co-operative movement in general, and the various movements for social credit (q.v.) have also taken leaves out of his books.

PUBLIC CORPORATION, in Great Britain the body responsible for the conduct of a nationalized industry. (See *Nationalization.*) It usually consists of a board of former civil servants, business men, labour leaders and technicians, appointed by a minister. It is a financially autonomous non-profit making body created to provide a monopoly of goods or services on a commercial basis, ultimately responsible through a Minister to Parliament and the public but free from full and continuous Ministerial control. This structure was developed to meet the needs of services which could best be performed by a monopoly, which although under public control was free to operate on commercial lines and was not subject to constant political supervision, like an ordinary government department. One of the first corporations was the Port of London Authority (1908); among later

examples were the B.B.C. (1927) and the London Passenger Transport Board (1933). From 1946 onwards public corporations were established to conduct the newly nationalized industries.

PUBLIC OPINION POLL, or **Straw Vote,** an unofficial test poll taken by institutes or other organizations engaged in the study of public opinion with a view to ascertaining the trend of public feeling. Straw votes are based on sampling and have until 1948 been rather accurate in foretelling the outcome of American elections. Gallup Polls, Fortune Surveys and the polls conducted by the National Opinion Research Centre, the Office of Public Research, and A. Crossley, are among the best-known enterprises of this kind. The polls have been used in Britain and other countries also. Governments have used them for social inquiries—e.g. the British Wartime Social Survey. Mass-observation is another method of discovering opinion and habits, not by the explicit questioning of the polls but by recording whatsoever people do or say that is interesting to the observer. The prestige of American polls was badly shaken when all pollsters confidently predicted a Republican victory in the U.S. presidential election in November 1948, and were disproved by Democrat Truman's surprise victory. It has been argued that such institutes, once established, may not only gauge but help to make political trends.

PUERTO RICO, known until 1932 as Porto Rico, an American dependency at the boundary between the Atlantic and the Caribbean. The island is of strategic importance and has been called 'America's Gibraltar'. Area 3,434 sq. m., population 1,900,000. The capital of the island is San Juan. Seventy-six per cent of the population are white, mostly Spanish-speaking, while the rest are negro or mulatto—31 per cent are illiterate. Puerto Rico was Spanish until 1898 and ceded to the United States after the Spanish-American war. Until 1917 it was governed by a governor, commission and popularly elected chamber; then Congress passed an Organic Act known as the Jones Act and granted a bill of rights not including indictment and trial by jury.

Now Puerto Rico has an elected legislature consisting of a Senate of 19 members and a House of Representatives of 39 members. The President of the United States no longer appoints the governor but still appoints the higher judges and some other officers; the governor appoints the lower judges. The governor and the President may veto acts of the legislature, and Congress may disallow them. Puerto Rico elects a resident commissioner to the House of Representatives in Washington, who may speak but not vote. Technically, Puerto Rico is an organized but unincorporated territory of the United States, and Puerto Ricans are American citizens. Still, the inhabitants resent what they regard as colonial status, and there is a strong movement for independence or at least statehood within the United States.

The background of Puerto Rican discontent is social as well as political and racial. The island is overpopulated; it is indeed one of the most densely populated countries in the world, counting 520 inhabitants to the square mile as against 41 in the United States. A large proportion of the land is owned by big landowners and American plantation companies; a law limiting land holdings to 500 acres was passed in 1900 but never enforced, and the same seems to apply to a law on land reform passed in 1941. Puerto Ricans complain of domination and exploitation by American sugar companies and other business concerns. The extremely depressed conditions in which the great majority of the population live have been the object of much criticism in the United States and elsewhere. At President Roosevelt's request, the United States Senate passed a law, early in 1944, enabling the Puerto Ricans to elect the governor, but the House of Representatives in Washington shelved the bill and also remained indifferent to later recommendations by President Truman that Puerto Rico should be given an opportunity of choosing by referendum between several forms of autonomy, including statehood. The Puerto Rican legislature in 1946 passed an act making Spanish the official language of instruction in the schools, but this act was vetoed by President Truman. In 1947, Congress passed the law on the popular election of the governor of Puerto Rico. He is elected for a term of 4 years, and appoints the heads of the departments of the island government.

The largest party in the island is the Popular Democratic Party, led by Luis

Muñoz Marin and standing for independence. It won the 1944 election and controls the legislature. The conservative Republican Union, representing big business and the middle classes, stands for statehood. It is led by Rafael Martinez Nadal. It used to be allied for elections with socialists and liberals, and the anti-Muñoz groups are known as the *coalicionistas*. A radical nationalist faction is led by Campos, who has served a term of imprisonment for his activities. On 2 January 1949 the island elected its own governor for the first time. The office went to Marin, who announced a large programme of reforms and improvements.

Q

QUADRIPARTITE, a treaty, conference or body with four participants.

QUAI D'ORSAY, the seat of the French Foreign Ministry in Paris, often used as a symbol for French foreign policy.

QUAKERS, by their real name the Society of Friends, a Christian sect founded by George Fox in England in the seventeenth century. Emphasis is laid on practising Christian principles, while there is no dogma, sacrament or liturgy. The Friends rely on the 'inner light' or 'Christ within'. Meetings at which members sit in silent meditation take the place of services. Reports of cases of religious ecstasy during meetings in the early stage of the movement gave rise to the nickname 'Quakers'. The Friends have always been associated with humanitarian and reform movements, and sought to influence politics in accordance with their ideals. They were active in the anti-slavery movement, colonial reform, prison reform, pacifism, humanitarian work during wars and many kinds of social and philanthropic work. The Friends refuse to take oaths or to bear arms. They do not serve in armed forces, oppose war, and during and after wars call for justice and reconciliation. Their great work in relief and reconstruction in war-stricken areas after both world wars has made them a symbol of humanity and practical ethics throughout the world. During World War II they advocated a negotiated peace without new injustice. Quakers number about 20,000 in England, 110,000 in the U.S.A., and some 8,000 in British Commonwealth states. On the European continent the movement has only a few hundred members.

QUEEN-CONSORT, wife of a king (e.g. Queen Elizabeth, wife of King George VI). She is not a Sovereign in her own right, but the Sovereign's consort.

QUEEN-REGNANT, a queen who has succeeded to the throne in her own right and exercises the constitutional functions of the Sovereign (e.g. in Britain Queen Victoria, in the Netherlands the present Queen Juliana).

QUESTION TIME, in the British House of Commons the period in which members can question ministers on matters for which they are constitutionally responsible. It is held on the first four days of the week, shortly after the start of each day's business (2.30 p.m.) and lasts until 3.30 p.m. Notice of a question has to be given; a member who wants an oral reply to his question marks it with an asterisk when giving notice of it—the written answers to 'unstarred' questions are published in the daily reports of debates. A member may ask 'supplementary questions' based on the answer given to his original question, in the case of a question answered orally. Questions on matters of urgent importance or on the business of the House can be asked on the same day as notice of them is given to the Speaker and the Minister concerned, if the Speaker agrees. Members of the House of Lords can ask questions but there is not a special question time in that House.

QUISLING, Vidkun, a Norwegian Nazi leader who formed a government subservient to the Germans during their occupation of Norway in World War II; 'quisling' was later used of all politicians in occupied countries who collaborated with the Germans. Norway's Quisling was shot after the war.

QUORUM, term for the minimum number of members of a body whose presence is necessary for business to be transacted by that body. It is derived from the wording of the commission appointing justices of the peace, which contains the sentence: 'We have also assigned you, and every two or more of you (of whom [in Latin *quorum*] any one of you we will shall be one) our

justices to inquire the truth more fully.' The justices so named were usually called 'justices of the *quorum*', and the term was later given general application.

In the British Parliament the quorum in the House of Commons is 40; except in the first hours of each day's business any member can call for a count and if less than 40 members are present, or come at once to the Chamber, the House is 'counted out' and stands adjourned. In the House of Lords the quorum is 3 for business to be transacted, but 30 peers must vote in a contested division for the decision made to be valid.

QUOTA, term for the share or proportion assigned to each in a division, derived from the Latin *quotus*, which or what in number. Quota systems are a form of economic protection in which a country's imports of a commodity are limited quantitatively—only a certain proportion, a quota, of the country's total consumption can be imported, the rest must be home-produced. This quota may be subdivided—a lesser quota being allocated to each source of supply. In Britain a quota system was introduced in the 1930s for agriculture, as the government did not wish to tax imported food by establishing a protective tariff. Quota systems were widely developed in the inter-war years both for agricultural and for manufactured products. (See *Free Trade.*)

R

RACE, from Arabic *ras*, head or chapter, a term originating in biology and used to describe men and animals of the same stock or breed. Always underlying colonial policy, and the negro question (q.v.) in America, the notion of race was made a factor of European politics by the German National Socialists (1933–45). Building on the racial theories of such writers as Gobineau, Houston Stewart Chamberlain and Madison Grant, they declared race the prime factor of history, construed a 'Nordic' and an 'Aryan' race, and evolved a mystique of the 'blood'. (See *Nordic, Aryan.*) Racial theories served largely as a weapon of anti-semitism (q.v.) and as a justification of imperialist policies aiming at the domination of other peoples, which were represented as 'racially inferior'. Hitler's racial policy resulted in the mass murder of the Jews (q.v.) and countless crimes against other peoples.

From a scientific point of view, the term 'race', if applied to human beings, at least those of the same colour of skin, becomes rather vague. Although some of the types postulated by racial theorists exist in fact, it is difficult to classify larger groups of men of the same colour racially, since the boundaries between the various types are fluid and mixed types prevail. This applies to a large extent also to the racial classification of individuals. The character traits gratuitously associated with racial types are even more difficult to prove, and where they are more distinct the question remains whether they are of biological or rather of social and historical origin. There is scarcely any real racial science so far, and what passes under that name is usually a set of questionable theories inspired by prejudice and emotional reactions to the outer appearance of certain groups of human beings. The European peoples and the extra-European peoples descended from them are all mixed of several types, that is of several races if one insists on regarding the different types as the representatives of different races (which they are in no wise proved to be). The earlier division into linguistic groups, such as the Teutonic, Romanic or Slav races, has recently been abandoned in favour of a division into the Nordic, Alpine, Mediterranean, Dinaric and East Baltic races; even a few more races have been postulated: for instance, the Oriental and Hither Asiatic races. Nordics are believed to be tall, blond and blue-eyed; Dinarics are tall but dark; Alpines are medium-sized and dark; so are Mediterraneans; East Baltics are medium-sized and either blond or dark, leading over to the Mongols. The scientific validity of this classification is still a moot point, and most men are intermediate between these assumed basic types.

Race is nowhere among European peoples coextensive with nation; expressions such as 'the British race', 'the American race' or 'the German race' are biologically meaningless. They can signify only a national community, but a nation is not really built on uniform race but on a common history, culture, language, outlook, habits, consciousness; in short, mental, social and historical factors which are not transferred by heredity but by education. It is a product of nurture rather than nature. It is still an open question, for that matter, whether the preservation of racial purity, that is pure types of the kind mentioned before, or a policy of racial interbreeding is better for the development of peoples. History shows successful examples of either. One aspect of racial policy is eugenics, the study of breeding. The question arises whether eugenics should aim at certain select racial types or rather at healthy, good-looking and intelligent human beings of several or mixed types.

The racial problem is more acute where men of different colour are involved. The division into races according to colour is based on a more obvious criterion than that according to construed types. (See *Colour*

Bar.) However, classification is one thing and evaluation another, and the existence of distinct races does not mean that one is better than the other, or that one should hate or have contempt for the other. A scientific judgment of the significance of race as a factor of history is not yet possible.

RADICAL, from Latin *radix*, root, one who demands extensive reforms. In Britain the term, which was first used in 1796 by the Whig statesman Charles James Fox, has been applied especially to the more extreme members of the Whig and liberal parties. Thus the title 'Radical Action' was adopted in World War II by a group of left-wing liberals.

RAJAGOPALACHARIAR, Chakravanti ('C.R.'), Indian politician, born 1879, a member of the high Brahmin caste of Hindu society. He became a leading member of the Indian National Congress. He was Prime Minister, Minister of the Interior and of Finance in Madras 1937–9. In 1942 he resigned from the All-India Working Committee of Congress because he believed that the party should participate in the war effort if the British would form an Indian government representative of the parties and that the party should conciliate the Moslems, even to the extent of conceding Pakistan. He later returned to the Committee. In the coalition Indian government formed in 1946 he was Minister of Industries and Supplies, except for four months when he was Minister of Education and Arts. When India was partitioned into the Dominions of India and Pakistan, he became Governor of Western Bengal, a province of the first Dominion (1947). On the resignation of Earl Mountbatten in June 1948 he became Governor-General of India. (See also *India.*)

RAISON D'ETAT, French for reason of state, the theory that the interests of the state justify violation of the ordinary moral code.

RAMADIER, Paul, French lawyer and socialist politician, born 1888. He was a minister in the Popular Front government, 1936–8, Minister of Food in De Gaulle's cabinet 1944–5, Minister of Justice in Blum's government December 1946, Prime Minister January–November 1947, Minister of State in the Marie cabinet July 1948, and Minister of War under Queuille in September 1948.

RATIFICATION, the confirmation of an international treaty, concluded by a government, by the head of the state concerned. As a rule, all international agreements require ratification and do not become valid before it. In most countries constitutional law or convention requires that the treaty be approved by the parliament before it is ratified by the head of the state.

REACTION, in politics the opposite of progress. The term was coined by progressives to describe strongly conservative trends or parties bent on the restoration of earlier conditions, usually pre-liberal conditions. Thus, the liberals of the nineteenth century called the conservatives, who opposed universal suffrage and other constitutional liberties and wished to return to royal absolutism and aristocratic rule, the reaction or the reactionaries. The term is much used to-day also by non-democratic left-wingers, especially the communists, and even the movements of the fascist type liked to use it against their enemies. Extreme left-wingers are apt to describe also liberals and democratic socialists as reactionary. The terms 'conservative' and 'reactionary' are not necessarily identical.

RECALL, the right of the people to demand the dismissal or submission to re-election of a directly elected official before the end of his term of office. It is one of the devices of direct democracy. (See *Democracy.*)

RED ARMY, the name of the communist revolutionary army in the Russian civil war 1917–21, later the name of the army of the Soviet Union. (See *Communism, Soviet Union.*) The opponents of the Red Army in the revolution were described as the White Army (q.v.). The name 'Red' sprang from the red flag of revolution and socialism. Until 1946 the official name of the Soviet Army was 'Red Army of Workers and Peasants', then it was changed to 'Soviet Army'. The term Red Army was also used in connection with communist uprisings in other countries (Hungary 1919, Central Germany 1921, China 1927–44), but during World War II the habit of describing communist forces as Red Armies was dropped, and they now call themselves 'Democratic

Armies', 'People's Armies', 'National Liberation Armies', etc.

RED LETTER, a letter purporting to have been sent by the late Zinovieff of the Third International (see *Internationals*) to the British Comunist Party, urging it to work for the violent overthrow of the British constitution.It was published by the Foreign Office during the election campaign of 1924 and was held by the Labour Party, which described it as a Conservative fake, to have influenced the electorate against that party, Labour and the Communists having been classed together by their opponents.

REFERENDUM, an official poll of the electorate to ascertain their will on the form of government, on a legislative proposal, or on policy. It is a device of direct democracy and is much used in Switzerland (q.v.) and to a smaller extent in many other countries. Its introduction into Britain has often been proposed as a means of ensuring that an act of Parliament is approved by the people. (See also *Democracy, Initiative, Local Option, Plebiscite.*)

REFLATION. (See *Full Employment.*)

REGIONALISM, a term which within a country means the grant of autonomy to areas larger than ordinary local government districts but smaller than the whole country; in international relations it means the close association of states in the same part of the world—this is recommended by the Charter of the United Nations (q.v.) and the 21 American republics have declared their association to be a regional organization under the Charter.

REICHSTAG FIRE, the burning of the building of the Reichstag, the German parliament, on 27 February 1933, shortly after the advent to power of Hitler (q.v.). It was the work of the Nazis, who wanted to discredit the communists, whom they charged with the crime, and other opponents on the eve of the election. A feeble-minded Dutchman, van der Lubbe, was used as the ostensible incendiary; he, a German communist and three Bulgarian communists were tried for the crime. No evidence could be brought against the communists, one of whom was the later Bulgarian Prime Minister Dimitrov, and they were acquitted. Van der Lubbe was found guilty, sentenced to death and executed.

REPARATIONS, a term for what used to be called a war indemnity, adopted for the indemnities to be paid by Germany and its allies after the two World Wars. German reparations, the most important of all, were settled as follows:

(*a*) *After World I.* The Peace Treaty of Versailles did not lay down a definite sum of reparations; it was later fixed at 132,000 million gold marks. A small portion was to be delivered in goods, while the bulk was to be paid in gold or foreign currency. This proved impossible, and after the German inflation and the Ruhr occupation of 1923 the plan was revised. The Dawes Plan of 1924 provided for annual payments of 2,000 million gold marks without fixing a total, and the Allies granted Germany the Dawes Loan to consolidate German finances. In the years that followed, the reparations problem dominated international policies and economic trends. Actually Germany paid the reparations out of further loans granted to it by the United States and other Allied countries. In 1929 the reparations scheme was once more revised. A final total of 37,000 million marks was fixed, payable in 59 annual instalments starting with 600 million marks, then rising to 1,200 millions and falling again toward the end. This became known as the Young Plan, and Germany was given the Young Loan to enable it to begin with the payments. Soon afterwards the great economic world slump came, and in 1931 Germany stopped all reparations payments. In the spring of 1932 another reparations conference was held in Lausanne, and it decided to cancel all reparations. On the whole, Germany had paid some 17,000 million marks, including deliveries in kind (the estimates vary according to the evaluation of certain German assets taken by the Allies as reparations at the end of World War I). Against this she had received in the period from 1924 to 1930 foreign loans totalling 27,000 million marks (including short-term deposits), the bulk coming from America and Britain. In 1931 the payment of interest and sinking fund on nearly all these loans was suspended, and the deposits were frozen. Under an international financial agreement certain amounts were gradually repaid in the following years, but a total of some 22,000 million marks remained blocked. Even before World War II made it certain that these funds would have more or less to be written

off, the Allies had realized that they had in fact been paying the reparations out of their own pockets. The lesson seemed to be that the cost of a modern war is too high to be borne by a single country, and that reparations on any substantial scale can be paid only in goods, since attempts to obtain foreign exchange for the purpose will either destroy the debtor's own currency, or lead to forced exports which unduly compete with the creditor nations' own industries. They therefore stand to lose commercially what they may gain financially. This would apply also to deliveries in kind beyond a certain limit.

(*b*) *After World War II.* Under the impression of this experience it was prevalent Allied opinion in the first stage of World War II that this time no reparations of any similar extent should be envisaged. However, in the course of the war fresh reparations plans emerged, limited to deliveries in goods from the outset. At the conference of Yalta (q.v.) the United States and the Soviet Union tentatively agreed upon a total sum of reparations amounting to 20 milliard dollars (Great Britain reserving its decision), to be paid in goods over a period of ten years with one-half going to Russia. A somewhat abortive reparations conference held in Moscow at the close of the war spoke of 60,000 million marks in goods (15,000 million dollars). Shortly afterwards, however, the Potsdam decisions (q.v.) laid down a different scheme of reparations. The reparations were linked with the idea of the deindustrialization of Germany. (See *Morgenthau Plan.*) It was decided to fix a certain level of industry for Germany and to dismantle all plant 'surplus' to it for reparations. This done, reparations were essentially to be regarded as finished, apart from coal deliveries. No reparations were to be taken from current production. An Allied conference fixed the level of industry on 28 March 1946. This plan was designed to reduce Germany's industry to some 50–55 per cent of the 1938 level, not counting the construction industry. It affected largely the capital goods industries. The production of the following goods was entirely forbidden: munitions of war, aircraft, seagoing ships, oil and petrol from coal, synthetic rubber, synthetic ammonia, ball and roller bearings, heavy tractors, aluminium, magnesium and some steel-hardening metals, radioactive substances, radio transmitting plant, some large machine tools and some chemicals. It was provided, however, that plant producing synthetic oil and petrol, synthetic rubber, synthetic ammonia and ball bearings should be preserved until corresponding imports and payment therefor should become available. Steel production was fixed at 5,800,000 tons annually, with a capacity ceiling of 7,500,000 tons. (Britain had proposed 11,000,000 tons, while Russia wanted to permit only 3,000,000 tons.)

The capacities permitted for some important industries under the plan were as follows (in per cent of 1938 capacity): Steel 38, light metal goods 54, heavy chemicals 40, machine tools 11, heavy machinery 31, other machinery 50, large electrical machinery 30, other electrical machinery 50, trucks 67, farm machinery 80, light tractors 72, optical and precision instruments 70, automobiles 16, pharmaceuticals 80, plastics 70, power plant 60, cement 68. Coalmining was not restricted.

The plan, which was mainly accepted owing to Russian insistence, met with severe criticism in England and America. Many economic experts declared it impracticable and predicted that the disturbances this plan would introduce into the world's economy would far exceed those created by the reparations policy after World War I. It would create a huge slum with some 4 to 6 million permanently unemployed in the heart of Europe, the condition of which would affect the economy of all Europe and in fact the world. Also some of Germany's smaller neighbours protested in fear of losing their chief market. The plan was not put into effect.

The Russians had dismantled a large proportion of the industry in their zone of occupation already previously, but now they adopted a policy of taking reparations from current production. A number of works were dismantled in the western zones of occupation and sent partly to Russia, partly to Western Allied countries. Some were also blown up. Total dismantling, however, reached only a fraction of the extent laid down by the 1946 plan. The Western Allies and Russia accused each other of not observing the plan, and after England and America had advocated a higher level of industry for Germany, it was indicated at the Moscow conference of March 1947 that the Soviet government, too, would now agree to a steel level of 12,000,000 tons, with corre-

sponding adjustments in other industries. It insisted, however, on reparations from current production, which was refused by the Western Allies, especially the United States, because it would have required large contributions from them and meant in practice that they would be paying reparations to Russia.

On 29 August 1947 a new Anglo-American plan for the combined British and American zones in Germany was announced, taking the place of the earlier plan. Russia was not a party to this plan, neither was France. The plan provided for higher capacities to be retained, generally calculated on the basis of the year 1936, held to be a year fairly representative of approximately full peacetime employment. The following capacities (in per cent of the 1936 level) were provided for in the combined Anglo-American zones alone, leaving the door open for analogous further quotas in the other zones: Steel 72 (or 10,700,000 tons annually), heavy machinery 80, light machinery 119, machine tools 83, electrical equipment 149, automobiles 84, trucks 95, tractors 100, fine mechanics and optics 138, non-ferrous metals about 100, chemicals about 100, pharmaceuticals 84; also a cement output of 8,900,000 tons annually was provided for. In per cent of present, not pre-war, capacity the capacities to be left to western Germany were to be: steel 56, heavy machinery 65, light machinery 77, machine tools 65, fine mechanics and optics 81, electrical equipment 96, chemicals 54, pharmaceuticals 87. (Before the war the two zones produced 43 per cent of Germany's machine tools.) It was explained that Germany's capacity had been greatly expanded after 1936, to a great extent for war purposes, and that the surplus could be taken away for reparations without unduly damaging German peacetime economy. (Germans objected that Allied estimates of present capacities had been too high.) Six hundred and eighty-two plants were scheduled for dismantling, grouped in the Allied official list as follows: war plants 302, steel and iron 92, other metals 11, chemicals 42, mechanical engineering 224, electrical engineering 4, shipbuilding 3, power plants 4. Some more plant from prohibited industries, it was said, might still follow, but on the whole a modification of the list of prohibited industries might be considered.

This plan was again criticized in America and Britain, where it was feared that it would still cripple Germany's economy and make it a permanent burden on the world. While the British government was anxious to proceed with dismantling, American opinion was that it would ultimately be the United States which would have to pay for this policy. When the European Recovery Programme (q.v.) was passed in 1948, its administrator (Paul Hoffman) was empowered to demand that plant that could serve European recovery better if left in Germany should be left standing. Desultory dismantling continued in 1948, but not much of the new programme had been carried out when Administrator Hoffman, backed by the State Department, induced the British in October 1948 to suspend dismantling for the time being. It had been meanwhile stated that in certain cases dismantling had been used for promoting the interests of Allied, especially British, competitors.

An American commission inspected 382 works scheduled for dismantling, and recommended to leave 167 of them in Germany. In April 1949 it was decided that 159 should be left standing—the 8 works remaining on the dismantling list were the largest. Dismantling started again, in the face of increasing German protests.

An Allied order of 13 April 1949 banned the production of synthetic oil and rubber, and oil plant was also dismantled. The steel ceiling was raised from 10·7 to 11·1 million tons p.a., with capacity allowed up to 14 million tons. The aluminium quota was fixed at 85,000 tons p.a. Restrictions on various other metals and on a number of exports were lifted. Shipbuilding was permitted again for seagoing ships up to 7,200 tons and a speed of 12 knots. Germany was authorized to buy tankers up to a total of 100,000 tons. Under the Petersberg Agreement of November 1949, some 20 plants, including the largest on the previous list and the remaining oil plants, were struck off the dismantling list; so were all plants in Berlin. Shipbuilding restrictions were further relaxed. Germany was authorized to build larger seagoing ships, except primarily passenger ships; tankers up to 7,200 tons; larger coastal and fishing vessels; six larger and faster special ships; and to build and repair ships to foreign order.

Reparations taken from Germany for all the Allies other than Russia and Poland are distributed by the Inter-Allied Reparations Agency in Brussels, Belgium.

The Agency reported in August 1949 that so far 354 plants, worth 387 million marks, had been placed at its disposal, whereof 241 were war plants, 89 mechanical engineering works, 3 steel works, 9 non-ferrous metal works, 8 chemical works, 3 power stations, and 1 shipyard. Merchant ships totalling 700,000 tons had also been distributed.

The Russians have so far refused to disclose the amount of reparations taken from their zone. German estimates speak of 30 to 50 per cent of 'light' industries and 50 to 80 per cent of 'heavy' industries having been dismantled, and practically all railways in East Germany were reduced to one-rail tracks by dismantling rails and equipment.

Up to February 1949, 247 works had been completely dismantled and 189 were in the process of being dismantled in the British zone: 164,000 tons of machinery had gone to Russia, 64,000 to Russia's satellites, 19,000 to France, 13,000 to England, 9,000 to Benelux states, and only 1½ tons to the United States.

REPRESENTATIVES, House of, the Lower House of the Congress of the U.S.A. Since 1910 it has had 435 members, a total now corresponding to one representative to every 300,000 persons; this total can be altered by the House itself. Seats are apportioned to the forty-eight states in proportion to the distribution of populations shown by the last decennial census, and reapportionment may take place if justified by changes in the distribution, provided that each state retains at least one representative. The legislatures of the states are responsible for allocating their quota to congressional districts each with one representative—they sometimes redistrict their states, the prevailing party 'gerrymandering' (q.v.). The House is elected by all adults over the age of twenty-one—some states impose literacy tests and poll taxes to disfranchise negroes and some others—for a period of two years. Representatives must be persons over the age of twenty-five, who have been citizens of the U.S. for at least seven years, and are resident in the state for which they stand (the locality rule). Election takes place in the November of every even year.

The House has the sole power to initiate financial legislation, and the sole power of impeachment—but the Senate (q.v.) tries the officials thus impeached. The Senate has a certain prerogative concerning high appointments and treaties with foreign countries—but the consent of both Houses is required for a declaration of war or military commitments which would imply going to war, and if matters of foreign policy require financial legislation, as in the topical instance of the European Reovery Programme (q.v.), the House of Representatives plays an important part in this field also. The large majority of Representatives are lawyers, and the rotation of the House is much faster than that of the Senate; on an average, about 70 per cent of the members are new every time. This volatility of the House is one of the reasons for 'Congressmen'—the House is popularly called 'Congress', although legally this term includes the Senate too, and its two-year period is known as 'a Congress'—being held in somewhat less political and social esteem than Senators of the United States, though the actual powers of both Houses are broadly equal. The Senate often drastically amends bills sent up from the House, including financial bills, and generally tends to restrain the House.

Conflict between the two chambers is resolved by the formation of a joint committee, whose decisions are usually accepted. Party discipline in the House is much greater than that in the Senate, and the rules of debate enable the majority to deal effectively with attempts at obstruction (see *Filibuster*).

The House elected in November 1948 contains 262 democrats, 171 republicans and 1 socialist. The lower chambers of the parliaments of Australia and New Zealand are also each called House of Representatives.

REPUBLICAN PARTY, one of the two great parties in the United States, the other being the Democratic Party (q.v.) The name was originally used by the Democratic Party until in 1828 the high-tariff and anti-slavery wing broke away under Adams and Clay to form the National Republican Party, which combined with some Democrats under the name of Whigs (q.v.). The party rallied various groups of reformers in the years following its foundation, and in 1854 the Whigs and a number of northern Democrats united to form the present Republican Party on an anti-slavery and higher-tariff platform. It came to power with Abraham Lincoln in 1860, triumphed

in the civil war and ruled with only two interruptions (Democrat Cleveland's unconsecutive terms 1884–8 and 1892–6) until 1912. Its policies about the turn or the century included a high tariff, imperialism and strengthening of the central power. In 1912 Theodore Roosevelt broke away with his short-lived Progressive or 'Bull Moose' Party on a programme of far-reaching political and social reform (which has since been enacted by the other parties), and this split caused the Republicans to lose the election. The Democrat Woodrow Wilson was elected for the period 1912–20. Then the Republicans returned to power, checked United States entry into the League of Nations, supplied the Harding, Coolidge and Hoover administrations, and became associated with the 'period of prosperity', but were defeated in 1932 when that period had given way to the great economic slump. Democratic administrations remained in power under Franklin D. Roosevelt (q.v.), and later his successor, Harry S. Truman (q.v.). The Republicans gained a majority in Congress in November 1946, when they secured 51 (previously 38) seats in the Senate and 235 (previously 190) seats in the House of Representatives. A landslide in the opposite direction followed in November 1948 when the Republican representation was reduced to 42 Senators and 171 Representatives, and the Democrats had a majority in both Houses.

In the early period the party, which still refers to itself as the Grand Old Party (G.O.P.), was more progressive than the Democratic Party, while to-day it is regarded as the more right-wing party. Yet, strictly speaking, the two great American parties cannot be exactly classified under the left-and-right pattern, and there are conservative as well as progressive republicans, as there are conservatives and progressive democrats. Both parties include sections of all classes of the population. The Republican Party has its traditional basis in the industrial north, but like its opposite number it has in the course of its long history repeatedly reversed major planks of its platform and appealed to varying groups among the population. During the period preceding World War II the republicans had been largely isolationist, but from 1940 onwards an increasing section supported President F. D. Roosevelt's foreign policy, which the party did during the war also. Again from 1945 onwards the Republican Party has been at pains to give American foreign policy under President Truman a 'bipartisan', national character. The surprising defeat of the party in the election of November 1948, when its candidate T. E. Dewey (q.v.) polled only 21,969,500 votes against Democrat Truman's 24,104,836, was ascribed to the alienation of labour by Republican-sponsored anti-labour legislation in 1947 (see *Taft-Hartley Act*). The principal national leaders of the party include Thomas E. Dewey, Harold Stassen, Arthur H. Vandenberg, Robert H. Taft, Joseph W. Martin, Wallace W. White, Herbert C. Hoover, A. Halleck, B. Carron Reece, John F. Dulles.

RESIDUARY POWERS. (See *Federalism.*)

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, in Britain a minor group professing Trotskyism (q.v.); similar groups exist in other countries. The British group opposed the war and sponsored unofficial strikes, mainly among dockers.

RIGHTS OF MAN, or human rights, the assumption that man has certain inborn fundamental rights which are inalienable by any law or constitution. The assumption is derived from the school of natural law. Taught by political theorists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and to some extent already by Aristotle (q.v.), they were first codified in the famous French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen of 1789, which proclaimed that liberty, property, security and the right to resist oppression were basic human rights. The democratic catalogue of liberties (see *Democracy*) is largely derived from these rights. Recently a trend has been noticeable to extend the list of human rights and liberties to the social field. A number o- additional rights of man have been sugf gested, mostly derived from the ideology of socialism. A limitation of the right of property has been proposed in this connection. The problems pertinent to these suggestions are discussed in the articles on *Democracy* and *Liberalism.* The constitution of the Soviet Union was the first to lay down a number of new social rights. The French constitution of 1946 (see *France*) endorsed the 'classic' rights of 1789 and added a list of new social rights, mostly of a socialist

and trade-unionist nature, and some of them inspired by the Soviet constitution. Similar declarations are in other recent constitutions. Equality of sex and race is also listed in the new catalogue of human rights.

A *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in Paris on 10 December 1948 by 48 votes in favour, none against and 8 abstentions. The countries abstaining were the Soviet Union, the Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Byelorussia, Yugoslavia, South Africa and Saudi Arabia. The Declaration is to be followed at a later date by an international covenant on Human Rights and an agreement on measures for implementation. These three documents will then become the Bill of Human Rights. The Declaration provides for the following rights:

General Rights. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed, the Declaration says, with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood. Everyone is entitled to all the rights set forth in the Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. This applies also to inhabitants of dependent territories. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of the person. There must be no slavery, servitude, torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. All are equal before the law. Discrimination and incitement to discrimination are forbidden. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile, and everyone has the right to a fair trial. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state, and the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country. Everyone has the right to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution except persecution arising from non-political crimes. Everyone has the right to a nationality, and the right to change it. Men and women are entitled to equal rights as to marriage and at its dissolution, and marriage shall be entered into only with the free consent of the intending spouses. The family is entitled to protection by the state.

Social and Political Rights. Everyone has the right to own property and nobody shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, to freedom of opinion and expression, including the freedom to seek and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association, but no one may be compelled to belong to an association. Everyone has the right to participate in the government of his country, and the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of the government. This will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures. Everyone has the right to social security and is entitled to realization of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration, ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection. Everyone may form or join labour unions. Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, and to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control. All children born in or out of wedlock shall enjoy the same social protection. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups. Literary, artistic or scientific rights shall be protected.

In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to legal limitations determined solely for the purpose of securing due respect for the rights and freedoms of others, and of meeting the

just requirements of morality, public order and general welfare in a democratic society. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, or for the destruction of the rights and freedoms set forth in the Declaration.

RIGHT-WING PARTIES, the conservative and nationalist parties whose representatives customarily sit on the right-hand side (viewed from the chair) in the parliaments of most non-British countries (in most of the legislatures of the British Commonwealth the supporters of the government of the day sit on the right and the members of the opposition on the left). The custom dates from the French National Assembly of 1789. Outside parliaments also, 'right-wing parties' or 'right-wing views' are spoken of, and even the opposite kind of party, the progressive 'left-wing parties', may have a more moderate 'right' wing. (See also *Centre Parties, Left-wing Parties, Conservative Parties, Progressive Parties.*)

RIO DE JANEIRO, TREATY OF, an inter-American treaty on hemisphere defence signed 2 September 1947, after the conference of Petropolis, Brazil, in pursuance of the Act of Chapultepec (q.v.) of 1945. The principal provisions of the treaty are as follows: An armed attack on an American nation will be regarded as an attack on all. Each undertakes to assist in meeting the attack. Any nation may take individual measures for meeting the attack pending joint decisions, and the provisions of the treaty also apply to any other intra- or extra-continental aggression which is not an armed attack. In case of intra-continental conflict, a peaceful settlement is to be attempted under the treaty before the case is taken to the United Nations. Aggression in any region of the western hemisphere from the North Pole to the South Pole, including Canada (which is not a party to the treaty), Greenland, European colonies in the West Indies, and the Falkland Islands, comes under the treaty.

A request for consultation in a case of aggression is to be sent to the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union. An organ of consultation, normally composed of the foreign ministers of the member nations, will meet without delay to agree upon collective measures to be adopted. Pending such a meeting, the Governing Board may act provisionally as the organ of consultation. The organ of consultation is also charged with trying to settle intra-continental disputes. The measures of defence to be agreed upon range from the severance of diplomatic, economic or traffic relations to armed intervention. The pattern is similar to that of the sanctions provided under the Charter of the United Nations (q.v.). The organ of consultation takes decisions by a two-thirds vote, and two-thirds of the signatories constitute a quorum. (The Governing Board takes relevant decisions by simple majority.) Only states which have ratified the treaty may vote. Decisions are binding upon all signatories, but no member is to use armed force without its consent. The treaty comes into force when the ratifications of two-thirds of the signatories have been deposited. It will be registered with the United Nations as a regional arrangement. It is valid for an indefinite period, but any signatory may withdraw singly on two-years' notice, the other parties remaining bound by the treaty. The treaty came into force on 3 December 1948. (See *Pan-Americanism.*)

ROOSEVELT, Franklin Delano, American President and reformer, born 30 January 1882 in Hyde Park, N.Y., died 12 April 1945 at Warm Springs, Georgia. He graduated from Harvard in 1904, took up law, entered politics as a Democrat, was elected a member of the senate of New York state in 1910, and in 1912 appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy under Woodrow Wilson. In World War I he served as army inspector in Europe. Defeated when running for the vice-presidency in 1920, he returned to his law practice, but continued to take an active interest in politics. In August 1921 he was stricken with infantile paralysis and lost the use of both legs. This did not, however, affect his unusual energy. He collaborated with Al Smith, many times Democratic governor of New York, who persuaded him to run for the governorship of New York State in 1928 when Smith himself ran for the presidency. Smith was defeated, while Roosevelt was elected governor of New York. The alliance of the two politicians was broken when the Democratic Convention nominated Roosevelt for the presidential candidacy in 1932 instead of Smith. Nevertheless, Smith subse-

quently supported Roosevelt, who was elected President against Herbert Hoover and assumed office on 4 March 1933 in the midst of the great economic crisis that had started in the autumn of 1929.

Roosevelt proceeded to the enactment of the historic social and economic reforms known as the New Deal (q.v.), which will always remain linked with his name. The economic situation improved very considerably under his administration, and he was re-elected three times by huge majorities (1936, 1940, 1944), a case unheard of in American history. Roosevelt was a convinced enemy of fascist dictatorships and opposed American isolationism (q.v.). After the outbreak of World War II, he favoured American intervention with a view to preventing a triumph of Hitler, and gave as much support to the Allies as he was able to do within his limited prerogative—the system of lend-lease was one of his ideas. To him was due the proclamation of the Four Freedoms (q.v.) and—jointly with Churchill (q.v.)—the Atlantic Charter (q.v.). Public and congressional opinion moved his way only slowly and he would hardly have been able to lead America into the war as early as December 1941 had it not been for the sudden Japanese attack and Hitler's declaration of war on the United States. When the victory, of which he had been one of the chief architects, was just in sight, Roosevelt died suddenly on 12 April 1945. Vice-President Truman (q.v.) succeeded to the office.

ROUSSEAU, Jean Jacques, French-Swiss philosopher and writer, influential political thinker, born 28 June 1712 in Geneva, died 2 July 1778 at Ermenonville, Oise, France, was the son of a watchmaker, descended from an old French family that had settled in Geneva. In the course of a rather troubled life, Rousseau made contact with the circle of the French Encyclopaedists in Paris and collaborated on their Encyclopaedia. Yet he soon began to oppose their trend of thought. None the less the French Revolution worshipped him as one of its intellectual pioneers, although Rousseau's ideas were not so unequivocally revolutionary as is frequently supposed.

The most important political writings of Rousseau are *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* (1754) and *Contrat Social* (1762). The idea of the social contract is often associated with his name, but in fact he was the principal critic of the theory of the social contract as established by a whole school before his time. He partly elaborated ideas of Locke (q.v.) and Hume (q.v.), and vehemently opposed Hobbes (q.v.). He rebelled against the rationalism prevalent until his advent and the political theories derived from it, the essence of which was to conceive of the state as a mere association of egoistic individuals who had entered into a social contract so as better to promote their individual interest. Now Rousseau arose to set sentiment against reason, the doctrine of the primary nature of society against the individualist theory of the state, and to proclaim society to be an organic collective being which is more than just the sum total of its members. He extolled feeling as against thinking to the point of saying: 'A thinking man is a degenerate animal.' In accordance with the fashionable slogan of his time, 'Back to Nature!' he claimed that man in his natural state, represented by primitive peoples ('the noble savage'), was better than civilized man; similarly he held the common people to be better, simpler and more virtuous than the educated upper classes. 'Mankind consists of the people. . . . Man is the same in all classes; if that be so, the classes that are most numerous are those most deserving of respect.' Group sentiments, faith, reverence, common experience, tradition and custom are the pillars of society, not the calculating egoism of individuals. These sentiments and habits are given before the individual arrives; the group takes precedence over the individual both in time and significance. The individual derives all his capacities from society; man exists first as citizen, then as man. He is by nature good unless social institutions deprave him. Each individual has his personal will; the corporate people have their general will. The former is partial and erring—the latter is always right. But Rousseau recognizes that even the whole people can be wrong and he therefore distinguishes between the general will, which is always right, and the will of all, which is merely the sum of the individual wills and can be wrong. He does not, however, give effective criteria for telling when a decision is the will of all and when it is an expression of the general will. The general will, about which Rousseau re-

mains somewhat vague, creates social morals, and the government is only the executive of this will, a mere committee of the people. The virtues of patriotism, religion and family life are important and should not be eroded by rational analysis. When speaking of patriotism, however, Rousseau thought only of a small city-state as exemplified by his environment at Geneva and the Greek thinkers he studied, especially Plato (q.v.) and Aristotle (q.v.); he thought such a small unit the ideal type of state and hardly ever envisaged the modern national state, although nationalism has often invoked him as its supposed prophet. He rejected both cosmopolitan and all-European feeling as rationalist aberrations.

In his exposition of the freedom and the rights of the individual, Rousseau gets involved in many contradictions which have made his words so useful to both democrats and authoritarians. On one occasion he advocates the abolition of property on socialist lines, and on another defends private property as a fundamental right of man. In so far as a consistent political system can be derived from Rousseau's vague theories, it seems that he upholds the principle of the sovereignty of the people. He was invoked by the Jacobins of the French Revolution, but later also by conservative and romantic movements cultivating irrational values, patriotic sentiment and popular customs in his name. He influenced such thinkers as Burke (q.v.), Hegel (q.v.), Kant and Goethe.

RUHR, an industrial area in western Germany, the centre of German steel and coal production. Within about 500 sq. m., and with a population of 5,000,000, its annual production in peak years preceding World War II reached 16,000,000 tons of steel and 150,000,000 tons of coal. Ruhr coke is essential also for France's steel industry, while the Ruhr takes iron ore from France. A large proportion of its iron ore, however, comes from Sweden. During the German collapse in 1945 Ruhr production fell almost to zero, but had recovered to about 5,000,000 tons of steel and 80,000,000 tons of coal in 1948 and it rose substantially in 1949. Essen, Düsseldorf, Bochum, Gelsenkirchen and Dortmund are among the principal towns of the Ruhr. The area suffered heavily from Allied bombing in World War II, but remains one of Europe's industrial key areas. It also contains huge engineering, armament, chemical and other industries. (See Map XVI.)

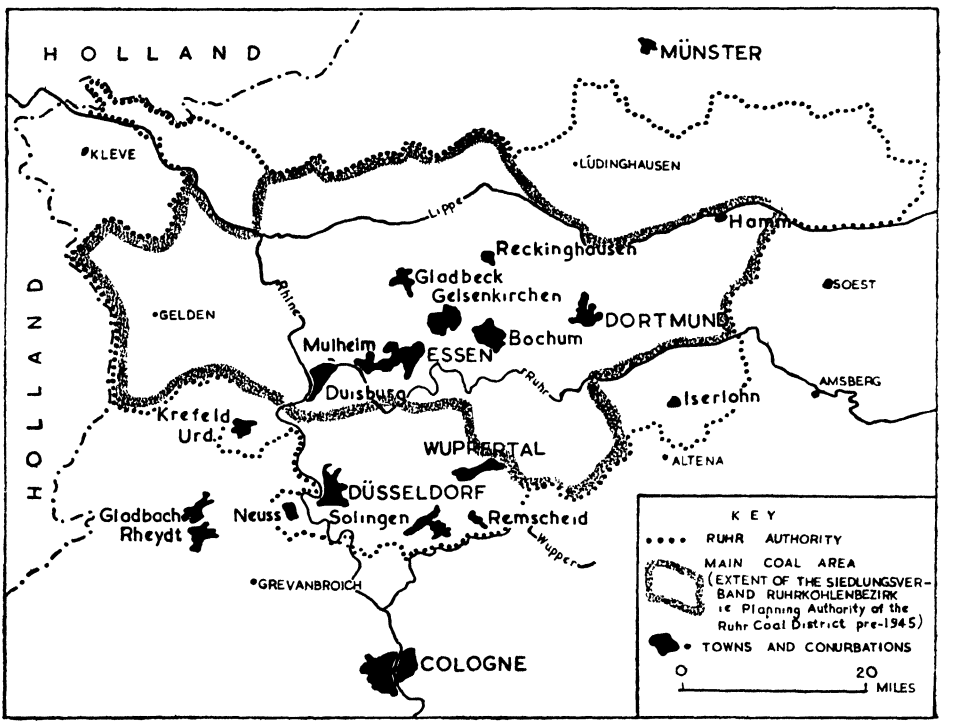
After World War II France demanded the detachment of the Ruhr from Germany and its organization as a separate state under French or international control. The United States and Britain—the Ruhr area had been allotted to the British zone of occupation—opposed this plan. Far-reaching plans for dismantling the Ruhr industries (see *Reparations*) were for the greater part abandoned. German socialists, backed by the British Labour government, have demanded the nationalization of the main Ruhr industries, while the more conservative German parties, backed by America, have opposed this plan. The American government said, however, that it would not oppose nationalization if the German people decided for it. The call for a new régime for the Ruhr, both on the national and international levels, was based on the Ruhr's war potential and on the support the Ruhr industrialists had given to the Nazi regime. The industrialists were for the greatest part removed.

The Inter-Allied Conference held in London in June 1948 (see *Germany*) decided to leave the Ruhr a part of Germany, but to establish an international control body, with German participation, to control the distribution of products, but not production. France protested and the French foreign minister, Bidault (q.v.), fell over the question. On 11 November 1948 Law No. 75 of the British Military Government in Germany, issued on the basis of Anglo-American agreement, returned the Ruhr industries to German administration. German trustees were appointed to administer the industries under Allied supervision. The question of ownership would have to be settled by a German or West German government at a later date, it was stated. No system would be permitted which would bring back an excessive concentration of economic power, and no Nazi supporters would be accepted as owners or trustees. France protested vigorously, and a conference on the question was held in London in December 1948. France was admitted to the 'Essen Group', previously an Anglo-American body controlling Ruhr production for the time being.

A Ruhr statute was adopted in Decem-

ber 1948 by the conference of the United States, Great Britain, France and the Benelux countries (q.v.) held in London. It provides for the establishment of an international Ruhr Authority to consist of representatives of the signatories and Germany. The Authority consists of a Council and a secretariat, the latter under an executive secretary. The members appoint deputies. There will be 15 votes, allotted as follows: United States 3, Great Britain 3, France 3, Germany 3, Benelux countries 1 each. Decisions are taken by simple majority, except certain cases mentioned later. Germany will be represented by the occupying powers until a German government has acceded to the agreement and given guarantees that it will assume the responsibilities laid down in the statute and such other obligations as the signatories may agree upon. However, as soon as a German government is established it may appoint a non-voting delegate who may attend the meetings of the Council. The Authority will have its seat in the Land of North Rhine-Westphalia. The chairmanship of the Council will rotate every six months among the signatories. The secretary and staff shall act as international officials and shall not receive instructions from any individual government. The business languages of the Authority are English, French and German. English and French are the official languages, an official German text of documents to be made when necessary.

The Authority shall distribute the coal, coke and steel of the Ruhr between German domestic consumption and export. Distribution shall ensure that countries participating in economic co-operation for the best of all concerned shall have adequate access to the raw materials mentioned. The essential requirements of Germany shall be taken into account. Distribution must agree with the provisions of all agreements made by the occupying powers on the allotment of coal, coke and steel, and valid at the time of distribution. Distribution must be made on lines compatible with the purposes of the convention on European Economic Co-operation (see *European Recovery Programme*) and all programmes or decisions of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation applicable at the



Map XVI. The Ruhr

time of distribution. The Authority will lay down minimum quantities for exports of coal, coke, finished and semi-finished steel from the Ruhr area, and will also fix the qualities or types of these goods. In exceptional cases the Authority shall also allot pig iron for export, if there are 12 votes for such a measure. The ceiling for German steel production, at present 10,700,000 tons annually, must be observed. The Authority must agree with the occupying authorities concerned on co-ordination of its decisions with programmes and plans of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation which are in preparation, such agreement to be reached before the Authority assumes its functions. The procedure for co-ordination must be reviewed at any time at the request of any member of the O.E.E.C., and in any case at the end of the period of control or at an earlier date such as may be agreed upon by the occupying powers. The Authority will have the right to veto or amend any measures of the German government relating to transport, prices, economic methods, quotas, customs and other economic arrangements affecting the coal, coke or steel of the Ruhr. The Authority will temporarily also protect foreign investments in the Ruhr industries. The Authority (or the Military Security Board or some other international body) may also take over powers relating to control of production, investments, development and management of the Ruhr industries which are at present held by the Allied control groups in Essen, but such powers should not provide for detailed control. Supervision of supplies of coal, coke or steel to German industries banned or limited under international agreement remains in the hands of the occupying powers. The German representative may not vote on any question relating to security.

Excessive concentration of economic power in the Ruhr area is to be prevented. No person who has supported the aggressive tendencies of the Nazi Party may acquire ownership or executive functions in the Ruhr industries. The Authority will have the right of inquiry, investigation and inspection, and the right to summon witnesses. The German government must take all measures necessary for the functioning of the Authority and abstain from measures hindering the activities of the Authority. A majority of the signatories may, after due procedure, declare the German government guilty of violation of this provision, and appropriate measures may then be taken by the Authority. The Authority's powers will (Art. 26) not be exercised for the protection of economic or competing interests of any country, nor for the obstruction of peaceful technical development or increased efficiency. The Authority and its non-German staff shall enjoy the same privileges and immunity as are accorded to United Nations institutions and employees. German staff shall enjoy immunity for statements and actions which they make or take in their official capacity.

The statute may be supplemented by agreement of all signatories. As long as the special relationship of the occupying powers to Germany continues, the occupying powers may, after consultation with the other signatories, give notice to terminate the present agreement, and it may then be abolished by an agreement between the signatories.

Twelve German trustees, chosen from industrialists, trade unionists and others, were appointed by the American and British military governors in March 1949. Plans to split up the Ruhr industries into 100 'unit companies' were under discussion in 1949.

The Ruhr Authority met for the first time in May 1949. It took its seat at Düsseldorf. Sir Vaughan Barry is the British delegate. Henry Parkman represents the United States. The Belgian, Kaeckenbeek, was appointed executive secretary. Germany joined the Ruhr Authority in December 1949.

RUMANIA, Republic of, 92,000 sq. m., population 16,409,000. The capital is Bucharest. Rumania came into being in 1859 by the union of the 'Danube Principalities', Moldavia and Wallachia. In 1866 the dynasty of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen was called to the throne. Rumania participated in World War I on the Allied side and after initial defeat gained large territories from Austria-Hungary and Russia. (See *Bessarabia, Transylvania.*) This resulted in full national unification, but also led to the inclusion of racial minorities and to friction with neighbouring countries. After the death of King Ferdinand in 1927 his infant grandson, Michael (born 1921), was proclaimed King; the Crown Prince, Carol, had

been compelled to renounce succession by the powerful liberal leader, Ion Bratianu. The latter died soon after and with him passed the power of the Liberal Party in Rumania. The National Peasant Party (National Zaranists) of Dr. Maniu, a native of Transylvania, tried to introduce proper democratic government, but failed owing to conservative opposition to its reforms. In 1930 the Crown Prince returned from exile in agreement with the government and became King Carol II. His régime became more and more dictatorial. All parties were dissolved and replaced by a royal 'National Unity Party'. A new authoritarian constitution was adopted. Anti-Jewish laws were enacted but not much applied in practice. The King was in conflict with a fascist organization known as the Iron Guard. In the first phase of World War II Rumania stayed neutral, but in July 1940 Rumania was declared a member of the Axis Bloc. This did not save the country from its neighbours' territorial claims. In July 1940 the Soviet Union, after an ultimatum, annexed Bessarabia (q.v.) and the district of North Bukovina, and on 30 August 1940 Rumania had to accept the German-Italian 'Vienna Award' returning the greater half of Transylvania (q.v.) to Hungary. On 8 September 1940 Rumania also had to cede the Southern Dobrudja (q.v.) to Bulgaria.

On 4 September 1940 Marshal Antonescu formed a government with the Iron Guard leader, Horea-Sima, as his deputy. On the next day he abolished the royal constitution and declared himself Leader of the Rumanian State. The Iron Guard renamed itself the 'Rumanian Legion' and proclaimed a 'legionary state'. On 6 September 1940 King Carol II was forced to abdicate and leave the country. His son, Michael (born 1921), became King once again, but the whole prerogative passed to Antonescu. The 'legionaries' massacred the opposition. On 7 October 1940 German troops occupied Rumania to secure Rumanian oil (the output was 6 million tons a year) and agricultural surpluses for Germany. In March 1941 Antonescu suppressed the 'Legion' and had Horea-Sima, who had meanwhile fled to Germany, sentenced to death *in absentia*. On 22 June 1941 Antonescu's Rumania joined the German campaign against Russia. This involved Rumania in due course in war with Britain and the United States also. Rumania initially retook the territories annexed by Russia in 1940 and gained also Russian territory as far as Odessa. Rumanian forces took part in the massacre of the Jews in the East European areas ordered by Hitler; only in a later phase of the war the Rumanian government began to oppose this tendency unofficially, so that about one-third of Rumanian Jews survived.

In 1944 the Russians reconquered the occupied territories and entered Rumania proper. On 25 August 1944 Antonescu was removed by a *coup d'état* of young King Michael and a coalition of parties, and an armistice was concluded with the Allies. Antonescu was later tried and executed. The Armistice provided for the occupation of Rumania by Soviet forces, the return of Bessarabia and North Bukovina to the Soviet Union and the retention of the Southern Dobrudja by Bulgaria, while Rumania received Transylvania back from Hungary. Rumania also undertook to pay $300,000,000 reparations within six years. The 1923 constitution, providing for a one-chamber parliament elected for four years, was readopted. In fact the government became communist-controlled. Originally it consisted of the communists, a communist-dominated 'Ploughmen's Front' under Prime Minister Dr. Groza, the liberals and the social-democrats, both led by politicians acceptable to the communists. On British and American request the Moscow conference of December 1945 decided that the Rumanian government should be widened to admit representatives of all parties. Early in 1946 the National Peasant Party of Maniu and the national liberals under Bratianu joined the government. The United States and Great Britain recognized this government on condition that free elections would be held by May 1946. This was not done, and the parties of Maniu and Bratianu complained of being hampered in their preparations for the election. Their representatives left the government in protest. The Anglo-Saxon Powers also protested against the methods applied by the government in connection with the election. The election was held on 19 November 1946 and the opposition maintained that the vote had, in spite of all pressure, gone against the government which it accused of falsifying the results. The official result was

339 government and 35 opposition deputies.

The government coalition was composed as follows: communists 68, social-democrats 78, Groza's party 71, National People's Party 26, a new peasant party (founded as a rival for Maniu's party) 21, also a few smaller groups, including that of ex-Premier Tartarescu. All the coalition parties were more or less communist-co-ordinated. Maniu's party remained in opposition with 32 deputies, and Bratianu's National Liberal Party with 3 deputies. For the Hungarian minority in Transylvania a communist-controlled Hungarian People's League obtained considerable national rights and 32 seats in parliament. The government shared out the land to the peasants, and industries were taken over by 'Sovrom' companies, mixed Soviet-Rumanian organizations with a foreign trade monopoly. In 1947 industrial corporations were set up for all industries to control their activities, the majority of directors being nominated by the government. This was for all practical purposes equivalent to nationalization.

The remnants of the opposition were crushed in 1947 by purges and mass arrests. Bratianu had to flee abroad, while Maniu was arrested in July 1947 and his party was dissolved as well as Bratianu's. Maniu (seventy-four) was tried in November 1947 on a charge of treason and sentenced to imprisonment for life. The methods of the trial evoked strong protests from the West. On 30 December King Michael was forced to abdicate and Rumania became a 'people's republic', the royal functions being transferred to a Presidium of 5 members.

The change was confirmed by the general election of March 1948, when the government bloc obtained 6,959,000 votes (91%) and 405 seats. It was composed of the Rumanian Workers' Party (communists and socialists, who had been merged into one party), the United Peasant Party (Ploughman's Front and Alexandrescu's Peasant Party), the National People's Party (which dissolved itself in 1949) and the Hungarian People's League. Bejan's Liberal Party, Lupu's Democratic Peasants and an independent received 9 seats between them. The government was reconstructed—its chief members are P. Groza (Premier), G. Gheirghiu-Dej (Vice-Premier] and Anna Pauker (Foreign Minister); the last two are communists.

In April a new constitution was adopted. Government is parliamentary in name, and a Presidium of the National Assembly, having 19 members, acts as the collective head of state. Some of the relevant functions are performed by the 'President of the Presidium', at present Dr. Constantin I. Parhon. There is a liberal guarantee of the rights of the individual, qualified by a provision safeguarding the new order. Natural resources belong to the state. The land belongs to those who work it—possession by the peasants is guaranteed and co-operatives encouraged. In June a government bill for extensive nationalization was passed. Individual land-holdings are now limited to 125 acres.

The Peace Treaty of Paris, signed 10 February 1947, endorsed the armistice terms mentioned before. The possibility of 'amicable discussions' between Rumania and Hungary concerning the Transylvanian frontier was left open. Rumania was obliged to restrict its standing army to 120,000 and its air force to 150 aircraft (no bombers). Russian troops were withdrawn except for troops guarding communication with Russian-occupied Austria. Allied property, largely consisting of oil companies controlled by British, American and French interests, is to be restored under the peace terms, and adequate compensation is to be paid by Rumania for damage inflicted on such property during the war and for oil taken by Russia, but this must not interfere with reparations deliveries to Russia. Oil production had recovered to 4·6 million tons in 1946. The oilfields are believed to show signs of depletion. Russia halved Rumania's reparations in 1948.

Rumania belongs to the Soviet bloc. Her admission to the United Nations was vetoed by Britain and America on account of the Rumanian methods of government. Both powers protested once more in April 1949 against the violation of the human rights which Rumania had pledged herself to observe in the peace treaty.

RUTHENIA, also known as Subcarpathian Russia, an eastern European territory between Czechoslovakia and Roumania. The name Ruthene comes from a Latin word for the Russians, and was used in the Austrian Empire for the Ukrainian population

of East Galicia and Subcarpathian Russia; the people called themselves 'Little Russians'. East Galicia was Austrian until 1918, then Polish until 1939, when it became Russian. Ruthenia was Hungarian until 1918, Czech until 1939, Hungarian again until 1945 and Russian since then. It had been satisfied neither with Czech nor Hungarian rule and welcomed union with Russia, which was effected with Czech consent.

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SAADABAD, Pact of, a treaty concluded in 1934 between Turkey, Persia, Irak and Afghanistan, providing for political consultation and collaboration.

SAAR TERRITORY, about 800 sq. m., population 850,000, detached from Germany by the Peace Treaty of Versailles in 1919 and placed under international administration, the use of the coal-mines being given to the French state. The Saar is rich in coal; peacetime output is about 14,000,000 tons annually, and coal reserves are estimated at a thousand times this quantity. There is also a large iron and steel industry in the Saar. It was provided that after fifteen years a plebiscite should decide the future status of the Saar. The plebiscite was held in February 1935 and resulted in 477,000 votes for return to Germany, 46,000 for continued international administration and 2,000 for union with France. The territory returned to Germany. After World War II France occupied the Saar and announced the intention of annexing it as a member of the proposed French Union. This claim was later limited to mere economic incorporation, the Saar remaining politically, at least in name, outside France. On 22 December 1946 France included the Saar within French customs territory, and added a number of adjoining German districts. In 1947, however, France moved the Saar boundary back from some of these districts, keeping only a few of them containing lateral railways. The United States and Great Britain announced support for the economic incorporation of the Saar in France, subject to decisions to be taken at the final peace settlement and to agreement being reached on the adjustment of French reparations claims. Meanwhile France made political preparations in the Saar for the intended change, and a committee representing all the political parties (except the communists), and nominated by the French government, drafted a constitution in 1947 providing for economic incorporation in France and for political detachment from Germany, though for political institutions separate from France. German political leaders opposed to the change (other than communists) were removed by the French administration, and when an election was held for a Saar Legislative Assembly on 5 October 1947 the candidates of the parties that had agreed to the constitutional draft obtained a large majority. The results of the election were: Christian People's Party 28, socialists 17, democrats 3, communists 2. (The communists had taken a stand against incorporation and been permitted to do so.) The Assembly or *Landtag* adopted the constitution by 45 votes to 1 on 8 November 1947. The constitution declares the Saar 'an autonomous and democratic country, built on the foundation of social welfare, economically attached to France'. The French High Commissioner is the supreme authority. The *Landtag* has 50 members. The Saar government is supervised by the High Commissioner. France is in charge of defence and foreign relations. The legal system is to be assimilated to the French system. The French High Commissioner is G. Grandval. Laws and decrees must be visaed by him; the appointment of high officials and all naturalizations must have his approval. He may alter the budget. If a situation arises which may menace the basic principles of the constitution, he may take any measures necessary for maintaining order. French is taught as a second language in all schools, and there is an exchange of teachers between France and the Saar.

In February 1948 the French legislature passed the necessary laws and the union came into force in April, as far as France is concerned. It is opposed by all parties of Germany, and when France proposed the invitation of the Saar to the Council of

Europe (q.v.) in 1949, Western Germany protested strongly.

SAINT HELENA, with Tristan da Cunha and Ascension, British islands in the South Atlantic Ocean, important as meteorological and radio stations.

ST. LAURENT, Louis Stephen, French-Canadian lawyer and Liberal politician, born 1882. He entered politics in 1941, when he became Minister of Justice and Attorney-General. In 1946 he became Minister for External Affairs and in 1948 succeeded W. L. Mackenzie King (q.v.) as Prime Minister and leader of the Liberal Party.

SAINT-SIMON, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, Comte de, French utopian socialist, born 17 October 1760 in Paris, died there 22 May 1825. Coming from one of the leading aristocratic houses of France, Saint-Simon left the army to study politics. During the French Revolution he was involved in land speculation and had to spend a year in prison. He searched for a system of 'physicopolitics', which was to supersede theology and to supply ethical rules. In 1803 he devised a scientific religion built on the law of gravitation, with scientists as priests. He became entirely impoverished and lived on subsidies from a former valet. In 1817 his social system was ready. It centred on 'industrialism'. Saint-Simon's slogan was: 'All for and through industry!' Anticipating Marx (q.v.), he stated: 'Politics is the science of production.' He painted the picture of a society based on large-scale industry, in which social conflict would end, thanks to a hierarchy of benevolent industrial leaders. Society, he said, ought to be administered scientifically by a 'dictatorship of the able'. Private property was to be maintained, but to be used in the common interest. Industrialists, bankers and technicians were to govern the new commonwealth, while the aristocracy, the clergy and the military caste were to be removed from power. In modern terms Saint-Simon was a technocrat rather than a socialist (see *Socialism, Technocracy*), and he also anticipated certain ideas proposed by industrialists of our own age, including Henry Ford, yet he is customarily reckoned as one of the utopian socialists. He expected the coming of the new society from enlightenment of the powers that be, not from class war. He had great ideological influence on later socialism, including Marxism. A Saint-Simonian sect persisted some time after his death, and produced not a few prominent bankers, industrialists and railroad builders of the nineteenth century. Indeed the decision to construct the Suez Canal (q.v.) can be traced to Saint-Simonians. The most important works of the Count were *Réorganisation de la société Européenne* (1814), *L'organisateur* (1820) and *Catéchisme des industriels* (1823). He was one of the first protagonists of a European federation.

SALAZAR, Dr. António d'Oliveira, Portuguese dictator, prime minister, war minister, and foreign minister, born 1888 in Santa Comba, the son of a poor peasant. Studied political science and became professor of economics in the university of Coimbra. When Portugal's last democratic government was overthrown on 28 May 1926, by a military *coup d'état*, Salazar was appointed minister of finance, but resigned after a few days. In 1928 he was once more made minister of finance and balanced the Portuguese budget. In 1932 he was offered the premiership, which he has held since and made into an actual dictatorship. His system is fascist and corporate, but he is regarded as the mildest of all totalitarian dictators. He founded his fascist party, the *União Nacional*, only after his advent to power; he had been called to office not as leader of any movement but on account of the personal reputation he enjoyed for integrity and expert knowledge. Salazar's policy is embodied in the *Estado Novo* (New State), which is authoritarian, Catholic, corporate, and nationalist. It is based on Salazar's totalitarian União Nacional, which has its own militia and youth movement. (See *Portugal.*) Salazar had his constitution confirmed by a referendum in 1933. He enacted a number of social, economic, and educational reforms and initiated a programme of public works. At the price of liberty, he ended the internal disorder that had prevailed in Portugal for many years. Formally he works under President Carmona (in office since 1926), but he is Portugal's real ruler. He is a bachelor and a pious Catholic.

SALISBURY, Robert Gascoygne-Cecil, 5th Marquis of, British Conservative politician, born 1893, known as Viscount Cranborne 1903–47, created Baron Cecil 1941,

succeeded to the marquisate 1947. He was Foreign Under-Secretary from 1935 to 1938, when he resigned with Eden (q.v.) in protest against Chamberlain's policy of appeasement (q.v.). In Churchill's coalition he was Paymaster-General 1940, Dominions Secretary 1940–2 and 1943–5, Colonial Secretary 1942, Lord Privy Seal 1942–3 and Leader of the House of Lords 1942–5. Since 1945 he has led the Conservative Opposition in the House of Lords.

SALVADOR, Republica de El, Central American republic, 34,000 sq. m., population 2,019,000, mostly aboriginals and mestizos known as *Ladinos*. The capital is San Salvador. The country lives by selling coffee to the U.S.A.

The Constitution of 1886 provided for a President elected for four years and possessed of great powers, and a National Assembly of 42 members elected for one year. The actual form of government has for a long time been a personal dictatorship; there are no traditional parties. From 1931 to 1944 General Martinez was dictator. In 1932 he suppressed a rebellion aiming at land reform, and about 10,000 people were killed. In 1939 he promulgated a new constitution, giving himself greater power. He was overthrown in May 1944 by General Menandez, who in turn was deposed in October by Colonel Aguirre y Salinas. In March 1945 General Castaneda Castro assumed office. A National Assembly was elected and the 1886 constitution, democratic in form, was restored. An uprising of the army under Major O. Osorio overthrew President Castro on 14 December 1948.

SAMOA, for Western Samoa see *New Zealand*, and for Eastern Samoa see *United States* (final section of *American Possessions*).

SANCTIONS, coercive measures taken to ensure fulfilment of international treaty obligations. Sanctions were provided in the Peace Treaty of Versailles of 1919 in case of non-fulfilment by Germany and were applied in 1921 and 1923 (Ruhr occupation). Sanctions were also provided by Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations (q.v.) against countries resorting to war in defiance of the Covenant. Economic or military sanctions could be applied against a country declared aggressor by the League. During the Italo-Abyssinian war of 1935–6 economic sanctions on a limited scale were applied against Italy, but without success. The United Nations Charter (see *United Nations*) also provides for sanctions, without using the word which has fallen into disrepute; there are, however, many reservations and loopholes.

SAN DOMINGO, another name for the Dominican Republic (q.v.).

SAN MARINO, a little republic inside Italy, near the town of Rimini. A population of 12,500 inhabits an area of 25 sq. m. The ancient republic hailed the unification of Italy by the House of Savoy in the nineteenth century and was preserved by Italy out of gratitude. It is governed by a parliament and two consuls. A convention with Italy, concluded in 1939, provides for an annual subsidy from Italy of 3,300,000 lire (raised to 15 millions in 1945) in return for San Marino's renunciation of a tobacco monopoly and a currency of its own. The republic also undertook to tolerate no industries competing with Italy. After World War II, a communist-socialist majority was elected in San Marino. It was endorsed at the election of 27 February 1949, when 35 (previously 40) communist and pro-communist socialists were elected as against 25 (20) Christian democrats. (Parties are similar to those in Italy, q.v.). San Marino demanded thirty times the original subsidy in view of the depreciation of the lira. The Italian government found that the republic had become a centre of communist activities and of arms smuggling for communist purposes, and had violated the 1939 treaty by harbouring numerous trade companies and industries which went there to escape Italian taxation. It stopped the subsidy and subjected San Marino to a sort of economic blockade.

SATYAGRAHA, Hindustani for non-violence, the policy of passive resistance conducted by Gandhi (q.v.) in India under British rule. Satyagrahi—one who carried out this policy.

SAUDI ARABIA (pron. Sa'oodi), *El Arabiya es Saudiya*, also shortly referred to as *Saudiya*, the kingdom of Ibn Saud (q.v.) in the Arabian Peninsula. It covers almost the whole interior of the peninsula, also known as Arabia proper, and the coastal territory

of Hedjaz with the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. The area is about 460,000 sq. .m (the boundaries are not everywhere clearly defined) and consists largely of desert; the population is estimated at 4,500,000–5,000,000, of whom 3,500,000 live in the Hedjaz. A large proportion consists of nomad bedouins, the rest are concentrated in oases and the few cities. The realm, founded in 1932 by Ibn Saud, has two capitals, Mecca and Er Riyad. The King resides in Er Riyad in the interior. There are two administrative divisions, the Nejd and the Hedjaz. The King's eldest son, Emir Saud, is viceroy of the interior (the Nejd), while his second son, Emir Feisal, is viceroy of the Hedjaz; the Emir Mansur is Minister of Defence. Unification of the state has so far not proved feasible owing to the religious and cultural differences between the puritan Wahabbis (q.v.) populating the Nejd and the inhabitants of the coastal country. The government of the Nejd is on the lines of patriarchal despotism; the Hedjaz constitution of 1926 provides for the absolute government of the King, assisted by a consultative legislative assembly and local or tribal councils; the members of these bodies are appointed or confirmed by the King. Foreign legations have their seat at Jedda, the main port.

The independence of Saudi Arabia has been recognized internationally, and the kingdom is a member of the United Nations. Ibn Saud works for gradual modernization. The country is a member of the Arab League (q.v.) and has treaties of friendship with Egypt, Irak and Yemen. There is a frontier dispute with Transjordania about Akaba. Reforms meet with difficulties due to the religious rigidity of the Wahabbis and to general backwardness. Slavery is still rife. A nucleus of a modern administration and of a modern army (including some aircraft and armour) has been created by the King. Some roads have also been built. The Hedjaz railroad is not in operation at present.

The Standard Oil Company of California acquired an oil concession for Saudi Arabia, and oil was struck in commercial quantities near Khobar on the Persian Gulf in 1938. Oil production has since grown rapidly and passed the 2,000,000-ton mark in 1945. Some experts believe that the Saudian oilfields contain one-half of the world's oil reserves. The United States has since taken considerable political interest in Saudi Arabia. American oil interests in Arabia were linked with British oil interests in Persia (q.v.) by an agreement concluded in 1947. (See *Oil.*)

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN, North German province bordering on Denmark. Schleswig and Holstein were formerly duchies in personal union with Denmark. They were separated from the Danish connection in 1864 by the German-Danish war, and annexed to Prussia as a province in 1866 after the Austro-Prussian war, one of the causes of which they had been. A considerable Danish population remained in North Schleswig. In the peace treaty with Austria in 1866 Prussia undertook to hold a plebiscite there, but this was not done and the clause was abolished by a new Austro-German treaty in 1878. The plebiscite did finally take place after half a century, when the Allies imposed it by the Treaty of Versailles after World War I. North Schleswig was in 1920 divided into two voting zones. Zone 1, in the north, voted 74 per cent for Denmark, while Zone 2, in the south, voted 80 per cent for Germany. Zone 1 thereupon reverted to Denmark and became South Jutland instead of North Schleswig A German minority of some 30,000 passed to Denmark with the area and obtained minority rights. Germany retained in South Schleswig a Danish population of similar size who also obtained minority rights. After World War II Danish nationalists raised a claim for annexation of further parts of Schleswig to Denmark. A 'South Schleswig Association' was formed in Schleswig to support this trend, and its membership of 74,000 far surpassed the number of Danes in the province, in which 62 per cent of the population had voted Nazi in 1932. Even nationalist Danes suspected that this trend had only temporary and materialistic reasons, the food situation in Denmark being so much better than in Germany. The Danish government stated in a note to the British government dated 19 October 1946 that it wanted neither a frontier change, nor a plebiscite, nor an exchange of minorities, but only safeguards for the civic rights of the Danish minority in South Schleswig, the removal of the 300,000 German expellees from the east who had settled in Schleswig amidst the original population of 330,000, and admin-

istrative separation of purely German Holstein from Schleswig. An election was fought in Denmark in October 1947 over the Schleswig question. (See *Denmark*.) The British view seemed to be that the safeguarding of minority rights for the Danes in Schleswig was about all that could be done.

The German socialist government of Schleswig-Holstein, which is now a state of the German federal republic [see *Germany*], made an agreement in 1949 with the leaders of the Danish minority on the protection of the latter's rights. The federal election on 14 August 1949 resulted in the German Christian Democratic Party, believed to be opposed to the agreement, becoming the largest party in the province, instead of the socialists, but the socialist government continued for the time being. The South Schleswig Association polled 75,000 votes, and obtained one seat in the federal diet.

SCHUMACHER, Dr. Kurt, German socialist leader, born 13 October 1895 at Kulm, studied law, lost an arm in World War I, was elected to the *Reichstag* on the socialist ticket in 1930 and became one of the leaders of the activist group demanding more vigorous resistance to Nazism. In 1933 Schumacher was arrested by the Gestapo and had to spend ten years in a concentration camp. Released in 1943, he was arrested again in 1944 after the conspiracy of 20 July, but released soon after. Schumacher emerged as the leader of the restored German Social-Democratic Party in 1945, whose chairman he has been since. In September 1948 he had to undergo the amputation of a leg owing to a disease.

SCHUMAN, Robert, French lawyer and Catholic politician, born 1886 at Luxembourg. Coming from a peasant family of the part of Lorraine which had become German in 1871, he was educated at Luxembourg, Strasbourg and Berlin, and became a lawyer at Metz, Lorraine. In World War I he was, according to German sources, mobilized into the German army as an officer. When Alsace-Lorraine (q.v.) reverted to France after World War I, he was elected to the French parliament as deputy for Moselle in 1919, a seat he has been holding since. From 1928 to 1936 he was chairman of the French Chamber's Commission on Alsace-Lorraine. In World War II he was secretary of state under Reynaud, returned to Metz after the fall of France in 1940, was imprisoned by the Germans, but escaped to work in the resistance movement. As a leading member of the *Mouvement Républicain Populaire* he was Finance Minister in the Bidault and Ramadier governments, June 1946–November 1947, Prime Minister November 1947–July 1948 and Foreign Minister in the Marie government, July–August 1948. When the Marie government resigned, he became Prime Minister again, but fell at the end of September. In the Queuille government which was then formed he was Foreign Minister. He retained this post in the succeeding Bidault government of October 1949.

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM. (See *Socialism, Utopianism.*)

SCOTT REPORT, in Britain the report of the Committee on Land Utilization in Rural Areas under the chairmanship of Lord Justice Scott, published in 1942. It recommended a central planning authority and a five-year plan to improve living conditions in the countryside, to maintain agriculture and rural industries, and to prevent agricultural land being used for building.

SCOTTISH NATIONALIST MOVEMENT, a movement aiming at self-government for Scotland. Proposals for a Scottish national council or parliament have often been made since the 1880s, and a national movement developed in the 1920s from the Scottish Home Rule Association of 1918 and the later Scottish National League. The Scottish National Party was formed in 1934 by the union of the Scottish Party of 1928 and the National Party of 1929. The party aims at the establishment of a Scottish parliament and government in full control of Scottish affairs. It proposes that a self-governing Scotland shall be in intimate relations with the other countries of the British Isles and with the Dominions. The exact nature of this relationship is to be determined by a Scottish Constituent Assembly, although it is proposed that Scotland shall have separate representation abroad. In 1942 a number of members seceded from the party and formed the Scottish Convention, because they opposed complete separation from England and preferred Home Rule (q.v.) within the United

Kingdom. In the general election of 1945 the eight national candidates polled 30,594 votes; none was elected. In 1947 and 1948 Scottish Convention summoned a National Assembly, representative of many aspects of Scottish life, and this body adopted a detailed scheme of Home Rule. The third Assembly in October 1949 adopted a National Covenant, pledging the signatories to work for a Scottish Parliament. The number of signatures was approaching 1,000,000 about the turn of the year. Liberals and Communists support the plan, while Labour and Conservatives oppose it, although they favour a measure of administrative devolution.

The Crowns of England and Scotland were united in 1603, when James VI of Scotland became James I of England. In 1707 the Act of Union provided for the union of the two parliaments and the creation of the United Kingdom. The Act safeguarded the established Presbyterian Church, the local government and judicial systems and the civil and criminal law of Scotland. Scottish affairs were placed under the control of the Scottish Office, which was abolished in 1746 but revived in 1885. In 1926 the Secretary for Scotland was given the title of Secretary of State for Scotland. He has offices in Edinburgh as well as in London. His department does not, however, control all government activities in Scotland, some of them being under departments dealing with the whole of Britain. Although the Parliament of the United Kingdom enacts legislation for Scotland as well as for the rest of Britain, separate Scottish bills are passed for many subjects. These bills and the estimates of the Scottish Office are referred to the Scottish Grand Committee of the House of Commons, which consists of all the Scottish M.P.s together with a small number of English and Welsh members. Under the Representation of the People Act 1948 Scotland is to return 71 M.P.s, one for every 47,000 electors; the whole United Kingdom is to return 625 M.P.s, one for every 55,000 electors. Those Scottish peers who do not also hold English or United Kingdom peerages elect 16 of their number to represent them in the House of Lords for the duration of each parliament. In 1948 an Economic Conference, representing Scottish interests, was formed to advise the Secretary of State on economic development. This had been provided in a Government Paper on Scottish Affairs, issued 1947, in which the Labour Government stated it was anxious to do everything possible within the framework of the British Constitution and the existing parliamentary system to meet the widespread desire in Scotland that the Scottish people should have increased opportunities of dealing with affairs of purely Scottish concern. The paper pointed out that various ministries had established offices in Scotland to which a wide measure of executive responsibility had been delegated.

SENANAYAKE, Don Stephen, Ceylonese politician, born 1882. He has been a member of the legislature since 1921. He was a member of the Executive Council 1927–31 and Minister of Agriculture and Lands 1931–47. He led the movement for Ceylonese self-government, and when this was achieved in 1947, he became Prime Minister, Minister of Defence, and Minister of External Affairs. He is leader of the United National Party

SENATE, the upper (second) chamber of the legislatures of many countries. Its name is derived from ancient Rome, whose Senate was a powerful council of the heads of the leading families (Latin *senes* = elders). Among the qualifications for membership of many modern senates is an age one, thus members of the American senate (see below) must be thirty years old, while members of the House of Representatives (q.v.) need be only twenty-five. (See *Bicameral Legislature.*)

In the United States the Senate consists of 96 members, 2 from every state of the union, regardless of area and population. They are elected for six years, a third retiring every two years. The actual average age of senators is 55 to 60. Rotation is slower than in the House of Representatives, an average of 27 per cent of the senators having been new every 2 years in the period 1790–1924. On an average, 60 per cent of all senators are lawyers. Senatorial candidates must have been American citizens for 9 years and be inhabitants of the state in which they stand for election. The Senate is designed as a chamber of states.

The Senate is presided over by the vice-president of the United States, but he votes only when the Senate is equally divided. A president *pro tempore* is chosen by the Senate to preside in the absence of the vice-

president or when the latter has become president. The Senate has special rights concerning control of foreign policy. Its approval (by a two-thirds majority) is required for all treaties with other countries, and the proceedings of the Senate and its Committee on Foreign Relations are watched all over the world as an indicator of the trend of American foreign policy. Senate approval by a two-thirds majority is also required for presidential appointments to a number of high offices, including Cabinet members, judges of the Supreme Court, and full generals. The absence of an effective provision for closure permits obstruction, which is often practised by the minority to force its will upon the majority (see *Filibuster*). It cannot initiate legislation dealing with finance. It very often completely recasts a bill, even a finance one, sent to it by the House. Disputes between the two chambers are resolved by a joint committee, whose recommendations are usually accepted by both Houses.

As a result of the elections of November 1948 the Senate consisted of 54 Democrats and 42 Republicans; before these elections it had contained 45 Democrats and 51 Republicans. (On the Senates of *Australia*, *Canada*, *New Zealand* and *South Africa*, see the articles on those countries.)

SENUSSI, a strict Moslem order in Libya (q.v.), dominating the territory of Cyrenaica and the Libyan Desert in North Africa. The order was founded in 1833 by Mohammed Ali es Senussi, a native of Algeria, in Mecca and soon transferred to Cyrenaica. The order appointed sheikhs to settle the constant feuds of the bedouin tribes, and although a religious society and not a state, it gradually assumed the functions of government in its Libyan centre. As a religious order it also spread all over the North African desert from Morocco to the Sudan, and even to Arabia proper. Cyrenaica became for all practical purposes a Senussi state the dignity of Sheikh being hereditary in the founder's family. Since 1920 the Sheikh of the Senussi has been claiming the title of Emir of Cyrenaica, and has indeed shown aspirations to become Emir of all Libya. Since Italy annexed Libya in 1911 the Senussi have been anti-Italian. In World War I they supported Turkey, in World War II they sided with Britain. Italy had recognized their autonomy in 1920, but suppressed it in a series of sanguinary battles between 1923 and 1931. Britain promised that the Senussi should never come under Italian rule again, and Emir Idris es Senussi, the present head of the order, resumed his functions in Cyrenaica after World War II. (On his recognition as ruler of the country, see *Libya*.)

SEPARATION OF POWERS, the political principle that legislative, executive and judicial powers should be exercised by separate, mutually independent authorities. This is regarded as a fundamental principle of democracy. The executive power, if allowed to be the legislative power as well, would become a law to itself and tend to arbitrary rule. It must remain bound to laws made by a different body, the legislature. The judiciary, though likewise bound to law, must be independent of both. Through this system excessive concentration of power in one place is avoided, and checks and balances (q.v.) can effectively play between the various branches of the administration.

Separation of powers was suggested by the classical political thinkers of antiquity. Its modern formulation derives from Locke (q.v.) and Montesquieu (q.v.). When they were writing at the end of the seventeenth and start of the eighteenth centuries the principle was being applied in Britain. The Glorious Revolution of 1688–9, completed in the following years, had deprived the executive (the King) of the power to suspend the laws, had discouraged members of the executive (denounced as 'placemen') from sitting in the legislature, had almost deprived the King of the power of influencing the legislature by creating peers and had guaranteed the independence of the judges by making them irremovable save for misconduct. Later this apparent separation of powers was replaced by a very great concentration of executive power and control of the legislature in the cabinet responsible to the legislature, but in the meanwhile Montesquieu's writings had greatly influenced the founders of the United States of America (q.v.), who gave their new country a constitution in which the President (executive), Congress (legislature) and Supreme Court (judiciary) were designed to balance each other.

Neither in America nor elsewhere has the separation of powers been effected in its

pure form. The veto of Kings and Presidents gives the heads of state a limited share in legislation; in the United States the Supreme Court, i.e. the judiciary, may abolish legislation; and in all countries with parliamentary government (q.v.) the legislature, in theory or in fact, controls the executive because the government is responsible to parliament. Still the boundaries between the three powers are roughly definable in all democratic countries. Fundamental modern concepts, such as the independence of the judiciary or the civil service, may be traced to the principle of the separation of powers, and fear lest officialdom may gain too much power is one ground for its being invoked even to-day. (See *Bureaucracy*.) Even among liberals there is now a growing school favouring the concentration of executive and legislative power, although by parliamentary government (q.v.) rather than increasing the powers of the executive alone (see *Administrative Law*), but the independence of the judiciary is still regarded by them as fundamental to a free society. Generally speaking, attempts at abolishing the separation of powers, whether inspired by conservative ideas (absolutism, fascism) or by revolutionary zeal (the Soviet system), have so far resulted in loss of liberty. The abolition of the separation of powers is indeed of the essence of dictatorship.

The separation of powers should not be confused with the division of powers (q.v.) between the general and regional governments in federalism (q.v.). In the U.S.A. powers are both divided and separated.

SEYCHELLES ISLANDS, British colony in the Indian Ocean, 156 sq. m., population 35,000, chief exports: copra and spices.

SHAW, George Bernard, Irish playwright and political writer, born 1856. In 1879 he met Sidney Webb (q.v.), who greatly influenced him; in 1883 he became a socialist and in 1884 he and Webb joined the Fabian Society (q.v.) of which they became leading members. Through his plays and the prefaces to them, and through pamphlets and books, Shaw has greatly influenced contemporary thought on social and political topics. He has been described as the Aristophanes of to-day, using his wit to incite his fellows to see the folly of their social and political behaviour, as Aristophanes did in ancient Athens. His chief political works are *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism* (1928), *The Political Madhouse in the U.S.A. and Nearer Home* (1933) and *Everybody's Political What's What* (1944), but there are few of his plays which do not contain political references—among the political plays are *Man and Superman* (1903) and *The Apple Cart* (1930) and the prefaces to them.

Like other Fabians, Shaw criticizes capitalism for its inefficiency and waste. For its political inefficiency the remedy is not democracy, since the electorate is ignorant and loathes being governed, taxed and subjected to official interference, but the rule of the intelligent—who are not the party politicians. The new society should be based on fundamental equality of incomes—which should be sufficiently equal for there to be no class distinctions important enough to discourage marriage between members of different classes (a dysgenic discouragement which Shaw considers the bane of capitalism) but sufficiently unequal for natural ability to be encouraged by greater rewards. In organization the new society would be socialist—without private ownership of economic—resources, and controlled human and material resources would be directed to the most suitable employments.

SHOP STEWARD, in Britain one of the workers in a 'shop' (= workshop, a factory or part of one) elected by his fellow-workers to represent their interests. The shop stewards movement developed in World War I, when the workers often felt that the close co-operation between their unions and the employers and the government in the war effort was leading to the neglect of their own interests. The shop stewards were usually more radical than the ordinary trade-union officials, with whom there was some conflict. Many of the stewards, and with them their special union, supported the communists in the 1917–20 split between the socialists and the communists. During World War II, when the unions were again working with the government and the employers, the shop steward movement revived. In Germany and a few other countries, shop stewards are a legal institution, and form shop councils.

SIAM, official name *Muang Thai* or *Thailand*, South-East Asian kingdom, 200,000 sq. m., population 18,147,000. The capital

is Bangkok. The population is Indo-Chinese with a Malayan strain, and almost entirely buddhist. The state was set up by the Thai peoples which came from Indo-China seven centuries ago. (*Thai* means 'the free'.) They are divided into three sections: the Siamese in the centre, who form the actual core of the state and number 5,000,000 (they gave to the country the name *Savam*, later anglicized to Siam); the northern Laos; and the western Shans. The Laos are akin to the Laos of Indo-China (q.v.), the Shans to the Shans of Burma (q.v.), from which political aspirations of Siam to the adjacent areas concerned are derived. The Thai languages belong to the Indo-Chinese family. There are also some 2,000,000 immigrant Chinese in Siam, and some 500,000 Malays. The country produces rice, lumber and non-ferrous metal ores.

Siam was opened to contact and trade with Europe and America in the nineteenth century under King Chulalankarana. It remained independent, but came strongly under British influence. It had to cede its former Malay possessions to Britain and parts of Indo-China (Laos, Cambodia) to France. Until 1932 Siam was an absolute monarchy. Then a group of modernist army officers supported by the rising middle class and intelligentsia forced King Prajadhipok to grant a constitution, providing for a parliament and responsible government. One-half of the deputies was to be elected and one-half to be appointed by the crown; from 1942 onwards all were to be elected, but the war delayed this change. King Prajadhipok abdicated in 1935, and was succeeded by his son, Ananda Mahipol, born 1925, during whose minority a regency was to govern under Marshal Pibul Songgram, one of the modernist leaders. Actually a military dictatorship existed, working for reforms aiming at making Siam a modern nation and at organizing a modern army and navy. In 1936 Siam abolished capitulations (q.v.). Gradually Japanese influence began to work against British counsel in Bangkok.

After the collapse of France in 1940 Siam demanded some districts of Indo-China back, and there were skirmishes between French and Thai forces. On Japanese intervention an agreement was concluded on 6 May 1941, between Siam and Indo-China's Vichy-French government, which returned to Siam four districts of Laos and Cambodia lost in 1907. On 8 December 1941 Japanese troops invaded Siam within the framework of the general Japanese offensive to the south; only some token resistance was offered, the Japanese meeting with support from Pibul Songgram's party. Siam concluded an alliance with Japan and declared war on Britain and America. The United States refused to take note of the declaration of war, saying it had been made under duress from the Japanese. Siam occupied the four Malay States it had once controlled. (See *Malaya*.) Under the Japanese occupation Luang Pradit, also known as Nai Pridi Panomyong, was appointed Regent; he was of the pro-English party and supported the Allies secretly by intelligence, guerrilla warfare and sabotage. Pro-Japanese Songgram became Prime Minister but fell from power in 1944. After Japan's downfall Siam severed the Japanese connection and returned to friendship with Britain and America. The state of war with Britain was ended by a treaty on 1 January 1946; it provided for reparations to take the form of rice deliveries, but payment was later agreed upon for them, and Siam obtained British and American loans. The Siamese evacuated the four Malay States and after United Nations proceedings also returned the four Indo-Chinese districts. A frontier dispute with Indo-China on the Mekong River is to be settled by a commission. Pibul Songgram was declared a war criminal by the peace treaty, but the Siamese court found that no real state of war had existed and there were, therefore, no war criminals. Pibul remained unmolested. The view that the declaration of war enforced by Japan had been invalid became the basis of Siamese politics.

On 9 June 1946 young King Ananda Mahipol was found shot dead; the circumstances of his death remained obscure but the verdict of an investigating commission in 1948 was murder. His eighteen-year-old brother, Phumibol Adandej, was chosen King in his stead by the parliament, with a regency council, headed by Luang Pradit. On 9 November 1947 Pibul Songgram, also known as Marshal Phibun, seized power by a military *coup d'état*, deposing the premier, Dhamrong Hawasawat, and replacing the regency council by a supreme state council under Prince Rangsit. In January 1948 an election was held. Songgram's party, known

as Tharmatipat, was defeated, while a Democratic Party, led by Luang K. Abhaiwongse, obtained 54 of the 100 seats. Songgram became Prime Minister of a coalition government based on his own party, the democrats, a Royalist Party and some officials. Luang Pradit (Pridi Panomyong—in Siam all public figures are known by two names, depending on the language used) had resigned from the regency in 1947 and was now completely ousted by his conservative and nationalist rival; he had to flee abroad, but kept a following in the country.

In January 1949 a new constitution was adopted, giving more powers to the King (at present in Switzerland for education). Followers of the former premier, Pridi Panomyong, attempted *coups d'état* in October 1948 and March 1949, but were frustrated by Marshal Phibun (Pibul Songgram).

SIERRA LEONE. (See *British West Africa.*)

SINCLAIR, Sir Archibald, 4th baronet, British Liberal politician, born 1890. He was Secretary for Scotland in 1931–2, but with other Liberals resigned from the coalition government because it had adopted the Conservative policy of protection. In Churchill's wartime coalition he was Secretary for Air 1940–5. He was Leader of the Liberals in the House of Commons from 1935 to 1945, when he was defeated in the general election.

SINGAPORE. (See *Malaya.*)

SINKIANG, Chinese name for Chinese Turkestan, north-western border province of China, situated in the north of Tibet. Area 550,000 sq. m., population estimated at 1,200,000, of whom only 10 per cent are Chinese; 60 per cent of the population are Moslems, mostly Turkomans, and there are also Mongols, Kirghizes, Khasaks, Manchus and other peoples. The principal towns are Kashgar and Urumchi. The province, in which Chinese government authority has always been weak, was unofficially occupied by Soviet troops in 1930 and was virtually under Soviet administration until 1944. Then the Chinese governor returned and took his seat at Tihva. As a result of Turkoman uprisings in 1945 a degree of autonomy was granted to tribes in the region. In February 1949 the Chinese governor signed the agreement of Urumchi with the Soviet Union, giving the latter extensive economic concessions in the province (which has been rumoured to contain uranium deposits). The Kuo Min Tang government at Nanking (see *China*) denounced this agreement. Later in the year Sinkiang came under communist control, and the governor joined the Chinese communist republic. It seems that Russia has reserved special rights in Sinkiang.

SLAVERY, a condition in which a person is the property of some other person as a chattel, may be bought and sold, is entirely subject to the master's commands and has to work without consent or compensation. A movement against slavery developed in Europe and America in the eighteenth century and gradually achieved the abolition of slavery. All the northern American states abolished slavery between 1774 (Rhode Island) and 1804 (New Jersey), while the southern states maintained it until the Civil War, after which the 13th Amendment, adopted in 1865, abolished slavery throughout the United States. In Latin America the abolition of slavery went with the political emancipation of the states or followed it after some time. Only Brazil preserved slavery until 1888. The negro populations in the Americas are the descendants of slaves brought over from Africa during the age of slavery.

On an international scale the abolition of slavery was fostered by the ideas of the French Revolution and the ascendancy of liberal principles in general. It was also promoted by the rise of industry, depending on free labour working under the wage system, as against the plantation economy dependent on slave labour. The principal antagonist of slavery was Britain, and the British navy cleared the seas of slave-traders in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A series of international conventions were made to suppress slavery and the slave trade, including the Brussels Act of 1890, signed by eighteen nations, the Convention of St. Germain of 1919, outlawing also veiled forms of slavery, and the League of Nations Anti-Slavery Convention of 1926, signed by thirty-eight nations. Slavery still exists on the fringes of the civilized world; the number of slaves in the world is at present estimated at 5,000,000. Slavery is a legal institution in Abyssinia (q.v.) and Arabia, and slave-raids continue

in certain parts of Africa to supply Abyssinian and Arab buyers with negro slaves. The principal enemy of the slave trade in these regions is still the British navy, but with the reduction of British strength in the East the slave traffic has recently been reported to show signs of an increase. Slavery also exists in certain parts of Central Asia, and is rife in unofficial forms in China. In such forms it also exists, paradoxically enough, in Liberia, the state of liberated negro slaves.

SLAVS, a group of peoples speaking Slav languages and living in an area stretching from certain parts of Central and Southern Europe to Eastern Europe and Siberia. The Slav peoples number (in millions): Russians 80, Ukrainians 36, White Russians 6, Poles 23, Czechs 7, Slovaks 2½, Bulgarians 4, Yugoslavs 13 (the latter consisting of the following peoples: Serbs 6, Croats 4, Slovenes 1, Macedonians 2). The total number of Slavs is about 170 millions at present. The Slav languages are closely akin, but there are considerable differences in the tone and spirit of the eastern and western Slav languages. Besides the Teutonic and Romanic languages the Slav tongues are the third great branch of the Indo-European family of languages in Europe. A Slav race cannot be spoken of scientifically; the Slavs are a mixture of various 'races' like all other peoples. They have absorbed Teutonic and other strains in Central Europe, and also Mongolian peoples in Russia. Notwithstanding some common traits the Slavs have no uniform civilization; the cultures of the various Slav peoples, especially if Western and Eastern Slavs are compared, show great differences. The Slavs have not had a common history; the Western Slavs came early under Western influence and embraced Catholicism, while the Eastern Slavs, including the Balkan Slavs, developed under Byzantine influence and adopted Greek Orthodoxy. Thus the Slav peoples grew up in different cultural orbits. On the whole, the Slavs, with the exception of the Czechs, have not yet reached the cultural level of the Western nations. However, the progress made by them in the last thirty years, since World War I and the Russian Revolution, is considerable, and their organizational, economic and cultural achievements have been impressive. Russia's contribution to European culture was great already in the nineteenth century. The Slavs are believed to be on the uptrend biologically and historically. Their birth-rate is (with the exception of the Czechs) substantially higher than that of the West European and American peoples. In every respect they display strong vitality. Some of their theorists think they are the 'young' peoples called upon to play a similar part in relation to the 'ageing' West as the Teutons did at the end of antiquity in relation to the late Roman world.

After World War II all Slav peoples came, for the first time in history, under a common political direction under the aegis of Russia. They are sometimes referred to as the Slav bloc. But Yugoslavia (q.v.) left in 1948. (On the pan-Slav movement, aiming at political unity of all Slavs, see *Pan-Slavism.*)

SLOVAKS, a Slav people of over 2,500,000 in the North Carpathian mountains, north of the Hungarian plain, neighbours and kinsmen of the Czechs. For centuries under Hungarian rule, they were united with the Czechs in 1918 in the Czechoslovak Republic. (See *Czechoslovakia.*) With reference to the Pittsburgh Agreement, concluded during World War I by the later Czech President, Masaryk (q.v.), and the American Slovaks, they kept demanding autonomy, regarding themselves as a separate nation, while the Czechs spoke of a joint Czecho-Slovak nation. The Slovak language is different from Czech, but so closely related to it that it is sometimes regarded as a mere Czech dialect frozen into a written language. Most Slovaks are devout Roman Catholics. When Czechoslovakia was reorganized after the Munich Agreement in the autumn of 1938 Slovakia obtained autonomy, but had to cede to Hungary considerable areas inhabited by 700,000 Hungarians, which had been included in Czechoslovakia in 1918. Soon a fascist dictatorship of the Catholic People's Party, founded by the late Father Hlinka, developed in Slovakia, and on 10 March 1939 a Nazi-engineered uprising took place in Bratislava, the capital, which ended in the proclamation of Slovak independence under the People's Party's leaders, Tuka and Tiso. Slovakia became a puppet state of Germany and took part in Germany's wars against Poland and Russia, in the persecution of the Jews and other Nazi policies. Slovaks abroad joined the

Czechoslovak government in exile under President Benes. After World War II Slovakia returned to the Czech fold, but obtained far-reaching autonomy, sponsored by Russia and the communists. The People's Party was suppressed. Separatism was, however, reported to continue. In May 1947 the Slovak democrats, consisting largely of former Populists and Agrarians, obtained two-thirds of the vote and a majority on the Board of Commissioners, which is the Slovak government. Although also representing Catholic interests this party was not successor to the Hlinka party; it was founded by Slovak Protestants. The Protestants of Slovakia had been the main adherents of union with the Czechs because they sympathized with the Czech Hussite tradition and expected protection from the Czechs against the Catholic majority. Later in the year communist pressure made itself felt against the Democratic Party and arrests were made among its officials and members. The party was then purged and a communist-dominated Board of Commissioners appointed. After the seizure of power by the communists at Prague (see *Czechoslovakia*) in February 1948 a trend became visible to restrain Slovak autonomy.

Slovakia is of strategic importance in South-East Europe. It regained the area ceded to Hungary by the Paris peace treaty of 10 February 1947 and also obtained some Danube bridgeheads from Hungary. Russian interest in the country was reported in 1947 to be lively. Slovak Americans continue to be concerned with the land of their origin, favouring neither Russian nor Czech domination, and there is an American Slovak Council. Slovak groups in Rome, Paris, London and Geneva continue to work for Slovak independence, while other Slovaks work in the Czech *émigré* groups which left Czechoslovakia after the communist *coup* in 1948.

SLOVENES. (See *Yugoslavia.*)

SMUTS, Jan Christian, South African statesman, born 1870. A barrister, Smuts was State Attorney of the South African Republic in 1898. In the Boer War of 1899–1902 he fought against the British, but after the defeat of the Boers and the restoration of self-government to the former republics, he was one of the leaders of those who worked for reconciliation in South Africa. He was Colonial Secretary in the Transvaal in 1907 and when the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910 he was Minister of the Interior and of Mines 1910–12, of Defence 1910–20, and of Finance 1912–13 in Botha's government. In 1917 he commanded the British forces in East Africa and in 1917 and 1918 was a member of the Imperial War Cabinet. From 1919 to 1924 he was Prime Minister and Minister for Native Affairs. He led the opposition to Hertzog's nationalist government from 1924 to 1933, when the Nationalist Party and Smuts's South African Party merged to form the United Party. Hertzog remained Prime Minister and Smuts was Minister of Justice. In 1939 Hertzog wanted South Africa to remain neutral but Smuts wanted her to join Britain against Germany. A majority of the party supported him, Hertzog resigned, and Smuts became Prime Minster, Minister for External Affairs and Defence. In May 1948 the United Party was defeated in the elections by the Nationalist Party led by Dr. Malan (q.v.) and Smuts resigned. Smuts has promoted reconciliation in South Africa, intimate co-operation between South Africa and the other members of the British Commonwealth but not by way of formal institutions which would impair South Africa's full sovereignty, and the development of a strong international authority—first the League of Nations and then the United Nations.

Smuts is known also as a philosopher. His system, called Holism, is an idealist one in which lesser entities develop and find their fullest expression in greater and higher ones.

SOCIAL CREDIT MOVEMENTS, political movements proposing permanent prosperity by monetary reforms including loans to the people, 'national dividends' and 'velocity money'. The parent movement in the English-speaking world is the Social Credit Party founded in England by Major C. H. Douglas in the 1920s. Douglas sees the cause of all economic evil in the insufficient supply of money and its control by the banks. He proposes the 'A+B theorem', saying that all prices are made up by two classes of payments: A, payments made to individuals as wages, salaries and dividends, and B, payments made by producers to other firms. Only class A payments create purchasing power while B

payments, being working capital, cannot be consumed. As national income is equal to the total of A payments, and as the sum total of prices is determined by A+B, purchasing power other than A must be provided for a proportion of the product equal to B. This supplementary purchasing power has so far been supplied through new money created by the banks. The money has been used to grant loans which had to be repaid in due course, a constant flow of money has been going to the banks and been lost as purchasing power. This leads to the total of prices exceeding the total of incomes, a condition known to orthodox economics as overproduction. Shortage of money is behind all slumps. Douglas proposes the abolition of the old-fashioned method of repaying debts to the banks. He suggests that the banks should place the new money which, under the present credit system, they create every day, in the hands of the consumer. The plan is that the retailer would have to sell the goods below cost, and his loss plus a commission would be credited to his account at the bank. The prices would be so arranged that the total of wages, salaries and dividends would be sufficient to buy all the goods.

The Canadian Social Credit Party was founded in 1930 by the late William Aberhart and has been in power in the province of Alberta since 1935. Its proposals included a 'national dividend' of $25 a month for every citizen, to be recovered by a purchase tax; also 'just' prices and a 'velocity dollar' with a high speed of circulation. The relevant laws passed by the Alberta Legislature were vetoed by the Canadian government in Ottawa. The party reverted to a fairly orthodox policy of taxation. It is not a branch of the English Social Credit Party from which it differs in programme. The Canadian Social Credit Party now has ten representatives in the Canadian Parliament.

Social credit movements had emerged earlier in Germany and Austria under the name of Free Money Movements. They claimed to offer an alternative to socialism. The Free Money Theory was mainly formulated by Silvio Gesell, who was finance commissar in the short-lived Bavarian Soviet Republic of 1919. According to this theory business is hamstrung by shortage of money, due to control by the banks, and the remedy consists in interest-free loans, abolition of the gold standard, stabilization of prices by elastic regulation of monetary circulation, and especially the enforcement of rapid circulation of the money by a clause providing for an automatic decrease in value every month ('velocity money' or 'vanishing money'). This would induce everybody to spend his money as fast as possible, and thus ensure permanent prosperity. A few small-scale experiments on these lines, carried out with emergency notes issued by local councils in the countries concerned, had apparently quite a successful start, but were stopped by the central banks with a view to the danger of inflation.

As a monetary theory the social credit doctrine is related to the theory of quantity, as an economic theory to the purchasing power doctrine. Apart from objections on ground of theory, its critics hold that it would lead to inflation and prevent the formation of capital. Socialists reject social credit because it seeks the remedy for economic trouble in the organization of circulation, while socialists see it rather in the organization of production. Social credit upholds private property and free enterprise, competition and profit, and turns only against finance. Though the movement started from an essentially liberal basis, this idea has led many of its adherents into the camp of fascism, which seems to have derived its anti-finance slogans from this source. A German engineer named Feder, who invented a variant of 'velocity money', was one of Hitler's first collaborators, and Hitler made the social credit catchword of 'breaking the bondage of interest' one of the twenty-five points of the Nazi programme. (Nothing of the kind was done in practice.) The adherents of the English Social Credit Party, although professing democracy, have been conspicuous by the wearing of green shirts. The Canadian Social Credit Party has recently been heard voicing opinions with a distinct fascist tinge. (See *Canada*.) The social credit theory has not been put into practice anywhere. But ideas related to it have had undeniable influence on international monetary policy in the last twenty years. Among these may be reckoned devaluation (q.v.), the attempts at overcoming the 1930 slump by an 'expansion of credit' and the theories of an 'index currency'.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTIES, social democracy, the moderate and demo-

cratic wing of the socialist movement. (See *Socialism*.) Most Continental European labour parties adopted the name of social-democrats in the later part of the nineteenth century; the name dates back to the French Revolution of 1848. Their programme was a combination of socialism with democracy. Before the secession of the communists in 1919 the social-democrats represented practically the whole international socialist movement. When the communists broke away, the social-democrats in all countries maintained democratic principles regarding both the means and ends of their policy, and they remain acutely opposed to the communists just by their rejection of any dictatorship and their fundamentally liberal philosophy. In respect of human rights and civic liberties they continue in the liberal tradition. (On the problems of the modification of this attitude in connection with socialist requirements, see *Democracy* and *Liberalism*.) Most Continental European social-democratic parties had a Marxian platform from their foundation until World War II (see *Marxism*), but now a large section seems to be moving away from it. Social democracy aims at bringing about a socialist organization of society by democratic means on the basis of a voluntary socialist majority. Meanwhile it endeavours to improve the position of the working classes by trade-union policies and social reforms ('Reformism'). The social-democrats have participated in the governments of many countries since 1918. The British Labour Party, though not officially calling itself social-democratic, is reckoned among these parties, and, indeed, was the most influential party in the Socialist, or Second, International (see *Internationals*), the social-democratic International. Once there was a Social-Democratic Federation in England, later known as the Social-Democratic Party; founded in 1885, it split into several movements after 1903. Its outlook was essentially Marxian, while the Labour Party's programme is Fabian (see *Fabian Society, Labour Party*). There is a small Social Democratic Federation at present in America, and Norman Thomas's Socialist Party of the United States is also social-democratic. The Socialist International was renewed in a loose form in 1947. The social-democratic parties of the greater countries have left wings, which in varying degrees sympathize with communism and the Soviet Union, mostly in contrast to the leaders and majorities of the parties. (In Italy, however, the greater part of the socialists seem in sympathy with communism.)

SOCIALISM, (1) a system of common property and economic planning, (2) the movement aiming at the establishment of such a system. The term arose in France in the 1830s, and was used for and by a variety of social reformers. To-day the term is preferably limited to policies aiming at some form of common property and an economic system in which consideration of the common weal is substituted for the profit incentive. The striving for social reforms and the improvement of the position of the workers within the existing 'capitalist' system (see *Capitalism*), without changing that system as such, is not socialism.

Generally speaking, only five political movements may be correctly called socialist to-day, although the name is sometimes used also by others: (1) social democracy (q.v.), (2) communism (q.v.), (3) anarchism (q.v.), (4) syndicalism (q.v.), (5) co-operative socialism, the last only with certain qualifications. The principal socialist movements are organized in political parties in the various countries, apart from a variety of small groups and sects also standing for some type of socialism. As to their aims, the socialists may be divided into state socialists (social-democrats and communists) and non-state socialists (the others). State socialists want to make the state the owner of industry and set up a centralized government-planned economy. Non-state socialists fear that such a system might endanger freedom and wish to hand the means of production over to smaller units (groups, co-operatives, labour unions), which are then expected to federate for common planning on a free basis. State socialism is numerically by far predominant in the socialist movement of the world. As to their methods, the socialists may be divided into the democratic and the revolutionary socialists. The former include the social-democrats, the co-operativists and some anarchists; the latter include the communists, most anarchists and the syndicalists. All socialist schools profess internationalism, although it has in political practice remained largely theoretical. Occasionally 'national-social-

ist' parties have arisen in some countries; however, the most important movement of this name, Hitler's National-Socialist Party in Germany (see *National Socialism*), was not really socialist (though perhaps 'collectivist'), lacking the essentially ethical and humanistic aims which are almost universally regarded as the criterion of genuine socialism.

Modern socialism began with Babeuf, a French revolutionist who was executed in 1796 for an attempted socialist uprising. His writings influenced the theoreticians of the subsequent 'utopian' period of socialism, so called because the socialists then mainly wrote 'utopias' depicting the socialist commonwealth of their dreams. (See *Utopianism.*) The name sprang from the oldest work of this kind, the classical *Utopia* by Sir Thomas More (q.v.). The utopians did not expect the coming of socialism from a revolution, but from rational and moral persuasion, supported by the example of socialist model settlements and co-operatives. The leading utopians were Fourier (q.v.) and St. Simon (q.v.) in France, Robert Owen (q.v.) in England, and the philosopher, Fichte (q.v.), in Germany. The utopians achieved no practical success, but inspired subsequent socialist movements of a different order and made numerous contributions to sociology and economics.

In 1848 socialism, having spread especially among the working classes of Western Europe, first appeared as a political factor. The French socialist, Louis Blanc, advocated the establishment of *ateliers nationaux*, national workshops, as a nucleus of nationalized industry. He was opposed by Proudhon (q.v.), who stood for a system of co-operativism and 'people's banks'. Both were criticized by two German socialists, Karl Marx (q.v.) and Frederick Engels (q.v.), who wrote the *Communist Manifesto* (q.v.) for a 'League of Communists' existing in London at the time. This document led socialism on to a new road. (Communism even then meant the more radical trend, but the terms socialism and communism were for a long time used synonymously. See *Communism.*) Marx and Engels rejected the idea that socialism might be achieved by appeals to reason and humanity, especially if directed to the propertied classes, as those of the utopians chiefly were. They also scorned the thought of construing an ideal society on paper and trying to translate it into reality. They gave socialism a sociology and political economy of its own. The structure of society, they taught, was determined by the material interests of the ruling classes which would never give up their property and power merely for ethical reasons. Only a class whose material interests coincided with socialism could be receptive to it, and such a class they saw in the working class or proletariat. This section of the people, they proclaimed, must organize on the basis of a community of class interests rather than ethical propositions, and achieve political power. Then it would in the end overthrow the *bourgeois* or middle class, as the latter had previously overthrown the feudal class, and establish a socialist system in a workers' state. Thus began Marxism (q.v.), also styling itself 'scientific socialism', which was to dominate the socialist movement for the next 100 years.

Subsequently the centre of the socialist movement shifted to Germany, where Lassalle founded a working men's association which later developed into the Social-Democratic Party. He was largely a democratic reformer, and soon came into conflict with the more radical Marxist faction. After his death the Lassallean and Marxian sections united on a Marxian platform. (Congress of Gotha, 1875.) The struggle between the moderate and the radical factions of socialism pervades its history from the outset. It also dominated the First International (see *Internationals*), which Marx created in 1865. Here the even more radical anarchists under Bakunin (q.v.) stood against the Marxists, who in turn opposed the moderate parties of Proudhon and others. The International broke up in 1872. Eventually, Marxism emerged from this strife as the leading school, but again divided into a more radical and a moderate wing, although they remained united for a long time. The socialist movement, now generally known as the social-democratic movement, grew rapidly all over Europe, and in 1889 the Second International was founded. Marx died in 1882, and Engels remained the intellectual head of the socialist movement until his death in 1895. At that time large socialist parties were well established in all Continental European countries, except in Russia where social democracy became organized only a few years later. The British Labour Party was

founded, after some forerunners, in 1900 on a non-Marxian basis. (See *Labour Party, Fabian Society.*) In the United States a socialist movement made itself to some degree felt in connection with early American trade unionism and anarchism, but from the turn of the century onwards political socialism proper has been rather weak in America, for reasons which are discussed in the article on the *United States.*

In Europe the issue between the moderate and the revolutionary factions was now: Reform or revolution? The question of participation of socialist parties in capitalist governments came up. A modification of Marxian theories in favour of 'reformism' and peaceful 'revolution by the ballot' was proposed, and though officially repudiated it soon became the actual basis of socialist policies. Right and left wings became involved in more acute disputes. On the left Lenin (q.v.) and the German socialists, Karl Liebknecht, junr., F. Mehring and Rosa Luxemburg, opposed the official, moderate tendency. In France and Spain, syndicalism (q.v.) embodied the revolutionary trend.

The International had always made the international solidarity and brotherhood of the workers the main plank of its platform. In 1912 it adopted an anti-war resolution, calling upon the workers of all countries to rise against their governments in the event of war. However, when World War I broke out in 1914 nothing of the sort happened. The socialist parties of all countries turned patriotic and supported their national governments in the conduct of the war. The left wing felt uneasy in view of this policy, and Lenin condemned it as a betrayal of socialist principles. International conferences of left-wing delegates were held during the war (Kienthal, Zimmerwald in Switzerland) with a view to ending the war and reorganizing the movement, and while they had no immediate result, the left-wing section increased everywhere and eventually Lenin's faction seized power in Russia by the Bolshevik revolution in October 1917. German socialists split into moderates and independents, who jointly set up the first republican government after the German revolution of November 1918, while a radical 'Spartacus League' under Karl Liebknecht, junr., tried to push on the revolution on the Russian pattern. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were assassinated. The split between the moderates and the radicals now became an open conflict and was largely responsible for breaking the socialist wave which swept Europe after World War I. The left wing transformed itself in most countries into the communist movement which demanded immediate revolution, civil war and Soviet dictatorship (see *Soviet*); the right wing, now left alone to bear the name of social-democrats, insisted on democracy and a postponement of socialist transformation until a majority of voters would want it. The two factions fought each other with arms in Russia and Germany, the communists winning in the former and the moderate socialists in the latter.

In 1919 Lenin set up the Third or Communist International in Moscow. The struggle between socialists and communists became even more bitter, and dominated socialist policies in the following fifteen years. In most Continental European (not the Anglo-Saxon) countries the communist parties, which had meanwhile formed and sometimes attained to considerable size, insisted on a policy of opposition and revolutionary propaganda, while the socialists joined the governments in a number of countries, abstaining from the introduction of a socialist economic system in the absence of a majority for it and concentrating on social legislation and a general progressive policy. The Second International was renewed. Social democracy continued to profess Marxism, although with an interpretation different from that of the communists. More than the exegesis of Marx was seen behind the conflict of the two warring factions of socialism; the clash was one of Eastern and Western traditions of government, of the dictatorial and democratic principles, of two fundamentally differing philosophies which had only the colour of their flag and a part of their programme in common. The conflict was enhanced by the increasing identification of communism with Russian national policy, and soon ideological quarrels and international power politics intermingled. In Russia an enormous planned economy took shape, putting a piece of socialist reality (though not quite in line with the ideas of democratic socialists) in the midst of a capitalist world.

The labour movement, thus divided and also weakened by the great economic slump of 1930, proved unable to stop the rise of

Hitler's Nazism. Both the socialist and communist parties were suppressed in Germany after Hitler's advent to power. In Italy the socialist parties of all shades had already been eliminated ten years earlier by Mussolini's fascism (q.v.). The socialist movement now saw its main task in defence against the rising fascist tide in Europe. In 1935 the communists, for tactical reasons, inaugurated the popular front policy (q.v.), based on collaboration between socialists and communists, which brought only temporary success in France and Spain. In World War II the socialists in the Allied countries supported their national governments, while the communists opposed the war as 'imperialist' during the period of Soviet-German collaboration and adopted a policy of support for the war only on 22 June 1941, when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union.

After World War II the socialist parties grew stronger again in most European countries. The British Labour Party won the 1945 election, obtaining 48 per cent of the vote, and together with smaller socialist parties 50 per cent. It nationalized coal, power and transport, and announced the nationalization of steel. In the countries of the Russian zone in East Europe the Communist Party became the leading party, the social democratic parties were subordinated to communist policy. Later they were, if largely involuntarily, fused with the communists into united workers' parties under communist leadership. Also in the Soviet zone of Germany the social-democrats were compulsorily merged with the communists into a Socialist Unity Party, which secured a majority. In the western zones of Germany the social-democrats have about 33 per cent of the vote, the communists about 5 per cent. The social-democrats are stronger there than before Hitler. In France the communists have 29 per cent and the socialists about 17 per cent of the vote. In the countries of northern and north-western Europe the socialist vote is between 30 and 60 per cent; in Sweden it is 50 per cent, and in Norway about 57 per cent. American labour is in its vast majority non-socialist (see *United States*), and both the socialist and the communist votes in the United States are insignificant. Socialism in Latin-American countries (see articles on these) has assumed variegated forms; it is in government in Mexico. Radical, syndicalist traditions prevail, and communism is making itself more felt. On the other hand, some Latin-American parties calling themselves socialist are in fact fascist.

Outside Russia, nationalization of industries was effected prior to World War II only in Mexico (q.v.), apart from nationalization of war industries in France under the popular front government. But everywhere government interference with business grew greater in the period between the wars, interpreted by most socialists as the inevitable growth of elements of planning within the old system predicted by socialist theory, to be followed by fully-fledged socialism. President Roosevelt's New Deal (q.v.) was viewed from that angle. After World War II there was nationalization in Britain, as mentioned before, and also in France, where coal, banks, insurance and some minor industries were nationalized. A fairly complete nationalization of industry was effected in the countries of the Soviet zone of influence in Europe. In America there has been a growing reaction from planning and anything reeking of socialism after the war, but the struggle between government control and entirely free enterprise does not seem to be over as yet. United States policy is definitely opposed to any kind of socialism, and American influence has worked against the policy of nationalization in other countries whenever it had a chance.

Socialism remains one of the most-discussed topics in the world. Not a few of its demands have found their way into the programme of other parties also. Its adherents expect of it a juster and more rational organization of society, the abolition of poverty and exploitation, the prevention of economic crises and unemployment, the stopping of wars and a happy life for all. The followers of socialism of whatever brand are to be found (outside the United States) mainly among the workers, also in a part of the intelligentsia and white-collar workers, a section of the impoverished lower middle classes of Europe and, in some countries, a limited section of smallholders and artisans. Opponents of socialism include the propertied classes and all who aspire to rising into them, together with the middle and lower middle classes where they have not been ruined by the late wars and inflation, usually also the majority of owners of small property (although democratic socialism promises not to touch the

latter), the greater half of the intelligentsia and white-collar workers, and in America the large majority of workers. Apart from the defence of vested interests, the case of the anti-socialists is that they believe capitalism to be a more efficient system than socialism which would in their view lead to bureaucracy and extinction of personal initiative; that socialism would lead to a levelling of standards on the one hand and to the rise of new hierarchies on the other hand; and that it would result in state omnipotence and loss of personal liberty. Concern for liberty is also shared by many democratic socialists in view of recent experience of collectivist systems, and the present trend in social democracy is to search for a reasonable synthesis of planning and freedom. (See *Anarchism*, *Communism*, *Co-operative Movement*, *Engels*, *Guild Socialism*, *Internationals*, *Labour Movement*, *Lenin*, *Marx*, *Marxism*, *Soviet Union*, *Syndicalism*, *Trotsky*, *Trotskyism*; further cross-references will be found in those articles.)

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, a small left-wing socialist group, formed in 1904 by some members of the old Social Democratic Federation who were dissatisfied with its reformist policy.

SOEKARNO, leader of the Indonesian national movement, born 1901 in Java, originally a construction engineer, became Prime Minister of Java under the Japanese occupation in 1942, proclaimed himself President of the Indonesian Republic in 1946; became President of the United States of Indonesia (q.v.) in 1949.

SOKOL, Czech for falcon, a Czech gymnastic association founded in Bohemia about 1860 to foster Czech nationalism. The Sokols, whose members wear a special uniform, became an important movement (membership 1,000,000) and spread to the other Slav countries. All-Slav Sokol demonstrations being held annually. The Soviet government suppressed the Russian Sokol after the communist seizure of power in 1917. When Eastern Europe came under Soviet control in 1945 the Sokol associations in Slav countries were partly suppressed, partly made into instruments of communist policies. The latter was the case in the homeland of the Sokol, Czechoslovakia, where the association was purged after the communist *coup d'état* in 1948 and converted into a semi-compulsory mass organization under communist leadership.

SOLID SOUTH, the southern states of the United States of America which have almost invariably voted for the Democratic Party since the Civil War. This solidarity aimed originally at maintaining white supremacy (the 'lily-white' policy) against republican attempts to organize the negro vote. The tradition lives on and the Solid South, though no longer comprising the entire old territory, is one of the principal strongholds of the Democratic Party to which it supplies a conservative element.

In 1948 the Solid South proved not so solid, when the southern democrats broke away from the Democratic Party because they disagreed with President Truman's negro policy. They organized the States Rights Party, whose presidential candidate, Governor Thurmond, polled 1,169,000 votes in November 1948. After the election this group, nicknamed 'Dixiecrats' (q.v.), returned to the democratic fold.

SOMALILAND. (For British, French and ex-Italian Somaliland, see *British Somaliland*, *French Union* and *Italian East Africa*, respectively.)

SOREL, Georges, French political philosopher, theoretician of syndicalism (q.v.), born 2 November 1847 in Cherbourg, died 30 August 1922 in Boulogne-sur-Seine, was a civil engineer until 1892, then turned to political writing at forty-five. His most important works are *Réflexions sur la violence* (1906), *Les illusions du progrès* (1908), *La décomposition du marxisme* (1908), and *Matériaux d'une théorie du prolétariat* (1919). Sorel was influenced by Proudhon, Marx, Bergson, Nietzsche and William James. He criticized traditional Marxism for its automatism and blind belief in progress, but took over many of its notions. He was a romantic and anti-rationalist, rejecting democracy and parliamentary government. Of his teaching, the theory of the *élite* and the theory of the political myth have had most influence.

In 1899 Sorel joined the syndicalist movement, favouring revolutionary methods as against parliamentary politics. The middle class, he said, was in moral decay, having destroyed the old values; it was the task of the working class to revive heroic values,

partly borrowed from the aristocracy. Optimism, humanism, pacifism and belief in progress did not befit the 'heroes of a social war' destined to bring about a new age. The *élites*, leading minorities, are decisive in history, while the masses at best follow suit. Industrial capital, Sorel found, deserved admiration and preservation for its 'heroic achievements' and discipline, creating the moral foundations for the revolution of the proletariat which he held to embody the 'virtues of producers and warriors'. Only financial capital was to be done away with. Sorel emphasized the part played in socialism and revolution by the will, ethics and character of men. He proclaimed the 'myth' of the general strike which was one day to overthrow capitalism.

Sorel studied the function of political myth in history and found that all great movements had been sustained by myths. To examine a myth as to its truth or practical applicability is useless; its task is to mobilize in the acting groups irrational and emotional impulses necessary for political action, and to give to the groups the cohesion indispensable in battle. 'Myths are not descriptions of things, but expressions of a determination to act.' Instinct, intuition, will, are more important in politics than rational thought. Unreasoning and fanatical devotion on the part of followers is what the *élites* must get to reach their aims.

About 1912 Sorel turned toward the extreme right-wing *Action Française* (q.v.), which did not prevent him from hailing the Bolshevik revolution in Russia in 1917. He added an appendix *Pour Lénine* to a new edition of his *Réflexions* in 1920. Then he welcomed Mussolini's fascism in Italy also, hailing it as an 'imperialism of producers'. Mussolini acknowledged his indebtedness to Sorel's thought. Lenin described Sorel as 'muddleheaded', but many features introduced by him in the Communist Party are Sorelian; for instance, the principle of the *élite*, the worship of violence, the atmosphere of devotion, the proletarian romantics, antiparliamentarianism and antipacifism. It is evident from Sorel's theories that they could inspire a fascist as well as a communist or other revolutionary movement. His anti-rationalist philosophy was applicable to any anti-liberal trend. Sorel never attained to any stature in practical politics, but remained an isolated intellectual. His ideological influence on the extreme movements of our time has, however, been considerable.

SOUTH AFRICA, Union of, member of the British Commonwealth, 470,000 sq. m., population 11,259,000, of whom 2,335,000 are Europeans, 283,000 Indians and 8,641,000 negroes. The seat of the government is Pretoria, while the Union parliament has its seat at Cape Town. Of the European population 58 per cent are Afrikanders or Afrikaners, also known as Boers, of Dutch origin; their language is Afrikaans, a branch of Dutch evolved in South Africa. The other whites are British. Clearly divided national settlements are recognizable only locally; on the whole, both white peoples inhabit the entire territory, the Boers prevailing in sections of the north. After the South African or Boer War (1899–1902) Britain annexed the Boer republics, Transvaal and the Orange Free State; their self-government was restored in 1907 and in 1910 they were united with the Cape Colony and Natal into the Union of South Africa.

The Crown is represented in South Africa, as in all Commonwealth states, by a Governor-General. In 1946 the office went for the first time to an Afrikaner, Major G. B. van Zyl. Parliament consists of a Senate and a House of Assembly. The Senate has 32 elected and 8 appointed members, with 4 representatives of the natives. The House of Assembly consists of 153 members, popularly elected for five years. Three seats are allotted to the natives. Government is parliamentary. The four provinces each have an Assembly locally elected and an Administrator appointed by the Union government. South Africa is not an example of federalism (q.v.)—the provincial assemblies are subordinate to the Union Parliament. The Union administers the former German colony of South-West Africa (318,000 sq. m., pop. 270,000 natives and 38,000 Europeans) under a League mandate, and rejects submitting the mandate to the United Nations for renewal in the form of a trusteeship. It has, however, offered to submit regular information on the territory (but see below). English and Dutch are official languages of the Union; since 1925 Afrikaans may be used instead of Dutch, and in practice this is universally done. Standard Dutch is not much used any longer outside the churches. In South-West

Africa German also is official. In December 1947 the Union annexed Prince Edward and Marion Islands, between South Africa and Antarctica (q.v.).

After the conquest Britain aimed at reconciliation and succeeded in winning over a substantial section of the Boers, but a large proportion of irreconcilables continued to exist. In World War I South Africa participated on the British side, but undertook military operations merely in Africa. There were small Boer uprisings. General Smuts (q.v.), leader of the conciliatory Boer section, was prominent in the British Imperial Cabinet. Another section, led by General Hertzog, demanded an independent republic. This party had only 5 seats in the Union parliament in 1914; by 1924 the number had risen to 63. Hertzog became Prime Minister, but effected little of his independence policy. In 1934 he merged his party with that of Smuts on the basis of a compromise. Following the Statute of Westminster (see *British Commonwealth*), the Union constitution was altered in some points. 'Sovereign independence' was now laid down and it was stipulated that the King might act in South African affairs only on the advice of South African ministers.

World War II caused another party split. Hertzog, as Prime Minister, moved in parliament that South Africa should stay neutral, while Smuts moved that South Africa should join Britain, but send no forces overseas. Smuts's motion was carried by 80 votes to 67, the majority of the Boers voting against. Hertzog resigned and Smuts became Prime Minister. On 6 September 1939 South Africa declared war on Germany. Early in 1940 Hertzog left the United Party in which he had collaborated with Smuts, and joined forces with the Boer Nationalist Party under Dr. Malan on a republican platform providing for secession from the British Empire. The majority of the Boers was behind the nationalists, while the rest of the Boers and all the English supported Smuts. The Hertzog-Malan alliance was broken in November 1940, when Hertzog insisted on safeguards for the rights of the English population. Hertzog left the Nationalist Party to found the Afrikaner Party. He died soon after; his party is now led by N. C. Havenga. Malan's party rather openly sympathized with Hitler, but some even more radical, fascist movements broke away from it. One of them, the *Ossewa Brandwag* (q.v.) became a para-military organization under Dr. van Rensburg, Malan's main competitor for leadership of the nationalist movement. Still, South Africa raised 200,000 volunteers for World War II, drawn from roughly one-half of the white population, while the other half disagreed with the war. South African forces fought in Abyssinia and North Africa.

The House, elected in 1943, during the war, was composed as follows: United Party 89, Labour Party 10, Dominion Party 7, Independents 1 (government total 107) and 43 Nationalists (the opposition). The United Party is led by Smuts and is supported by most of the British population and a minority of the Boers. Its leaders' policy is the fusion of the two white races and the creation of one South African nation out of them. In two provinces bilingual 'fusionist' schools have been introduced, in which half the subjects are taught in English and half in Afrikaans to the same pupils. Although the most prominent fusionist is Smuts, the fusionists meet with more response among the British section of the population than among the Boers. The nationalists are supported by a majority of the Boer population. They consist of Dr. Malan's Republican People's Party (the Nationalist Party), Havenga's Afrikaner Party and a few minor groups. The extremist Ossewa Brandwag co-operates with certain members of these parties. A society spread all over the country and known as the *Afrikaner-Broederbund* (Afrikaner Brotherhood) includes most Boers in positions of importance (including Dr. Malân) and exercises great influence on the Boer national movement. The Labour Party represents the trade unions of white workers. The Dominion Party (since 1947 the South African Party) led by Colonel Stallard, is supported by a minority of the British and emphasizes Commonwealth loyalty. Both these parties have recently split over the native issues.

Besides the problem of Boer nationalism, there is that of the natives. The white minority wants the labour of the African majority but fears its numerical superiority. Boer policy has been one of repression; the British have been hesitant. On the whole, however, the Europeans are agreed on keeping the natives politically subordinate

and in restricting their economic organization—their trade unions are not legalized. Economic and social discrimination caused disorders in 1946. The government took such vigorous action that the partly appointed, partly elected Natives Representation Council resigned in protest. Yet the government's policy of gradually improving native status and conditions, even while ensuring that the natives remain subordinate, was opposed by the nationalists as too liberal. They advocate *apartheid* (segregation of the natives in reservations), their exclusion from any education and abolition of their special representation in the Union Parliament and the Cape Provincial Assembly. These policies, however, (apart from ethical consideration) do not solve the economic problem. The South African mining industry is based on the labour of natives working in bad conditions and living in worse ones. The natives are fetched from their primitive life, often by so-called recruitment, and receive wages often amounting to as little as one-tenth of those of white workers. Their consciousness has begun to change with work in industry, and for some time they have been putting forward demands, forming trade unions and resorting to strike action. The communists support the native movement.

There is another racial problem in the Union, consisting in the presence of 250,000 Indians. The South African government has made special laws against them, restricting them to certain areas and limiting their franchise. Further Indian immigration is barred. The Indian government protested and induced the United Nations in December 1946 to pass a resolution disapproving of South African policy towards Indians. Smuts said this was illicit interference with internal affairs, but offered to submit the case to the International Court.

The general election of May 1948 was fought on the native issue and on the government's economic policy, which the nationalists alleged to be responsible for the high cost of living. The result was affected also by Boer resentment of the influx of Britons, either as settlers or as wealthy refugees from shortages, and of Smuts's decision to recognize the Jewish state of Israel (the Boer nationalists are rather anti-semitic). The United Party was defeated. In the new House the Nationalist Party obtained 70 seats, the Afrikaner Party 9, the United Party 65 and the Labour Party 6. This parliamentary majority was not an expression of an electoral majority—the parties obtained 402,000 votes, 42,000 votes, 524,000 votes and 27,000 votes; the communist and South African parties and independents (all unrepresented) polled 72,000 votes. The disparity was due to the electoral system giving extra representation to the rural areas in which the Boers, and thus the nationalists, predominate. A Nationalist-Afrikaner coalition was formed under Malan as Prime Minister and Havenga as Finance Minister. The Senate was dissolved later and now has 22 supporters of the government and 22 opponents. The opposition is led by Smuts who is supported by the Labour Party, although a dissident labour ('Central') group under M. Cadman supports the nationalists' native policy. So does Stallard, whose statement of this attitude caused several members of the South African Party to secede from it in 1948.

After his assumption of office, Dr. Malan, presumably conscious of his small majority in Parliament and his minority in the country, declared that the election was not fought on the issue of the British connection. His first actions, however, were designed to satisfy his nationalist supporters: discouragement of immigration from Britain, release of the remaining Nazis from jail and the opening of a campaign against the so-called 'entrenched clauses' of the constitution—the clauses which safeguard the proportionate representation of the four colonies in the House of Assembly, the continuance of the native franchise in Cape Province, and the equality of the English and Dutch languages. These clauses can be altered only by a two-thirds majority in a joint session of both Houses. The Statute of Westminster had the legal effect of empowering the Parliament to amend these clauses like any others, but by convention they have remained 'entrenched'.

The new government also put into effect some items of its native policy. It stopped the training of natives as artisans and abolished the Native Representation Council. It once more brought up South Africa's earlier claim to three adjacent British protectorates: Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and Basutoland. (Claims to the Rhodesias have also been voiced by South African nation-

alists.) The election of members for South West Africa to the South African Parliament was announced. The Hereros, a Hottentot people of South West Africa, who had already suffered greatly under German rule, complained of economic and political oppression under South African government. The Rev. Michael Scott, an English parson from South West Africa, championed their cause before the U.N. Assembly in December 1949.

Dr. Malan took part in the Commonwealth Conference in April 1949 (see *British Empire*), and said afterwards that there was no longer a common status of the countries of the Commonwealth. A law was enacted extending the term for the naturalization of British and other Commonwealth immigrants from 2 to 5 years, as for non-British foreigners, and to make it dependent upon the decision of the minister of the interior —previously it had been automatic

SOUTHERN RHODESIA, British Crown colony in Central Africa, 150,000 sq. m., population 1,764,000, of whom 82,000 are white, 7,500 Asiatic and coloured, and 1,674,000 African. The capital is Salisbury. Until 1924 Rhodesia was administered by the British South Africa Company, but was then transferred to the Crown and divided into the two colonies of Southern and Northern Rhodesia. In Southern Rhodesia government is by a governor with extensive reserve powers and a cabinet responsible to the Legislative Assembly of 30 members by the white population. Since 1935 the Prime Minister has been Sir Godfrey Huggins (q.v.), leader of the United Party. In the 1946 election that party had no majority, although it was the largest group. The Assembly was dissolved in 1948 and in the new chamber the parties were represented as follows: United Party 24, Liberal Party 5, Labour Party 1. The United Party is strongly in favour of the British connection and supports proposals for a Central African Dominion; at home it advocates government aid to economic development and improvements in the conditions of the natives. The Liberal Party, formed in 1942 by J. H. Smit, a dissident member of the United Party, proposes that Southern Rhodesia should join South Africa, criticizes government intervention in the economy and opposes concessions to the natives.

Southern Rhodesia has remained a colony and not been promoted to Dominion status because the British government has been reluctant to transfer full control to the local whites or to enfranchise the native majority. In practice, however, Britain does not interfere in domestic affairs. The Union of South Africa (q.v.) has hoped that Southern Rhodesia would join it. An alternative to union with South Africa is federation with neighbouring Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, but to this it has been objected that the three territories are at very different stages of development. Northern Rhodesia is a Crown colony and Nyasaland is a protectorate; in each the legislative council is nominated by the Governor. The population of both territories is overwhelmingly African. In 1945 the Central Africa Council, consisting of the three governors, was formed to co-ordinate the policies of the three governments. In February 1949 a conference on federation was held at Victoria Falls. Among the delegates were Sir G. Huggins, Roy Welensky from Northern Rhodesia, and M. P. Barrow from Nyasaland. The conference proposed federation under a constitution giving considerable power to the federal government, but guaranteeing the rights now enjoyed by the Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

SOUTH SEAS COMMISSION, a commission on social welfare and economic development in the South Pacific established in 1947 by Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands and the U.S.A., each of which has two representatives on the Commission. (For the British and Dutch territories in this region, see *British Pacific Islands* and *New Guinea*; for the territories of the other states, see the articles on each of them.)

SOUTH TYROL, a part of the Austrian province of Tyrol until it was annexed to Italy in 1918. The southern part, the Trentino, had an Italian majority, and the northern, with the towns of Bozen and Meran, a German. Italy insisted on annexation for strategic reasons, wishing to control the Brenner Pass at the northern tip of the area. Until 1924 the Germans enjoyed minority rights, but then the fascist government started Italianization. In 1939 an Italo-German agreement provided that the

South Tyrolese could opt for German nationality and emigrate to Germany—185,000 out of 267,000 chose Germany, but only a small proportion were transferred. At the Peace Conference of 1946 an Austrian demand for the return of the South Tyrol was rejected, but Italy reverted to the liberal pre-fascist policy and an Austro-Italian agreement on autonomy and cultural rights for the peoples of the two parts of the South Tyrol was incorporated into the Italian Peace Treaty. The boundaries of the autonomous region were, however, so defined by the Italians that an Italian majority was ensured. The regional diet of the *Adige Tirolese* (*Tiroler Etschland*), combining the two provinces of Bozen (German-speaking) and Trentino (largely Italian-speaking), elected in November 1948, has a two-thirds majority of Italians.

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA. (See *South Africa.*)

SOVEREIGNTY, supreme power, independence from law imposed by others. Derived from the right of rulers (French *souverain*, compare Latin *supremus*), it forms to-day an attribute of states. Political theorists distinguish between external sovereignty and internal sovereignty. External sovereignty consists in the independence of a state from any other state. Over a sovereign state a different state has no power and may not prescribe its actions. A sovereign state determines its relations to other states for itself. Also international law does not limit sovereignty, since its laws and sanctions do not issue from a supra-national authority; they rest on agreement among sovereign states and are enforced by their sovereign power. Internal sovereignty ensures freedom from foreign interference in domestic affairs. It is often invoked in practical politics. It must not, however, endanger the peace or security of another state, which doctrine is also often invoked for the opposite purpose.

Internal sovereignty makes the state the supreme power in relation to its citizens. This principle dates back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in which it was developed in contradistinction to the entirely different, pluralistic conceptions of the Middle Ages. Internal sovereignty was expounded especially by Bodin and Hobbes (q.v.), external sovereignty by Althusius and Grotius. The French political theorist, Bodin (1576), defined sovereignty as 'the supreme power over citizens and subjects, not bound by law (*legibus absoluta*)', which has 'the power to determine laws for all citizens'. There has been a never-ending discussion as to whether the sovereignty of the state is above or below moral or natural law. May the state do as it pleases or must it accept moral precepts not created by it? Theory favours the latter view, but practice has in only too many cases followed the former. There is indeed a strong theoretical school saying that the state makes the law and is therefore above the law. Rousseau (q.v.) made 'the people' the bearer of sovereignty. Modern democracy rests on the principle of popular sovereignty.

Autonomy (q.v.) and semi-sovereignty are to be distinguished from full sovereignty. They mean more or less far-reaching self-government for a state or territory, which remains, however, subordinate to a higher federal or 'paramount' power. (See also *Suzerainty.*)

In modern times sovereignty has been defended as a sanctum, and it is still frequently invoked with all the attributes of holiness. Gradually, however, the idea is gaining ground that the sovereign state is obsolescent in view of modern technical developments and especially the new technique of war, and that it must be replaced by a supra-national organization and finally a world-state. In a degree the League of Nations and the United Nations Organization have been first steps toward this goal, and though they have not been able practically to restrain the sovereignty of states, their establishment meant at least the public recognition of the limitation of sovereignty as a desirable ideal. Internationalist movements, such as pacifism (q.v.) and socialism (q.v.), had long been working in this direction. Also regional supra-national concepts, such as pan-Americanism (q.v.) and the pan-Europe movement (q.v.), have promoted the deflation of the idea of sovereignty. The principle of sovereignty is closely bound up with the idea of war; indeed the right to make war is legally one of the chief attributes of sovereignty. In fact sovereignty is therefore more or less tantamount to international anarchy and the rule of force without law, at times mitigated by the balance of power (q.v.). Many students of the matter believe that the

existence of sovereign states is the main prerequisite of war, and that war cannot be abolished without doing away with sovereignty in favour of an international authority. (See also *Internationalism.*)

SOVIET (correctly pronounced *soviét*), Russian for Council, originally the name of the workers' councils which were formed in Russia in the 1905 revolution. They reappeared as Councils of Workers and Soldiers in the 1917 revolution, and the Soviet system became a new type of government. According to the theory of Lenin (q.v.), the Soviets were supposed to be the political system appropriate to the dictatorship of the proletariat, just as parliaments were supposed to be the political expression of the rule of the middle class. In the original system, the lower Soviets were elected directly in very small electoral districts, especially in factories, and they chose from their midst the next higher Soviet, which in turn elected the next higher one, and so on. There were Soviets for works, townships, municipalities, districts, provinces, regions, states, etc. Once a year all the Soviets sent their delegates to the All-Russian Soviet Congress, which was the supreme governing and legislative body of Soviet Russia. It elected a Central Executive Committee to sit permanently while the Congress was not in session; this Committee made laws, but they had to be confirmed by the Congress. The Executive Committee also elected the Soviet of the People's Commissars, that is the Soviet government. The chairman of the Executive Committee functioned as President of the Soviet Union. The lower Soviets had to take orders from the higher ones; they combined national and local government. A particularly democratic character was ascribed to this system of government 'from below upwards' by its proponents, while its critics held it particularly suitable for exercising overall control from the top. Anarchist and syndicalist ideas had contributed to the Soviet principle, and a similar system had in fact been evolved in Macedonia (q.v.) about the turn of the century by the *Komitaji.* All Soviet members could in theory be recalled by their electors at any time. The separation of powers (q.v.) was abolished; the Soviets wielded both the legislative and executive powers. It was announced that this system meant direct government by the people and would eliminate the rule of officialdom. Only workers and peasants had the franchise, that of the workers being five times that of the peasants. Elections were public.

The Soviet system became the symbol of communist revolution all the world over. In Russia itself an amount of democracy, if any, existed within the Soviets only during the first months of the revolution; then it was replaced by regimentation of the Soviets under Communist Party dictatorship. The state assumed the name of Soviet republic as distinct from a parliamentary, middle-class republic, and finally the whole country was renamed Soviet Union. Soviet elections, held under the single-party system, under party control and supervision by the G.P.U. (q.v.), became a mere formality.

In 1936 the original Soviet system was abolished. The new constitution of the Soviet Union substituted direct elections on all levels for indirect elections; the various bodies retained the name of Soviet, but were all chosen popularly. The franchise became universal and equal. The single-party and single-ticket system remained, and the character of the elections did not change. The Communist Party's guiding position was codified in the constitution. The Soviet Congress disappeared; its standing Executive Committee was replaced by a directly elected Supreme Soviet with a many-headed presidium, and the 'President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet' assumed the functions of head of state. The government retained the name of Council of People's Commissars until 1946, when it was changed into Council of Ministers; it became nominally responsible to the Supreme Soviet. All that remained of the original Soviet system was the union of state and local government, facilitating central control. Otherwise this constitution signified the adoption, nominal for the time being, of the once rejected parliamentary system in place of the Soviet system. The latter had not proved a good administrative system, and a class of professional officials had already formed. The name Soviet Union was retained, and 'Soviet' became indeed a description of nationality, although the Soviets no longer exist as a specific form of government distinguishing Russia from other countries. In the countries that passed under Russian influence after World War II, the Soviet system was not adopted at all, instead they were nomin-

ally given parliamentary constitutions on the Western pattern.

SOVIET UNION, usual name of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR), area 8,708,000 sq. m., population 193,000,000. The capital is Moscow. The territory of the Soviet Union is now essentially identical with that of former Tsarist Russia (except for Poland and Finland). Russia became a republic after the revolution of February 1917, and a Soviet republic after the October revolution of the same year, led by the bolshevik or Communist Party under Lenin and Trotsky. (See *Bolshevism, Communism, Lenin, Soviet, Trotsky.*) The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, as it was then called, in the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat nationalized industry, shared out the land to the peasants, and annihilated the propertied classes. A civil war of four years' duration ensued, ending in the victory of the Soviets. Meanwhile Soviet republics had been set up with Russian aid also in non-Russian-speaking territories of the former Tsarist empire, which had tried to attain independence, viz. the Ukrainian, White Russian and Caucasian Soviet republics. These united on 30 December 1922 with the Russian Soviet republic, to form the Soviet Union on the basis of a federal constitution. The Union came into force in 1923 and was gradually widened by the elevation of self-governing sub-republics to the rank of federal republics.

After the death of Lenin in 1924 there was a struggle for his succession between Stalin (q.v.), the General Secretary of the Communist Party, and Trotsky (q.v.), the War Commissar; it ended in 1927 in the final victory of Stalin, who has since been for all practical purposes the dictator of the Soviet Union. In the same year the policy of the Five-Year Plans was inaugurated, and the Soviet Union quickly became a great industrial power. In 1936 a new constitution, democratic and parliamentary in name, was adopted, while the Soviet system proper was dropped. (See *Soviet.*) The actual system of government, the dictatorship of the Communist Party, remained unchanged.

The Soviet Union now consisted of eleven member republics. In 1939 it annexed eastern Poland, largely inhabited by Ukrainians and White Russians, on the strength of a secret pact with Hitler on the fourth partition of Poland. In 1940 it conquered part of Finland and made the Karelian-Finnish sub-republic of Russia into a full federal republic. In the same year the three Baltic states (q.v.) of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were incorporated in the Soviet Union as federal republics, and Bessarabia (q.v.) followed to be combined with the Moldavian sub-republic of the Ukraine in a new Moldavian federal republic. This raised the number of federal republics to sixteen. On 22 June 1941 the Soviet Union was invaded by Hitler; in alliance with Great Britain, the United States and the other Allies it emerged victorious from the war in 1945, although at the price of tremendous destruction and loss of life. The latter was estimated at from 7 to 12 millions. By the Potsdam decisions (q.v.) the Soviet Union was promised, with certain reservations, the greater part of the German province of East Prussia, including the port of Konigsberg; this area was by act of the Russian government incorporated in the Russian federal republic and Konigsberg was renamed Kaliningrad. The Soviet Union entered the war with Japan only a few days before its conclusion and secured concessions, territories and bases in East Asia. (See *Japan, Manchuria.*)

Constitution. The constitution of 5 December 1936, also called Stalin's constitution, declares the Soviet Union a state of workers and farmers, the organs of which, known as Soviets or councils, are elected directly on all levels and perform the functions of both national and local government. Essential features of the constitution are as follows: The economic basis of the USSR is socialism, founded on common ownership in the means of production and on the abolition of exploitation of man by man. 'He who does not work shall not eat.' Every citizen has a right to work, rest, recreation, education, old-age pension and care in case of illness or disablement. Social property may take the form of state property or co-operative property. Land, mines, industries, means of communication, banks, apartment houses, public utilities, agricultural tractor and machine stations are owned by the state. Agricultural land is leased to collective farms, formed by the association of local farmers, for perpetual usufruct. Peasants may also farm singly, but may not employ hired labour. (Collec-



Map XVII. The Western Frontier of the Soviet Union

tivization of farming was carried out in 1930 under strong government pressure, and involved the deportation of some 5 million farmers, with many casualties—98 per cent of Soviet agriculture is now collective. However, there are some 1,300,000 single farmers left.) Also the collective farmer may personally own a house, a little land and cattle for the use of his family. Private property in earned income and savings, small houses, furniture, articles for personal use, and also the right of inheritance with regard to these items, is legally protected. All citizens regardless of sex, race or nationality have equal rights. It is an offence to call for racial or national seclusion, for hatred or contempt for other races or nationalities. (But marriage with foreigners was legally banned in 1947.) All male and female citizens from eighteen years onward are entitled to vote. Members of all Soviets may be recalled by a majority decision of their constituents.

Legislation is assigned to the Supreme Soviet, which is equivalent to a parliament. It issues from direct elections and has two Houses, the Union Council and the Council of Nationalities. Its term is four years. In the Union Council there is one deputy for every 300,000 inhabitants. In 1946 this Council had 1,339 members. In the Council of Nationalities there are 25 members for each full federal republic, 11 for each autonomous sub-republic, and 1 for each national territory. Most federal republics, especially the Russian, contain numerous autonomous sub-republics, autonomous regions and self-governing national territories, the autonomy of these categories decreasing in the same order. Five sub-republics and autonomous areas were abolished during and after World War II on account of disloyalty. One autonomous area is the Jewish territory of Biro-Bidjan in East Siberia with some 70,000 inhabitants. (See *Jews.*)

The Supreme Soviet elects the government, which until 16 March 1946 was known as the Council of People's Commissars, and is now called the Council of Ministers. It is usually referred to as the Soviet government. Nominally the government is responsible to the Supreme Soviet. The Supreme Soviet chooses a presidium of 16 members, one for each federal republic: the 'President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet', at present Nikolai M. Shvernik, elected 1946, functions as head of the state, but his prerogative is very limited. The Prime Minister is styled 'President of the Council of Ministers'. Joseph V. Stalin has held this office since 1941. V. M. Molotov (q.v.), believed to be Stalin's right-hand man, has been Vice-Premier since 1941. He was also Foreign Minister from 1939 to March 1949, when he was relieved of this office and succeeded by his former deputy, Vyshinsky.

Suffrage is universal, equal, direct and secret. But the Communist Party is the only permitted political party, and only candidates approved by it may stand for office. Real power is in the hands of the party, which in a totalitarian way permeates the whole state. It has set up a party administration parallel to the state administration and controlling the latter in all departments; it dominates all the Soviets and has its 'cells' in all works and offices, often officially concerned with management. The discipline of the party is very strict. A powerful secret police, formerly known as the G.P.U. (q.v.), then as the N.K.V.D. and now as the M.V.D., supports the party and government by investigating the thoughts and activities of the population by countless agents and ruthlessly suppressing any opposition. Its methods include arbitrary arrest, internment in camps, torture, deportation and killing. There are no democratic rights as they are understood in the West, despite many democratic articles in the constitution. The party's leading body is the Politbureau (q.v.) of 11 members. The personal cult of Stalin is highly developed.

Federal organization. The Soviet Union contains over 180 different peoples, whose autonomy is safeguarded constitutionally. All nationalities have schools in their own language and are encouraged to develop their national cultures. But co-ordination by the party ensures uniformity of policy and education. The 16 constituent republics are (with populations in millions according to the census of 1940): Russia (114), Ukraine (40), White Russia (9), Georgia (3), Azerbeijan (3), Armenia (1), Kazakstan (7), Usbekistan (9), Turkmenistan (1), Tajikistan (1), Kirghizia (1), Lithuania (2), Latvia (2), Estonia (1), Moldavia (3), Karelia (0·5). (See special articles on *Ukraine, White Russia, Azerbeijan, Armenians, Baltic States.*) The Russian federal republic covers about three-quarters of the territory of the Soviet Union. The Ukraine is small in com-

parison with it, but comes second as regards population. The Central Asiatic republics are thinly populated; they are important for the mining and iron industries developed there under Soviet rule. Their inhabitants speak Turki and Mongol languages. All constituent republics have the (theoretical) right to secede from the Union. The constitutions of the member republics are modelled on that of the Union. Their subdivision into further autonomous units has been mentioned earlier.

An amendment to the federal constitution of 1 February 1944 granted to the constituent republics the right to have a foreign policy of their own, to make treaties with other countries, and to have their own ministries of foreign affairs and defence. The reason was the desire of the government in Moscow to have several votes at peace conferences and in the United Nations Organization. This right to a separate foreign policy is exercised by the member republics only in agreement with the central government; so far only the Ukraine and White Russia (both q.v.) have been called upon to make use of it. Their representatives now appear at international conferences by the side of the delegation of the whole Soviet Union and always vote with it. Notwithstanding the constitutional equality of nationalities the hegemony of the Russians is distinct, and has been officially stressed since World War II. Only the Ukrainians count for something as a nation besides the Russians. Complaints of the survival or revival of *bourgeois* nationalism in nationality areas recur from time to time.

Economic system: Soviet economy is based on socialist planning. Economic plans are regularly made for five years. The first Five-Year Plan ran 1927–32, the second 1932–7, the third was cut short in 1941 by the war. A fourth began in 1946 to run until 1951. The plans are worked out by a state planning office, known as the *Gosplan* (short for *gossudárstvo*, state, and *plan*), and passed by the Supreme Soviet. In 1940 the production of some key materials was (in million tons): black coal 164, pig iron 14, steel 18, oil 32. Nearly all raw materials and foodstuffs are found, or can be produced, within the vast and variegated territory of the Soviet Union, which is the largest state in the world and covers one-sixth of the surface of the earth. The cotton belt developed in Central Asia is the third largest cotton-producing area in the world. Forced industrialization required great sacrifice, and in spite of many an advance the standard of living is on the whole still low. The war has naturally had a retarding effect. The western and southern industrial areas of Russia were much devastated and the reconstruction period is estimated at seven or more years. The industrial areas of the Urals and Siberia, however, have greatly expanded during the war, partly by transfer of industries from the West.

Soviet industry is organized in 'trusts' (the word is taken from the large concentrations of industry known under that name in America), known as *trests* to the Russians; in form they are joint stock companies, all the stock of which is held by the state. Some 80 per cent of industry is concentrated in the 300 largest trusts; in addition to these, there are some 300 smaller trusts. Important key industries are under special ministries. The Soviet Union's economic policy aims essentially at self-sufficiency, for political and military reasons as well as with a view to making the planned economy independent from the ups and downs of the capitalist environment. Foreign trade is a state monopoly and accounts for less than 1 per cent of total production. The number of industrial works is about 600,000. Reckoned according to value, 77 per cent of production is industrial and 23 per cent is agricultural. Large-scale farming is carried on by the Kolkhoz (q.v.) and Sovkhoz (q.v.) type of socialized farms with the aid of state-owned machine and tractor stations. These stations possessed 480,000 tractors and 150,000 combined harvesters in 1940. In distribution and small-scale production the co-operative system prevails. Trade unions have some 25 million members and are integrated within the system of state and party.

Cultural organization: The Soviet government has abolished illiteracy which amounted to 97 per cent in Tsarist Russia, and established over 150,000 schools of all grades for all its nationalities. There are more than 700 universities and technical colleges. In education, as elsewhere, the Soviet variant of Marxism (q.v.) and its supposed philosophical foundation, dialectical materialism, are the only permitted view, and government control of scientific, literary and artistic work is normal practice. The Greek Orthodox Church (the 'Old

Church') is under a Patriarch named Alexis, and there is a Church Council, responsible to the government, for liaison between Church and government. The Soviet government for a time promoted a 'New Church' under Metropolitan Vital, but it did not attain great significance. The Soviet government has recently been using the Orthodox Church as an instrument of external policy, especially with regard to domination of East European countries professing the Orthodox faith. It also induced the Greek Catholic Church in the Ukrainian districts acquired from Poland and in Rumania to return to the fold of the Orthodox Church which it had left 250 years ago. The absorption of the Greek Catholic Church, which looked to Rome, into the Orthodox Church, whose centre is in Moscow, was an act of political importance. Religious communities must maintain their ministers and places of worship out of their own means. In 1940 there were 8,000 churches and 60,000 ministers of religion.

History The history of the Soviet Union is closely bound up with the history of communism (q.v.). In Soviet foreign policy six periods may be distinguished so far: (1) Isolation, 1917–22; coincident with civil war, foreign intervention and expectation of early world revolution. During this period the Soviets proclaimed the strictest communist internationalism, the self-determination of peoples, the fight against imperialism and denounced annexations. Unequal treaties with Persia and China, dating from Tsarist days, were voluntarily abolished. (2) Collaboration with Germany, 1922–35, beginning with the Treaty of Rapallo. Russia feared renewed intervention, inspired by Britain and carried out by France, so she supported Germany diplomatically concerning revision of the Versailles treaty and there was economic (in secret, also military) co operation between the Soviets and Germany. (3) Collaboration with the Western democracies, 1934–9, against the threatening attack from Hitler's Germany. Russia joined the League of Nations which it had previously described as a 'league of imperialist robbers', and concluded a cautiously framed alliance with France. In the Far East tension grew between Russia and Japan. Negotiations concerning an Anglo-French-Russian alliance against Hitler broke down in 1939. (4) Collaboration with Hitler, 1939–41, starting with the non-aggression pact of 23 August 1939, and a secret agreement on the fourth partition of Poland (q.v.), which was effected in October 1939. In the first phase of World War II the Soviet Union gave diplomatic support to Hitler, in return obtaining a free hand in Eastern Europe for a time. Russia annexed the Baltic states (q.v.), Bessarabia (q.v.), and a strip of Finland (q.v.) in 1940, the latter by war. (5) War with Germany in alliance with the Anglo-Saxon Powers, 1941–5. On 22 June 1941 Hitler attacked the Soviet Union without warning. This brought Russia into World War II on the side of the Allies, and the war, conducted under patriotic and Slav rather than communist slogans, was victoriously ended in May 1945, with the Russians in Berlin. (6) The policy of the Eastern Bloc, 1945–?. After the end of the war relations between the Soviet Union and the Western Allies cooled down. By the agreements of Teheran and Yalta (q.v.) the Soviet Union had secured a sphere of influence covering roughly all Europe east of a line stretching from Lübeck to Trieste, except Greece, Turkey and the better part of Austria. It formed the 'Slav bloc' out of its satellites, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Poland, with its own member republics, the Ukraine and White Russia. (See *Pan-Slavism.*) Also Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary came under Soviet domination. Even in the countries from which Russian troops were withdrawn again, essentially communist, dictatorial governments (though in democratic guise) were set up. Sweeping social changes were carried out in all these areas, including nationalization of industries and land reform, and the economies of these countries were largely reorganized on the Soviet pattern. Towards Germany, Soviet policy was one of retribution and Slav conquest. About 10 million Germans were expelled from German territories east of the Oder-Niesse line (q.v.), and their homeland was settled with Poles, Czechs and (in part of East Prussia) Russians. The Soviet Union annexed the greater part of East Prussia, as mentioned before. In Potsdam (see *Potsdam Decisions*) it pressed most for the de-industrialization of Germany. It seemed a far cry from Lenin's internationalist principles to this policy. (On later Soviet policy in East Germany, see *Germany.*) In East Europe, in the Balkans

(q.v.), in Persia (q.v.) and East Asia (see *China, Korea*), in its aspirations to the Dardanelles (q.v.), in its urge for ice-free ports, the Soviet Union was seen following the trace of Tsarist foreign policy. At the points mentioned, Soviet aspirations collided with the policies of the other Powers, especially the United States. Also the ideas of the Soviet Union and the Anglo-Saxon Powers concerning the peace treaty with Germany proved rather different. Generally speaking, the Soviet Union emerged from World War II as the third Great Power, one of the 'Big Three', in the world. Its antagonism to the Western Powers has obstructed the work of the United Nations Organization. Against aggression feared from the Soviet bloc, the West has established Western Union (q.v.) and the North Atlantic Treaty (q.v.).

The Soviet Union of 1949 is rather different from that of 1923. There has been considerable social differentiation and there are signs of new class divisions. Differences in income have become large again. The officer, commissar and administrator classes have secured substantial new privileges. A tendency to transfer possessions and privileges by heredity is in evidence again and to some extent favoured by laws and developing new customs. Titles have been introduced again and are much appreciated. Apart from Stalin, few of the old leaders of the revolution are still in office or indeed alive. Various observers are inclined to describe the Soviet Union as a new class-state, in which the bureaucracy (q.v.) is the ruling class and behaves essentially as the former ruling classes did, even if the political formulas have changed. They believe this new governing class is bent on the consolidation and extension of its power rather than on the old ideals of communism. Nationalism and imperialism in Soviet external policy are added to the symptoms mentioned before to illustrate the critics' thesis that something fundamentally different from the idealistic, internationalist and egalitarian society of Lenin's dreams has grown in Russia. This school of thought holds that Russia's policy is, generally speaking, determined by national rather than ideological considerations and is using communists in other countries merely as auxiliaries.

Communists and not a few others, on the other hand, hold that the Soviet Union is still pursuing the policy prescribed by the doctrine of international communism and that the changes which have occurred are not fundamental. They explain them by practical or tactical necessities. They point to the fundamental difference that continues to exist between the Soviet and capitalist systems, and to the fact that the Russians introduce a socialist economy wherever they come, as shown by their policy in East Europe since 1945. They identify Russian expansion with the forward march of international communism as understood in an earlier period. Communists are prepared to place Russia's interests before those of their own country, just because they believe Russia to represent the true interests of mankind at large. They deny the existence of a new ruling class in the Soviet Union and continue to regard the officials, marshals and commissars of Russia as mere executive organs of world revolution, controlled by the working people of the Soviet Union.

There are also those who find both views to some degree compatible. They hold that the ascendancy of the Russian nation and its new ruling group, even if now the primary aim, is inseparable from the spreading of a social organization modelled on the Soviet pattern. The nature of the Soviet Union remains a much disputed topic. While its friends worship it as the paragon of progress and the hope of mankind, its critics see in it the great bastion of totalitarianism and tyranny. (On theories concerning the Soviet Union and communism, see also *Burnham, Communism, Socialism, Trotsky.*)

SOVKHOZ, short for Russian *sovétskoye khoziáistvo,* Soviet farm, the name for large state farms in Soviet Russia. Besides the collective farm or Kolkhoz (q.v.), the Sovkhoz is the second main element of Russian agriculture under the Soviet system. It is state-owned and run by state employees, while a Kolkhoz is organized as a co-operative association of the farmers. There are some 4,000 Sovkhozes, most of them very large.

SPAIN, area 195,500 sq. m., population 27,729,000, capital Madrid. Until 1931 Spain was a monarchy under a Bourbon dynasty (q.v.). Parliamentary government had been adopted in the nineteenth century, but had not been successfully worked —the absence of a large middle class, the

great power of the army, the landed aristocracy and the Church, and what is described as the excessive individualism of the average Spaniard having caused it to fail. The period of managed elections and of rotation of parties in government was ended in 1923 by the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. This ended in 1930 and in 1931 the monarchy came to an end. The local government elections showed a republican majority and the King, Alfonso XIII, left the country; the later parliamentary elections showed a swing towards the monarchy but the republic was established. The conservatives under Alcala Zamorra and the progressives under Azaña ensued until the latter's popular front won the election of 16 February 1936. It obtained 277 seats in parliament, while the right wing secured 164. Azaña became President and formed a liberal government, which initiated a land reform and other reforms long overdue in the semi-feudal country. One-half of the land was held by the aristocracy and institutions of the Roman Catholic Church, while the peasants had little land or were merely tenants in constant indebtedness—42 per cent of the population were illiterate. The government also tried to restrain the power of the Church, regarded as a pillar of reaction. Spain is a country of contrasts, showing a highly developed industry side by side with a feudal countryside, and a large anarchist movement besides the powerful Church. A passionate character is peculiar to Spanish politics, and revolutions and civil wars have been frequent.

On 18 June 1936 General Franco (q.v.) rose against the republican government, the revolt starting in Spanish Morocco. Franco had the support of the army and part of the navy, and was backed by the dictatorial governments of Germany and Italy. The uprising developed into the Spanish civil war 1936–9. The republican front consisted of the labour parties, viz. the socialists, communists and anarcho-syndicalists (the latter being very strong in Spain), with the trade unions, viz. the socialist U.G.T. (*Unión General de Trabajadores*), with 500,000 members and the syndicalist C.N.T. (*Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores*), with a larger number of members; the liberals; the Basques (q.v.) and Catalans (q.v.), who had obtained national autonomy from the republican government. Franco was supported by the monarchists, the conservatives, the big landowners, big business, the Church, considerable sections of the middle classes and in some regions also the peasantry. The Powers adopted a policy of non-intervention (q.v.), which in fact veiled support for Franco from Germany and Italy, and aid to the republicans from Russia and France. During the civil war the republican liberal government of Giral was succeeded by that of the left-wing socialist, Caballero, and this in turn by the right-wing socialist, Dr. Negrin. Franco received more generous help from his friends than the republicans got from theirs, and there was also disunity in the republican ranks. (See *Catalonia.*) The civil war ended in Franco's victory. Madrid surrendered to him on 4 April 1939. The republican leaders went into exile.

General Franco established a totalitarian system of the fascist type and closely collaborated with Hitler's Germany and fascist Italy. However, he stayed neutral in World War II, notwithstanding numerous gestures in favour of the Axis. Already during the civil war he assumed the leadership of the Spanish *Falange*, which had been showing radical tendencies, and made it a conservative, totalitarian unity party. He styles himself '*Caudillo* (leader, headman) of the Realm, Chief of State, Commander-in-Chief, Prime Minister and Head of the Falange Española'. The *Falange* is directed by 100 national councillors. Franco also presides over a *Junta Politica*, the actual government. Laws are made on the fascist pattern with a strong Catholic strain. The republicans' land reform was repealed, and the peasants who had obtained land must now pay rent for it to the landowners. The standing army and the number of officers are reported to have been doubled in comparison with earlier times. In 1942 Franco reconstructed the *Cortes*, the Spanish parliament, as an advisory body on an authoritarian and corporate basis. One-third of its members is elected by public ballot by authorized vocational corporations; the rest consists of the falangist national councillors and various appointed or *ex officio* members. This parliament has no right to legislate; this right is vested solely in the *Caudillo* whose power is absolute. On 17 July 1945 he issued a *Fuero de los Españoles*, an organic law purporting to establish civic liberties; in fact, however, codifying their abolition. (Example: 'Every Spaniard

has the right to free expression of opinion, in so far as he does not touch the basic principles of the state.') Only the Roman Catholic religion may be practised. According to an official statement, there were 35,000 political prisoners in Franco's concentration camps in 1946. A *Fuero del Trabajo* (Labour Charter) had been issued in 1938.

After the defeat of Nazism and fascism in World War II, Franco was given strong international hints to the effect that he had better go too. However, he has so far ignored these suggestions. In December 1946 the United Nations resolved that all member-states should recall their ambassadors from Franco. (Argentina abstained.) The republican government reformed in exile in Paris in 1946 with Martinez Barrio as President; after initial recognition by France, Russia and some other states, it underwent a series of internal crises, and seems little more than a shadow at present. There is an internal resistance movement against Franco in Spain, divided into monarchists and republicans, both split into several factions. The candidate of the 'Traditionalist' monarchists, who are said to hold key positions in the country, is Don Juan, the second son and heir of King Alfonso who died in Rome in the mean time. His rival is Prince Xavier de Bourbon-Parma, candidate of the Carlists (q.v.). Part of the left-wing opposition, headed by the socialist, Prieto, and extending into the ranks of the anarchists, seems prepared to co-operate with the monarchists against Franco, if the monarchists agree to hold a free plebiscite on the form of government and promise a liberal régime. Don Juan is believed to have the unofficial sympathies of the United States, Great Britain and the Vatican.

On 1 April 1947 Franco himself declared Spain a kingdom again. He was to remain Head of the State, and be assisted by a Council of the Realm, which was to nominate a qualified person to succeed Franco in the event of his death or incapacity before he himself has nominated a successor. The qualifications are that the person must be a male Spaniard of royal blood and of thirty years or more of age, who will swear to obey the fundamental laws—the two charters, the law establishing the Cortes, this Succession Law, and the law requiring that these laws be changed only by referendum. This law was condemned by Don Juan, the supporters of Prince Xavier and the republicans, who urged their respective followers to abstain from the referendum. A referendum was held in July; no opposition activity was allowed, but clandestine appeals for abstention were circulated by all the opposition groups—14,145,000 votes were cast for the law, 723,000 against, and there were about 2,000,000 invalid votes and abstentions. In October Franco was empowered to revive and create titles of nobility; acceptance of Carlist titles which are not recognized by the traditionalists was much noted. However, a meeting took place between Franco and Don Juan aboard a yacht off the Spanish coast in the autumn of 1948; it was afterwards reported that Franco had agreed to the pretender's eldest son being educated in Spain. In November Franco had a number of Falange leaders arrested.

Franco took advantage of the growing cleavage between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union to offer his services to the Western grouping, pointing to the importance of the Pyrenees in future European strategy. He also became interested in participation in the European Recovery Programme (q.v.). Argentina, Peru and Bolivia urged the United Nations to repeal the ambassadors' recall and receive Franco's Spain into the United Nations Organization. Secretary of State Marshall said on 10 August 1948 the pertinent resolution seemed obsolete but the United States would not take the initiative to end it.

Spain has a small colonial empire in Africa. The Canary Islands are two provinces of Spain. In Morocco (q.v.) there are five towns and the territory of Ifni under Spanish sovereignty and a protectorate (total area about 18,000 sq. m., pop. 1,287,000). Further south are Spanish Sahara (Rio de Oro)—105,000 sq. m., pop. 37,000; and Spanish Guinea with some small islands—11,000 sq. m., pop. 171,000. Spanish Morocco is valuable strategically, as it gives Spain control of the Straits of Gibraltar; it has been several times proposed that Ceuta should be ceded to Britain in exchange for Gibraltar.

SPEAKER, title of the chairman of the British House of Commons, of the chairmen of the Houses of other British parliaments, and of the chairman of the United

States House of Representatives. He is so called because he speaks for the House in its corporate capacity. In Britain he has been for a century impartial between parties. Once elected, a Speaker customarily retains his office as long as he retains his seat and is re-elected even though a new election may have brought to power the party opposed to that by which he was originally proposed. At one time he was not opposed at elections—this tradition was broken by the Conservatives in 1895 and by the Labour Party in 1935 and 1945. The Speaker may to some extent influence parliamentary proceedings by admitting or ruling out questions, deciding on procedure and using the 'kangaroo' power which enables him to select amendments for debate. In the American House of Representatives he is a partisan, although some speakers have tried to be impartial.

SPENCER, Herbert, English social philosopher, born 27 April 1820 in Derby, died 8 December 1903 in Brighton, was originally a railway engineer. In accordance with his training, his thought always remained based on the natural sciences. He attempted a philosophic synthesis of all sciences. Spencer was the embodiment of his century's belief in progress. His main political works are *Social Statics* (1850), *Principles of Sociology* (1876–96), a part of his ten-volume *Synthetic Philosophy*, and *The Man versus the State* (1884). Spencer was an extreme individualist and advocated a policy of perfect *laissez-faire*. The less government, the better, he said, and the state should abstain from all interference with social and economic life. Spencer indeed rejected all social legislation, all public welfare, even government schools, government mail and a public sewer system; he wanted even to transfer the Royal Mint to a private firm. Government interference, he taught, only protected the weak and hindered natural selection. (Spencer also proclaimed the theory of evolution six years before Darwin, if in somewhat different form. He is the father of the dictum of 'the survival of the fittest'.) In the absence of state interference a natural balance would automatically develop. Spencer saw a tendency of evolution going from the despotic-military state to an industrial-pacifist state of almost anarchist construction. Progress, he stated, is a law of the world; everything progresses from simple to complex forms, from homogeneity to heterogeneity, 'from aggregate to system'. Within the framework of this universal tendency a 'law of differentiation and integration' is operative, making these two phenomena alternately dominate also human history.

In spite of their scientific and philosophical weaknesses, Spencer's writings have exercised great intellectual influence, especially in English-speaking countries. Spencerian ideas that live on include his sociological method, his attempts at a biological approach to politics and history (though the means at his disposal were inadequate), his idea of an integration of the sciences, and his suggestion that society might be conceived as a social organism, struggling for life like any other organism. These ideas have stimulated diverse schools of modern thought, not all of which would have been to the liking of the philosopher.

SPENGLER, Oswald (1880–1936), German political and historical philosopher, at first a grammar school teacher, became famous by his *Untergang des Abendlandes* (*Decline of the West*), published in two volumes in 1918 and 1922. This work exercised tremendous influence in Germany (less so in other countries) at the time, although this was gradually reduced by growing scientific criticism. Spengler was a cultural and historical pessimist, rejecting the ideas of progress and evolution. There is no general line of evolution in human history, according to this philosopher. Cultures follow each other like so many independent organisms, all going through a cycle consisting of an archaic period, a period of high culture, and one of decay, until the area in question is overrun by a young people and a new cycle starts. There is no progress, only this eternal up and down. Every civilization starts afresh without taking much from the heritage of its predecessor. Spengler attempts to prove this by an analysis of the Indian, Chinese, Egyptian, Graeco-Roman, Arabic and European cultures, construing a table of 'relatively simultaneous' events to show that certain developments occur at the same relative stage in every civilization. From the analogy of earlier cycles he concludes that European-American civilization is now entering the late stage, corresponding to the declining ancient world under the Roman emperors.

No great cultural attainments may be expected in such an age of decay, but there is still room for great political and military achievements. Spengler sees the summit of civilization in the feudal period and scoffs at democracy, which he says is going down, having been only the rule of money anyhow; it is to be succeeded by an age of caesarism. After much war and empire-building the Western world would be probably overrun by the Russians, the 'young' people of our age whom Spengler credits with a part similar to that played by the Teutons at the end of the ancient world. Spengler was an active enemy of democracy and labour, and although he rejected Hitler's Nazism as plebeian, wishing for a nobler form of caesarism, he supplied many cues to the Nazi movement; for instance, his talk of 'blood' rising against 'money', his exaltation of 'instinct' as against reason, and his general warlike outlook. His theory of independent cultural cycles has not been accepted by science, and he has been criticized for one-sided selection of his material. Spengler's pessimism is still a force; otherwise, his main achievement was his contribution to the undermining of democracy in Germany.

SPHERES OF INFLUENCE, countries or parts of countries in which some other Power, without annexing them, exerts exclusive influence. The classical case was the division of Persia into a British and a Russian sphere of influence in 1908. The term has been discredited by anti-imperialist propaganda, but the practice goes on. States in a sphere of influence remain nominally independent, but are in fact under the guidance of the controlling Power. The inter-Allied agreement on occupation zones in Europe in 1945 was regarded as a division of Europe into a Russian and an Anglo-American sphere of influence, although this was officially denied at the time.

SPITZBERGEN. (See *Norway*.)

SPOILS SYSTEM, in the United States the doctrine that regards places in the public service as the spoils of the victorious party. The spoils system became official policy under President Jackson (1829–37). 'To the victor belong the spoils.' A change in the ruling party on the national, state, or local levels meant a complete exchange of the personnel of administration. Although a 'solidifying' effect was ascribed to it, it lowered the standards of American politics and administration to such an extent that a movement for reform arose in the 'eighties. This led to the establishment of a permanent Civil Service, and apart from a number of higher places the spoils system has been practically eliminated from the federal service. However, it is still frequently to be met on the state and local levels, where public jobs and contracts go to those who have supported the winning party. The reform movement is now cutting into these survivals of the spoils system.

STALIN, Joseph Vissarionovitch, Russian communist leader, Prime Minister and Marshal of the Soviet Union (q.v.), born 21 December 1879 in Didi-Lolo, near Tiflis, Georgia, Caucasus, the son of a cobbler, was originally sent to a priests' seminary but left it in early youth to join the Russian revolutionary movement. He joined the Bolshevik faction of the Russian Socialist Party, which later became the Communist Party, soon after its foundation in 1903. (See *Bolshevism*.) Stalin is a Georgian; his real name is Jugashvili. The *alias* he adopted in accordance with the usage of the revolutionary movement means 'man of steel'. Stalin worked in the movement under Tsarism, was repeatedly arrested and exiled to Siberia. In 1912 he was made a member of the party's central committee. After the February revolution of 1917, in Russia, Stalin returned from Siberia to St. Petersburg where he edited the party paper, *Pravda*, and became a member of the political bureau of the Bolshevik Party which directed the October revolution in the same year. In the first Soviet government he was Commissar for Nationalities. During the Russian civil war he successfully reorganized a threatened sector of the Red front and directed the defence of Tsaritsyn, later renamed Stalingrad. In 1919 Stalin was made general secretary of the central committee of the Communist Party, a position which gave him control of the party machine. He was not very much known to the public at the time, the war commissar and organizer of the Red Army, Trotsky (q.v.), being the second figure after Lenin.

After Lenin's death in January 1924 Stalin began his struggle for power. With Zinovieff and Kameneff, he formed the

Troika, a triumvirate against Trotsky, and the latter was ousted from the government. Stalin then combined with another, more moderate group of the party under Kalinin and Rykoff to remove the Zinovieff group, and in 1927 he was in sole possession of power. He has since for all practical purposes been the dictator of the Soviet Union. Stalin embarked on the policy of 'socialism in one country', meaning the development of Russia without waiting for the world revolution to which Trotsky had wished to give priority. Between 1927 and 1932 he carried out the first Five-Year Plan, which transformed Russia from a backward agricultural state into a modern industrial power, though at the price of tremendous hardships and the application of the harshest dictatorial methods, including the deportation of millions of peasants. Further Five-Year Plans followed. (See *Soviet Union.*) Stalin's war with exiled Trotsky went on. Trotsky accused Stalin of having betrayed the principles of international communism for a national-communist experiment and a bureaucratic dictatorship. Stalin persecuted Trotsky's adherents; he had the leading part played by Trotsky in the revolution deleted from history books and his own person substituted as the co-author of the revolution besides Lenin. Later he ordered revolutionary textbooks of history to be rewritten in a Russian patriotic sense. In 1936 and 1937 he effected a great party purge by which he wiped out both the Trotskyite and the military opposition. The purge engulfed most of the Bolshevik 'Old Guard', whose only prominent representative in office to-day is Stalin.

Stalin, always thinking first of Russia, subordinated the Communist International to Russian national policy; unlike Lenin, he never assumed its presidency but remained a mere committee member. Until 1934 he insisted on a radical, uncompromising policy of communist parties abroad and on combating the social-democrats (moderate socialists), for whom he coined the description of 'social-fascists'. Too late, he switched over to the popular front policy (q.v.), when Hitler's rule had become consolidated in Germany. In 1936 he had the Soviet constitution altered into a nominally democratic one. In 1939 he negotiated with Britain and France concerning an alliance against Hitler, but suddenly concluded a pact with Hitler on 23 August 1939, which provided for the fourth partition of Poland and encouraged Hitler to go ahead with World War II. Yet when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941 Stalin directed its defence with an iron hand. He assumed the title of Marshal and the supreme command of the Red Army, and also the premiership. (Previously he had formally held no office except that of general secretary of the Communist Party.) During the war he guided Russian policy along the road of extreme nationalism and pan-Slavism (q.v.), although himself not a Slav. By the agreements of Teheran and Yalta (q.v.) he secured a huge sphere of influence in Europe for Russia. On his latest changes of policy, see *Communism* and *Soviet Union.*

Communists regard Stalin also as the head of international communism in succession to Lenin, and as Lenin's heir in the theoretical development of Marxism (q.v.) and Leninism. In 1925 he published a series of lectures under the title *Problems of Leninism.* He declared himself an orthodox Marxist, but in actual politics he has been guided by practical necessities rather than Marxian theory, especially since 1935. He is an empiricist and realist.

STANLEY, Oliver F. G., British barrister and Conservative politician, born 1896, second son of the 17th Earl of Derby. He was Home Under-Secretary 1931–3, Minister of Transport 1933–4, of Labour 1934–5, President of the Board of Education 1935–7, of the Board of Trade 1937–40, Secretary of State for War 1940, for the Colonies 1942–5.

STERLING AREA, the area consisting of those countries whose currencies are based on the British Pound Sterling. It now consists of all the British Empire except Canada and Newfoundland, together with Iceland and the Faroe Islands.

STERLING BALANCES, the debts owed by Britain to many countries for goods and services supplied to her during World War II. On 30 June 1945 they totalled £3,277,000,000, owed as follows (£ millions): Dominions and Eire £394, India £1,116, rest of the Empire £661, Egypt and the Sudan £400, Europe £429, South America £142, Asia £135. These amounts have been somewhat reduced by agreements between Britain and the coun-

tries concerned, and payment has been deferred. Some financial experts wonder if Britain will ever be able to pay them, and some of her politicians consider that she should not do so, since the debts were incurred in the defence, direct or indirect, of the countries to which they are owed.

STIMSON DOCTRINE, a principle enunciated by Secretary Stimson in 1936 to the effect that the United States would not recognize any change of frontiers brought about by force. The principle appears to have become obsolescent with World War II.

STRAW VOTE. (See *Public Opinion Polls.*)

STRIKE, derived from 'to strike work', common stoppage of work by employees for the purpose of making employers agree to higher wages or other demands. Collective stoppage of work is the principal weapon of trade unions (q.v.). According to motives, strikes may be for pay, sympathetic, demonstrative and political. Often the treatment of individual employees, especially discharge, and various details of working conditions, become the causes of strikes. Usually the strikers stay at home and post pickets outside the works to keep off strike-breakers ('blacklegs'). The latter are ostracized by a special strike ethics which has evolved in the course of time. In the 'thirties the 'sit-down' or 'stay-in' strike was widespread; it is a sort of factory occupation, the strikers remaining inside the works without working. Strikes not authorized by the unions are known as 'unofficial', 'wild cat' or 'quickie' strikes. A general strike means simultaneous stoppage of work by all workers in the country. It is advocated by syndicalists (q.v.) as the means whereby the workers may seize power, but so far has been applied only for more limited purposes. The British general strike of 1926 was only partial and was intended to support the coal-miners' demands for higher pay. In 1927 political strikes were made illegal in Britain; they were legalized again in 1946 (see *Trades Disputes Acts.* Among other general strikes have been those in Germany in 1920 after the Kapp rising, and the strikes for universal suffrage in Belgium in 1891 and Austria in 1907). A milder form of strike is known as passive resistance, popularly called 'ca' canny'; work is not stopped but workers work slowly and circumspectly. On the side of employers the counterpart of the strike is the lockout, that is collective exclusion of employees from work, mostly combined with a temporary shutting down of the works. (See *Trade Unions, Taft-Hartley Labour Act.*)

SUBCARPATHIAN RUSSIA. (See *Ruthenia.*)

SUCCESSION STATES, a term for the states which came into existence after World War I as a result of the overthrow of the Austro-Hungarian, Russian and Turkish empires. They were: Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Finland, Irak, Syria and the Lebanon, Palestine, Transjordan, Hedjaz and Nejd.

SUDAN, Anglo-Egyptian, 965,000 sq. m., population about 6,500,000 Arab or arabized and Moslem in the north, negro and of various other races in the south. The Sudan dominates the upper reaches of the Nile and is of great importance to Egypt; it is also becoming significant as a cotton-producing area. The Sudan came under Egyptian rule in 1821, but seceded in 1882 through the uprising of the Mahdi, which was finally subdued in 1898 by an Anglo-Egyptian army under Kitchener. Thereafter the Sudan was made an Anglo-Egyptian condominium in 1899, an arrangement reaffirmed in the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936. Egypt aspires to the incorporation of the Sudan, while Britain favours its gradual development toward self-government. Under the condominium the Sudan is administered by a governor-general appointed by Egypt with British agreement (in practice always an Englishman). The British and Egyptian flags are always shown together. There are Sudanese forces under British, partly also native officers, and small British and Egyptian units are likewise stationed in the Sudan. The country is administered through governors and district commissioners, sometimes in co-operation with native chieftains and sheikhs. In general, conditions are still very primitive, especially in the south which is said still to be the scene of Arab slave-raids. The variety of peoples creates special problems. British influence in the administration has so far been substantially weightier than Egyptian.

An Advisory Council for the northern Sudan was set up by the British in 1944. In 1948 it was abolished to make room for a Legislative Assembly for the whole Sudan, created by the British without the consent of the Egyptians. The Assembly has a few official members, 10 nominated and 65 elected members, of whom 42 are indirectly elected by the north and 13, also indirectly, by the south, while 10 are elected directly in the towns. Indirect elections are through local and tribal councils, officials and notables. The leader chosen by the Assembly is a sort of prime minister. He forms an executive council (government) to work under the governor who keeps overriding powers. Egypt protested against this constitution and reiterated the demand for union with the Sudan under the Egyptian crown.

The first election was held in December 1948 but boycotted by adherents of union with Egypt. As a result the Independence Front dominates the new Council. The first government with Sudanese ministers was appointed on 23 December 1948.

Sudanese politics are to a large extent determined by clans united in parties and 'fronts'. The Independence Front consists of the following: The Umma Party led by Sir Abdur Rahman el Mahdi, the Mahdi's son and still an influential religious leader; the liberals, who would, however, accept a defence and customs union with Egypt; the nationalists; and the Republican Independence Party. The front is strong in the towns while the northern and eastern countrysides are pro-Egyptian. It is an irony of history that the Independence Front is strongest where Mahdist traditions are strong and the front collaborates with Great Britain, the Mahdi's destroyer.

The National Front consists of the Ashigga Party, led by Sayed el Mirghan Pasha, the head of the sect of Khatmiya and leader of the whole front; the liberal unionists; the unionists; and the Wadi el Nil Party (led by Darderi Ahmed Ismail) which stands for the unity of the Nile valley and wants full union with Egypt under a joint government, while the other parties of the front want a great degree of autonomy under the Egyptian crown. The Ashigga Party is believed to be the strongest party in the Sudan, the Umma Party comes second, and the Republican Independence Party third. After unionist demonstrations in December 1948 some of the unionist leaders were arrested.

SUDETEN-GERMANS, the 3,250,000 German inhabitants of the border provinces of Czechoslovakia (q.v.) until 1945. They are the descendants of German settlers called in from Germany by the Bohemian dukes and kings in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to develop the largely uninhabited mountain regions surrounding Bohemia and Moravia. While there has been constant friction between Czechs and Germans in these lands since the late Middle Ages, violence was of rare occurrence between them. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Sudetenland, as the regions in question later came to be called, became one of the most densely industrialized areas of Europe, developing principally the manufacture of textiles, glass, porcelain, cheap jewellery, toys and musical instruments, also lignite coal and chemicals. After the break-up of the Austrian Empire in 1918, the Sudeten-Germans set up a provincial government in the city of Reichenberg and proclaimed union with Austria. The Czechs thereupon occupied the Sudetenland which they claimed on historical and strategic grounds. In the first Czechoslovak parliament all Sudeten-German parties protested against incorporation in Czechoslovakia. The Czechs declared the Sudeten-Germans a minority in the state as distinct from the Czecho-Slovak 'state nation', and granted to them the rights laid down in the treaty for the protection of minorities. While there was no question of oppression and the Sudeten-Germans had a complete educational system of their own up to the university level, there was an amount of political and economic discrimination against them and it was official policy to send Czech settlers and civil servants to the Sudetenland. The Sudeten-Germans demanded self-government and the federalization of Czechoslovakia on the Swiss model. Their initial negative attitude to the Czech state gave way in 1926 to a policy of co-operation known as 'activism' and until 1938 there were German ministers in all Czech governments, though the general policy of the state remained unchanged.

The economic slump of 1930 hit the Sudeten regions more than the Czech parts of the country, mainly due to their higher

industrialization, but in the view of the Sudeten-Germans enhanced by Czech discrimination. Even after the passing of the crisis there were 200,000 unemployed left in the borderland. This contributed to the spread of German national socialism in the Sudetenland after 1935, and in 1938 its local branch, Konrad Henlein's Sudeten-German Party, polled 88 per cent of the vote. The Czech government now began to negotiate on autonomy for the Sudeten-Germans, under pressure from Germany as well as England and France, and in August 1938 it offered a far-reaching programme of regional self-government. Thereupon the Nazis on both sides of the frontier raised the claim for full annexation of the Sudetenland to Germany. After some shooting in the region, Czechoslovakia was forced by the Munich Agreement (q.v.) of 29 September 1938 to cede the Sudetenland to Germany.

The subsequent occupation by the Germans of what was left of Czechoslovakia, and the Nazi rule of terror increased Czech bitterness toward the Sudeten-Germans, and when the Czech government was reformed in exile under President Beneš after the outbreak of World War II, the idea was put forward to expel the whole Sudeten-German population to Germany after the war. Exiled Sudeten-German anti-Nazis under Wenzel Jaksch tried in vain to reach agreement with the Czech government in London on a reorganization of Czechoslovakia with Sudeten-German participation on a plan of home rule. In 1943 the expulsion of the Sudeten-Germans was announced as Czech official policy. After the end of the war in May 1945 the Czechs reoccupied the Sudetenland, and regrettably great cruelties modelled on the Nazi pattern were reported to have been committed by them, causing the British and American ambassadors to protest. Sudeten-German sources estimate the number of victims during this period at 100,000, the majority of whom are reported to have died in Czech concentration camps and during transport. Mass expulsion was completed in 1947, and only some 300,000 Germans have remained in Czechoslovakia on condition of assimilation to the Czechs. The Sudeten-Germans were settled in Southern and Central Germany. Their leader in exile, Wenzel Jaksch, announced a demand for the reopening of the Sudeten question in 1947.

SUEZ CANAL, the canal linking the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. The canal was constructed by the French engineer, Lesseps, and opened in 1869. It is the property of a French company, the *Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez* in Paris. Of its 652,932 shares, 295,026, ensuring for all practical purposes a majority at the general meeting, are held by the British government which by a lucky stroke acquired them under Disraeli's administration in 1875 from the Khedive of Egypt. Of the 32 directors, 19 are French, 10 British, 2 Egyptian and 1 Dutch. The company levies tolls from ships passing through the canal. The canal, about 100 miles in length, is open to vessels of all nations according to the Convention of Constantinople of 1888, even in wartime, and must not be blockaded. In practice this clause has in both World Wars been rendered illusory by the British navy controlling the approaches to the canal over a wide range on both sides. The canal company's concessions expire on 17 November 1968, whereupon the canal becomes the property of the Egyptian state. The defence of the canal is entrusted to Great Britain in accordance with the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 (see *Egypt*), until Egypt is in a position to take charge of it. Recently Egypt has demanded the withdrawal of British forces from the canal zone. The Suez Canal has for a long time been regarded as one of the lifelines of the British Empire, and its defence has been the chief determinant of British policy in the Middle East (see *Palestine*) and North-East Africa.

A new agreement was made between the Suez Canal Company and the Egyptian government in 1949. It provides for 5 new Egyptian directors, and for 7 per cent of gross profits going to Egypt, with a guaranteed minimum of £350,000 p.a.

SUN YAT SEN, Dr., Chinese national and democratic leader, founder of the modern Chinese national movement, born 12 November 1866 in Tsui Heng, the son of a Christian Chinese peasant, was educated at American and British schools in Honolulu and Hong Kong, became a medical practitioner in Canton. As early as 1895 he founded a Chinese republican organization and was soon compelled to flee abroad. In exile he founded in 1905 the Chinese National Party, Kuo Min Tang (q.v.), with the aid of Chinese communities abroad,

especially those in America. Dr. Sun Yat Sen played a great part in the Chinese revolution of 1911. (See *China.*) He opposed the conservative Marshal Yuan Shi Kai and directed the 'second revolution' in Nanking, where he was proclaimed President of the Chinese republic. After the failure of this revolution he had once more to go into exile. In 1917 he returned, assumed the direction of the South Chinese revolutionaries and organized a South Chinese government in Nanking. In 1921 he was once more proclaimed President. Sun Yat Sen sympathized with communism and accepted a Soviet Russian adviser named Borodin for the reorganization of the Kuo Min Tang and the Chinese national army. He died on 12 March 1925 in Peking, and was buried in Nanking, where his mausoleum is now a Chinese national shrine. He was succeeded by Chiang Kai Shek (q.v.). The Chinese national movement is indebted to Sun Yat Sen for its programme and organization. His famous Three Principles (nationalism, democracy, people's livelihood) still form the policy of the Kuo Min Tang.

Sun Yat Sen's widow, believed to sympathize with the communists, was prominent in Chinese politics until recent years. His son, Dr. Sun Fo, was Chinese Prime Minister from December 1948 to March 1949. She is one of the 'Soong sisters', the others being Mme Chiang Kai Shek and Mme Kung.

SUZERAINTY, from French *suzerain*, overlord, liege, the paramountcy of one state over another state, leaving some attributes of sovereignty (q.v.) to the latter. Mere self-government of a territory or state within a federation, or limited autonomy of a dependent area or colony, do not come under this heading; in this case the higher unit exercises sovereignty, not suzerainty. If, however, the degree of independence left to the subordinate unit, although not complete, reaches such a degree that the unit may be called semi-sovereign, it is said to be under the suzerainty of the higher or paramount power. There is, as a rule, no governor appointed by the controlling power in such a state, also called a vassal state, but government is exercised by the state's own ruler or ruling body, by treaty bound to loyalty toward the paramount power. Thus, Serbia and Roumania until 1878, Bulgaria until 1908, Egypt until 1914, were vassal states under Turkish suzerainty. Danzig was until 1939 a Free City under Polish suzerainty. The Indian princes were under the suzerainty of the British king in his capacity as Emperor of India until 15 August 1947, when the Imperial title was renounced and British suzerainty lapsed.

SWASTIKA, the hooked cross symbolic of the sun, found amongst primitive cultures throughout the world. The term is Indian, but the swastika is not peculiarly Aryan (q.v.). After World War I it was adopted as a badge by extreme German nationalists, who probably derived it from the German Baltic Corps, which had served in Finland, where it was used to mark Finnish warplanes, and had returned with a swastika on their helmets. The Baltic veterans formed nationalist anti-republican organizations which retained the swastika as a badge. It thus became a symbol of German nationalism, and as such was adopted about 1920 by the Nazis.

SWEDEN, Kingdom of, 173,000 sq. m., population 6,842,000. The capital is Stockholm. King Gustav V, born 1858, of the House of Bernadotte, has been on the throne since 1907. Parliament consists of two chambers: the First Chamber of 150 members chosen by provincial assemblies for eight years, and the Second Chamber of 230 members elected popularly every four years on the basis of proportional representation. The Second Chamber elected on 19 September 1948 is composed as follows (previous representation in brackets): social-democrats 112 (115), communists 9 (15), liberals 57 (26), agrarians 30 (35), and conservatives 23 (39). The election was marked by the liberal gains from the conservatives. The social-democrats, a very moderate socialist party, have been in office since 1932, in coalition with the moderately conservative agrarians till 1939, with all non-communist parties 1939–45, and alone since 31 July 1945; in 1948 an attempt to form a coalition with the agrarians failed. Their leader and prime minister is Tage Erlander. Swedish domestic policies are marked by calmness and a great deal of agreement on main issues. Well-known politicians include T. Erlander and G. Möller (socialists), the economist Bertil Ohlin (liberal), J. Anderson and M. Skoglund (conservatives) and A. Pehrsson-Bramstorp (agrarian).

Notwithstanding the existing parliamentary majority of socialist parties, Sweden has so far not adopted a socialist economic system, but maintained a liberal capitalism fused with elements of state planning in a much-noted synthesis. Planning works through such channels as the assignment of public works, state influence on banks, government holdings in ore mines, and strong labour unions and co-operatives. Socialists and reformers of many countries believe Swedish methods to be a good compromise. The Swedish workers' standard of living is the highest in Europe even in normal times. Some proposed additional socialist measures, including nationalization of the oil industry, were shelved in 1947, it is believed in deference to American opinion.

Sweden is an important source of high-grade iron ore for the iron industries of all countries. Normally Germany and England are the principal customers. Sweden also exports lumber, pulp and paper, and is known for its special technical industries (ball-bearings, electric appliances). In foreign policy Sweden is traditionally neutral and collaborates, so far as possible, with the other Nordic states. The customary regular conferences of the Foreign Ministers of Sweden, Norway and Denmark, now attended by the Foreign Minister of Iceland also, were resumed in 1946. In World War II Sweden was able to maintain her neutrality but had to make occasional concessions to Germany. She sympathized with Finland against Russia, and with Norway against Germany. Sweden is by tradition friendly disposed toward Germany, especially in its conservative section, but German Nazism was strongly rejected. Sweden feels somewhat uneasy in the face of Russian expansion, and in the Baltic the aims of the two countries have never tallied. (See *Aaland Islands.*) Sweden, including its socialists, is also strongly anti-communist. There is some concern about Finland, also on account of the Swedish minority there. A few Finns live in North Sweden. The 30,000 Swedes who had lived as a minority in the Baltic states, Estonia and Latvia, were transferred to Sweden after the incorporation of these countries in the Soviet Union in 1940.

Sweden participates in the European Recovery Programme (q.v.), but reaffirmed her neutrality when joining the Programme. She is more bent on strict neutrality than Norway and Denmark are at present, and political and defence talks held between the three Scandinavian countries failed early in 1949, as Sweden insisted on the traditional policy of neutrality, while Norway and Denmark decided to align themselves with the Powers of the North Atlantic Treaty (q.v.). Yet Sweden has the strongest army in Scandinavia and also an appreciable navy.

SWITZERLAND, Swiss confederation, 16,000 sq. m., population 4,266,000. The federal capital is Bern. German, French and Italian are official languages of Switzerland, and Raetoromanic (Romantsch), an ancient Latin dialect spoken in one region, is also recognized as a national language. The ethnical groups are as follows: German 3,100,000, French 885,000, Italian 220,000, Raetoromanic 46,000, others 17,000. There are now about 250,000 foreigners resident in Switzerland. Granting asylum to people persecuted on political grounds is an ancient Swiss tradition. In World War II Switzerland admitted 300,000 refugees, most of them being passed on to Allied countries. The maximum present in Switzerland at one time was 115,000 and 9,000 were left in 1948.

The political structure of Switzerland is federal. There are twenty-two cantons or states, three of them being subdivided into half-cantons, and they exercise most of the administration. The autonomy of the cantons is far-reaching, and while for a century there has been a tendency to increase the federal power at the expense of the cantons, they keep stubbornly defending their autonomy. To the federal government are reserved defence, customs, foreign policy, currency, mail and essentially also the railways. It may intervene in the cantons in cases of civil disorders. Apart from its high degree of democracy and local self-government, Switzerland is famous for its solution of the problem of nationalities. The various ethnical groups live together peacefully on a basis of complete equality. Cantonal self-government implies self-government of minorities, three cantons being French-, one Italian-speaking, while four cantons are ethnically mixed but provide for equality of all groups; all the rest are German-speaking. All cantons are bound to have a republican and democratic constitution, and must not secede from the confederation.

The Swiss parliament, known as the Federal Assembly, consists of the National Council and the Council of States. The National Council, now containing 194 members, is elected popularly for four years on the basis of proportional representation; there is no female suffrage, which has so far been consistently rejected in a number of cantonal referenda held on the question, the last time in Ticino in 1946. The Council of States consists of the representatives of the cantons, each canton sending two members. They are chosen by various methods left to the canton, and for periods varying from one to four years. The consent of both Councils is required for legislation. The Swiss government is known as the Federal Council and is elected by both Houses of the Assembly in joint session for a term of four years. It has 7 members presiding over the various government departments, and its chairman is known as the Federal President. He and the vice-president are also chosen by the Federal Assembly, but only for one year. It has become customary to make these offices rotate among the 7 members of the government, the vice-president usually succeeding the president of the year before. It is also customary for the Assembly always to re-elect the 7 members of government unless they decline re-election themselves. Government is not parliamentary; the Federal Council does not resign if parliament rejects any of its bills, and only rarely has the Assembly requested a member of the government to resign. Neither does the political composition of the government correspond exactly to the state of parties in the Assembly. Members of government must, however, hail from different cantons, and traditionally at least one must be from French and one from Italian Switzerland. The Federal President has little or no power of his own, and is also in charge of a government department. The powers of the government in general are also limited and the Assembly maintains close control of all public affairs. The same is the case in the cantons where direct democracy by referendum plays a great part. In nine cantons a referendum (q.v.) is mandatory for all legislation, and in ten cantons it is facultative, being frequently invoked. The federal referendum is also of frequent occurrence; since 1848 there have been 90 constitutional and 47 statutory referenda on a federal scale. Diffusion of power and constant reference to the people itself are main features of Swiss democracy, and have won for the country the reputation of being the most perfect democracy in the world.

The parliament, elected 26 October 1947, is composed as follows: radical liberals 52, social democrats 48, Catholic conservatives 44, Farmers', Traders' and Citizens' Party 21, independent liberals 8, conservative liberals 7, Party of Labour (communists) 7, democrats 5, others 2. The radical liberals, traditionally Switzerland's leading progressive party, regained their position as the strongest party, which in 1943 they had temporarily yielded to the social-democrats, who are moderate socialists. The radical liberals have an advanced social programme approaching that of the socialists. The Communist Party was banned from 1940 to 1945, then reappeared to find its place taken by a Moscow-approved Party of Labour. The number of the latter's seats rose from 1 to 7 in the 1947 elections, mainly at the expense of the socialists.

As a result of the simultaneous partial elections to the Council of States, that chamber now consists of Catholic conservatives 17, radical democrats 11, social democrats 4, Farmers', Traders' and Citizens' Party 4, conservative liberals 2, democrats 2 and others 2. The Swiss army is a militia with short training and frequent exercises, and noted for the fact that every member keeps arms and equipment in his own custody. In peace-time there is no higher rank than that of colonel, although graded into brigade, divisional and corps commanders; in case of mobilization, the Federal Assembly appoints a general (only one) as a supreme commander, responsible directly to the Assembly.

On the basis of international treaties and guarantees, Switzerland is perpetually neutral. Its neutrality was laid down by the Congress of Vienna on 20 March 1815, and reaffirmed by the second Treaty of Paris on 20 November 1815. The signatories and guarantors of Swiss neutrality were Britain, France, Prussia, Austria, Russia, Sweden, Spain and Portugal. International interest in Swiss neutrality is based on the fact that Switzerland controls the strategic Alpine passes in the heart of Europe and prevents them from falling into the hands of any one Great Power. The guarantees were endorsed in the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 and by the London Declaration of 13

February 1920, when Switzerland joined the League of Nations. The Swiss hold that the guarantors may intervene in case of a violation of Swiss neutrality only if Switzerland calls for their aid. Switzerland was exempted from participation in military actions by the League of Nations, but had to take part in economic sanctions against Italy in 1935. Exemption from further participation in such sanctions was granted by the League Council in 1938 in order to restore full Swiss neutrality. Switzerland makes similar reservations in connection with joining the United Nations about which she is somewhat reluctant.

In 1948 Switzerland joined the European Recovery Programme (q.v.) not as an applicant for aid but rather as a 'donor'. The United States abstained from imposing on Switzerland the bilateral economic treaty providing for ERP influence on economic policy which had been insisted upon in respect of the other participants in the Programme. It was appreciated that Switzerland was not in need of help, but economically the healthiest and strongest state in post-war Europe, with a great surplus of gold and dollars. Switzerland joined ERP with the proviso that it might withdraw if its sovereignty or neutrality were affected. While abstaining from the United Nations, Switzerland permitted a United Nations branch office to be set up at Geneva and also participated in the election of the International Court of Justice, being a signatory of the original convention creating this Court. She also joined Unesco (q.v.).

SYNDICALISM, from French *syndicat*, trade union, a socialist movement aiming at trade-union socialism instead of state socialism. Before the advent of communism, mainly in the two decades prior to World War I, syndicalism formed the revolutionary wing of the international labour movement. Adopting some basic principles of anarchism (q.v.), it also became known as anarcho-syndicalism. In Spain syndicalism has remained allied to anarchism until quite recent times. Syndicalists place Bakunin (q.v.) above Marx (q.v.); Sorel (q.v.) also contributed to the theory of syndicalism. The most significant syndicalist leaders were Pelloutier, Lagardelle, Hervé, Berth and Griffuelhes (France), Malatesta (Italy), De Leon (United States), Durutti (Spain) and Connolly (Ireland). Of these the Frenchmen, Sorel, Lagardelle and Hervé later moved away from syndicalism, ending far on the right. Syndicalism spread especially in the Latin countries, also in Latin America. The movement started in France about 1890 from the 'labour exchanges', a trade union self-aid organization, and soon dominated one-half of the French labour unions. It was called *syndicalisme révolutionnaire* to distinguish it from the ordinary, non-political union movement. In 1906 the French Labour Congress at Amiens adopted an essentially syndicalist platform, known as the Charter of Amiens, which remained nominally in force until 1939 although it ceased much earlier to be the basis of French labour's actual policy. The syndicalist movement spread also in Spain and Italy.

Like all anarchists, the syndicalists are concerned with human freedom under a socialist system. They refuse, in contrast to the Marxists, any kind of state socialism, which they regard as a threat to liberty, and they envisage a stateless society based on trade unions. The means of production are not to be taken over by the state, but to be handed over to the trade unions. These will freely associate in a loose federation without coercive power and will draw up economic plans by agreement. The trade-union federation takes the place of the state. Legislative bodies consist of delegates of vocational unions. Within the unions there is to be extreme democratic freedom. So many safeguards against discipline and coercion were provided that in the Spanish civil war 1936–9, when the syndicalists were an important element on the republican side, their fighting efficiency was seriously impaired by them. Syndicalism aims at a system of 'pluralistic authority' and 'functional economic organization'.

Syndicalists rejected the idea of a labour party or any parliamentary action in the interests of labour. Instead of entrusting labour's political struggle to a party, the unions were to take this struggle in hand directly. This is the principle of 'direct action', meaning strikes, factory occupation and uprisings. The role of the unions was designed to be much wider in syndicalism than in other sections of the labour movement; they were to be the bearers of the whole political struggle of labour and later of the new structure of society. Syndicalists evolved new methods of 'indus-

trial action', including the sit-down strike and 'ca'-canny' or passive resistance. (See *Strike.*) In its theory, syndicalism attempted a synthesis of Marxism and anarchism. It adopted many Marxian concepts, such as the class war, the idea of the historical task of the working class, and part of Marx's economic theories; yet it added idealist and voluntarist notions deviating from Marxism. It appealed to will and character rather than historical automatism and determinism, and stressed the importance of *élites*. The uptrend of syndicalism was cut short by World War I, after which it lost the bulk of its adherents to communism, which adopted not only its revolutionary spirit but also much of syndicalist phraseology and extra-parliamentary fighting tactic. The semi-anarchist Soviet system (q.v.), the *élite* principle of Lenin's Bolshevik Party, the many voluntarist and activist elements visible in the communism of the early revolutionary period behind a façade of strict Marxism, point to syndicalist origins. Yet communism, a system of rigid state centralism, combated syndicalism and has been combated by the latter.

In France there were only 50,000 syndicalists left in 1924, and the number is even smaller to-day. In Italy, where syndicalists had numbered 500,000 in 1913, only 120,000 were left in 1920; the movement was suppressed by fascism. In Germany the movement also dwindled in the 'twenties. Only in Spain syndicalism remained a mass movement, mainly in Catalonia. In 1936 it had a million adherents and was the strongest labour section. Politically it was directed by the Iberian Anarchist Federation. Spanish syndicalism had a great share in spontaneous resistance to Franco when the Spanish civil war broke out in 1936, but later its libertarian principles caused difficulties to the republican war effort, and finally the republican government crushed syndicalism. Under the rule of Franco the remnants of the movement were further persecuted, but elements of its organization, the C.N.T. (*Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores*), continue to exist in exile and underground. (See *Spain.*) Syndicalist features are visible in the labour movements of various Latin-American countries, especially Mexico (q.v.) and Argentina (q.v.). In the United States syndicalism was once represented by the I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World), organized about 1905 under the leadership of De Leon, Eugene V. Debs and W. D. Haywood. It stood for 'industrial' unionism (see *Trade Unions*), and its blue-print of a syndicalist society provided for more central control than European syndicalist movements did. The movement, after several splits, reached a membership of 100,000 in 1912. During World War I it was persecuted for its anti-war policy, and special 'Criminal Syndicalism Laws' were adopted against it, After the war, the I.W.W. lost many members to the communists, including two leaders, Haywood and W. Z. Foster. After another split in 1924 membership fell to 10,000, and the movement practically disappeared. In Great Britain syndicalism was fairly strong in Scotland prior to World War I and influenced the movement of guild socialism (q.v.). Later it vanished. The Irish syndicalist leader, Connolly, was executed in 1916 for his part in the Irish uprising. (See *Ireland.*) Although no longer a political factor of importance in any country except perhaps Spain, syndicalism has left its traces in the labour movement of the world and has also influenced non-socialist ideas for a corporate state (q.v.).

SYRIA, Arab republic, area 50,000 sq. m., population 3,000,000. The capital is Damascus. The population is prevailingly sunnite Moslem, besides shiite sects and some 500,000 Christians of various Churches. Besides the Arab majority, there are minorities of Turks, Kurds, Turkomans, Armenians, Circassians and others. For many centuries under Turkish rule, Syria became a state under French mandate after World War I. In 1920 a Syrian congress elected Emir Feisal, a son of the King of Hejaz (see *Arabs*), to be King of Syria, but this was not recognized by the Allies and Feisal had to leave the country. He became King of Irak (q.v.). After repeated reorganization the French divided Syria in 1924 into four non-federated states: Syria proper, (Christian) Lebanon (q.v.), Latakia (with 400,000 members of the Alaoui sect of Islam), and Jebel Drus (inhabited by the warlike Drus sect, numbering about 100,000). From 1920 to 1936 there were recurrent Arab disorders directed against the French. (Syria is the cradle of the Arab national movement.) In 1936 France concluded treaties with Syria and the Lebanon, holding out independence after three years in return for special treat-

ies with France, which was to keep garrisons in the two countries. The treaties had not been ratified by the French parliament when World War II broke out. On 8 June 1941 British and French Gaullist forces marched into Syria against the resistance of Vichy forces, which eventually surrendered on 12 July 1941. British and Gaullist proclamations declared Syria independent and the mandate ended, leaving it to the Syrians to unite or form several states. In September 1941 De Gaulle's government recognized the independence of Syria and the Lebanon, while Latakia and Jebel Drus came to Syria. The Sanjak of Alexandretta (q.v.) had been ceded to Turkey in 1939.

In 1945 there was fresh unrest in Syria, the Syrians demanding the withdrawal of Allied forces. The French tried to secure the right to keep garrisons in the country, but England was averse to this plan. Russia also supported full Syrian independence. After repeated complaints by the Syrian states to the United Nations, the evacuation was effected in 1946, the last French troops leaving on 31 August. Now Syria is an independent republic and a member of the United Nations. The Lebanon (q.v.) also became independent.

Syria remains a centre of pan-Arabism (q.v.) and is a member of the Arab League (q.v.), which was formed at Bludan in Syria. She challenges the validity of the cession of Alexandretta to Turkey. A monarchist and 'Greater Syrian' movement exists in Syria, aiming at union with Transjordania (q.v.), under the latter's King Abdullah, possibly with the inclusion of Arab Palestine. In May 1948 Syria participated in the invasion of Palestine by the armies of the Arab League. The majority of the Syrian population is still illiterate, though the percentage of literates is higher han in the other Arab countries. Landowners, wealthy merchants, religious leaders and the intelligentsia are leading forces in politics. The Drusi and the other minorities give trouble.

In December 1948 the government of Jamil Mardem Bey was replaced by a nationalist government under Khaled el Azem. On 3 April 1949 Colonel Husni Zaim, Chief of Staff, took power by a *coup d'état*, arresting President El Khuvatli and Khaled el Azem. Both resigned and the parliament was dissolved.

The war against Israel (q.v.) had been ended by an armistice, but the unsuccessful campaign caused discontent. On 14 August 1949, Colonel Zaim was overthrown by a group of army officers, led by Colonel Sami el Hinnawi, and was shot. A new government under H. Attasi, who had been President in 1936, was appointed, and return to constitutional government was promised. Plans for union with Irak (q.v.) were discussed.

On 15 November 1949 a new parliament was elected to draft a new constitution. An amended electoral law aimed at reducing the power of the great landowning families and giving more scope to the intelligentsia. The liberal Popular Party won the election, while the more conservative National Party (to which the former President, El Khuvatli, had belonged) boycotted it, though many of its members stood as Independents. In December H. Attasi, aged 80, resigned as prime minister, but was chosen President. On 20 December 1949 the army staged another *coup*, this time led by Col. Abid Shishakly. El Hinnawi was deposed and arrested. The rising was reported to have been a move against union with Irak. The Popular Party (of which Shishakly was a member) had earlier favoured such a union, but the army disliked it, and Egypt worked against it.

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TAFT-HARTLEY ACT, in the United States an act restricting the rights of trade unions, named after its sponsors, Senator Taft and Representative Hartley. It was passed in 1947 by the short-lived republican majority in Congress, which overrode President Truman's veto. Labour hostility to the Act and its supporters was believed to have been a cause of Truman's victory in the 1948 elections, and the Democratic Party promised to repeal it. However, on 30 April 1949 the House of Representatives, notwithstanding its Democratic majority, rejected the abolition of the Taft-Hartley Act and the restoration of the more liberal Wagner Act by a vote of 275 : 37, and on 3 May 1949 it rejected a bill proposed by President Truman, which was not complete abolition of the Taft-Hartley Act but satisfied the unions, by a vote of 211 : 183, the southern Democrats, always conservative, deciding the issue. Another bill, which was but a slight modification of the Taft-Hartley Act, was adopted by a vote of 217 : 203, and the Senate adopted a similar (but not the same) bill on 30 June 1949 by a vote of 51 : 42.

TAMMANY HALL, a name given to the Democratic Party's organization in New York City, which sprang from the Tammany Society of 1805. One of the famous political machines of American history. Very influential in New York City and state politics, also in the Democratic Party on a national scale. (See *Political Bosses and Political Machines.*)

TANGANYIKA. (See *British East Africa.*)

TANGIER, Moroccan port with an international zone of 225 sq. m., administered by an international assembly of 27 members in accordance with the Tangier Convention of 18 December 1923, valid till 14 May 1948 and automatically renewable for twelve years after that date, unless formally terminated. The Convention, concluded between Britain, France and Spain, was not recognized by all signatories of the Algeciras Act (q.v.) of 1906, which laid down the policy of the European Powers in respect of Morocco. Italy joined as late as 1928. The international assembly exercises legislation; a control committee composed of the consuls-general of the Algeciras Powers, in as far as they are parties to the Tangier Convention, has the right of veto. The representative of the Sultan of Morocco known as the *Mendub*, presides over the assembly. (Notwithstanding international administration, the area of Tangier is part of Morocco.) He is also in charge of administration as far as affairs of the Moroccan population are concerned. Otherwise, the executive is in the hands of an administrator appointed by the international assembly. On 14 June 1940 Spain occupied the Tangier zone and assumed its administration. In September 1945 Britain, America, France and Russia requested the Spanish government to evacuate the zone, which was done on 11 October 1945. The Mendub returned and international administration was restored.

There have been some changes in the régime of Tangier. The Paris Agreement of 1945 provides for the participation of the Soviet Union. The other participants in the administration are at present England, France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium and Holland. (Sweden was invited, but declined.) The three greatest Powers are to leave the senior posts to representatives of the smaller nations; the present administrator is a Portuguese admiral. But France obtained an *administrateur adjoint* and has particular influence in the administration. The United States is not a party to the Convention, does not recognize the international authorities and still enjoys capitulations, but American representatives take part in the meetings of the international assembly and the control committee. (The United States is an Algeciras signatory.) Also two American radio

stations have been established in Tangier. The present régime is regarded as provisional. Moroccan nationalists want the port, like the rest of the country, to come back under independent Moroccan administration.

TANNU-TUVA, a fertile area between Mongolia (q.v.) and Siberia, area 64,000 sq. m., population 65,000, of whom about 50,000 are Tuvines, speaking a language akin to Mongolian but closer to the Turki languages, 12,000 Russians and 3,000 Chinese and Mongols, capital Kysylchoto (Red Town, in Russian Krasny; formerly Bielotsarsk). Formerly a part of Outer Mongolia, it was declared a Russian protectorate in 1914, became the Soviet Tuvinian People's Republic in 1924 and was incorporated into the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic as an autonomous region in 1944.

TECHNOCRACY, a movement started in 1932 by American engineers and scientists and proposing a system of society rationally planned on scientific and technical lines. The technocrats evolved detailed schemes showing what could be done by better organization and utilization of existing resources under a planned economy, and arrived at the conclusion that a working week of twenty to twenty-four hours would in that case be sufficient for a very high standard of living in the United States. The technocrats proposed no change in ownership or political organization, but universal voluntary acceptance of planning. Although not calling themselves socialists, they were in fact a modern school of utopian socialism. (See *Socialism.*) The movement soon ebbed, but has left some traces. In Britain the scientist Lancelot Hogben was a leading exponent of technocracy.

TEHERAN, Conference of, a meeting between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin in December 1943, to discuss war policy and the post war settlement. The *communiqué* issued was in general terms; the real decisions included the early establishment of the 'second front' in Western Europe, the occupation of Germany and its division into zones, the fundamentals of the peace terms, and the delimitation of the Powers' spheres of influence. (See *Yalta.*)

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY (T.V.A.), in the U.S.A., a regional planning and development authority for the valley of the Tennessee River and its tributaries. It was established in 1933 under F. D. Roosevelt's New Deal (q.v.) policy to utilize the hydro-electric power of the valley, to render the river navigable, to stop inundations and soil erosion, and to develop the general economic activities of the region, which had hitherto been distressed. The authority is almost independent of federal government control, being subject only to general direction, and works through a system of democratic co-operation with local organizations.

The region comprises parts of seven American states and has a total area of 58,000 sq. m., and a population of 4,500,000. In the fifteen years of its existence the authority has developed the resources and greatly improved the conditions of living of the people of the region.

TERRITORY, in federations an area of the country which is not a constituent state or part of one, but is instead administered by authorities representative of the federal government, although there may be some measure of self-government. In the U.S.A. Alaska and Hawaii (both q.v.) are incorporated territories with a large measure of self-government and their people have the rights of U.S. citizens. Puerto Rico (q.v.) and some American Pacific Islands are unincorporated territories with fewer rights.

TESCHEN, town and district in south-east Silesia. Austrian until 1918, it was then claimed by Poland and Czechoslovakia, who partitioned it In September 1938 Poland forced Czechoslovakia to cede her Teschen and the remaining part of the district (area 419 sq. m., population 242,000). but in 1945 Czechoslovakia regained the district.

THIRD EMPIRE (German *Drittes Reich*) in Germany (q.v.) a term for the Nazi régime. The Holy Roman Empire (ended 1805) was supposed to have been the First Empire and the Empire of Bismarck the Second (1871–1918). The German republic of 1918 was regarded by nationalists as an inadequate expression of the German nation and they demanded a nationalist régime, a real *Reich.* The term was popularized as *Das Dritte Reich* (1924) by the nationalist Moeller van den Bruck, and adopted by the Nazis.

THIRD FORCE, a term originating in post-World War II France, where it was applied to the socialists and M.R.P., intermediate between the communists and the right-wing supporters of De Gaulle. It has been applied elsewhere to policies intermediate between communism and fascism (e.g. Italy) and communism and other right-wing forces (e.g. China). It is applied also to a group of states—Western Europe with or without the British Commonwealth—which would be sufficiently strong and influential to reconcile the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. by co-operating with both. So far the countries of the Third Force have been too dependent on U.S. aid and too fearful of the U.S.S.R. and communism to form an independent group of the kind envisaged.

TIBET, mountainous Mongol state in the Himalayas, 460,000 sq. m., population unknown. Estimates of the latter vary enormously, from 600,000 to 6,000,000. The latest estimate is only 700,000 to 800,000. Tibetan-Mongol languages are spoken. Not much is known about the country which is difficult of access and normally closed to strangers. It is a priest-state sustained by the Lamas, buddhist monks making up some 20 per cent of the population. Their religion is Lamaism, a variant of India's Mahajana Buddhism mingled with Shamanism and other primitive religions. Since the fifteenth century, government is exercised by a double papacy based on mythological beliefs. One of the five Buddhas recognized by Lamaism, the Buddha Amitabha, is believed to be incarnate in the Panchen Lama, also known as the Tashi Lama, while his son, the Boddhisatva (lesser Buddha) Awalokiteshwara, is held to be incarnate in the Dalai Lama. The two top Lamas together form the government of Tibet. They are about equal in rank although the Dalai Lama has to revere the Panchen Lama as his spiritual father. As a political head, the Dalai Lama is of greater importance. There are some 200 lesser incarnations known as *Hutuktus*. When a Dalai Lama dies, a boy born at the instant of his death is searched for; if certain tokens are found applicable to him, he is regarded as the reincarnation of the deceased supreme Lama and brought up to be his successor. During his minority there is a regency. The Panchen Lama is chosen by a similar method. The Dalai Lama resides in Potala Monastery in Lhasa, the capital, while the Panchen Lama has his seat in the mountain monastery of Tashi Lumpo. The Dalai Lama appoints a sort of prime minister, the *Silon*, who presides over a *Kashag* or Grand Council of four high Lamas, the equivalent of a cabinet. There is also a kind of Lama parliament, known as the *Tsongdu*. The two ruling Lamas regard themselves as the physical continuation of their predecessors and talk of the latter's actions in the 'I' form. Thus a Dalai Lama will say in a speech from the throne as a matter of course: 'Five hundred years ago I made a treaty with China.' After the death of the 13th Dalai Lama in 1939 the 14th Dalai Lama was discovered and installed in the same year, and a regency set up for the time of his minority. The first regent, Jachen, resigned after some time and was succeeded by the present regent, Dala. In 1947 ex-regent Jachen plotted to kill Dala, but a bomb attempt failed and a Lama rising at Lhasa, led by Jachen, was quelled. (Lama uprisings not seldom influence Tibetan politics.) Jachen died in prison, while the other leaders of the rising were sentenced to 250 strokes, imprisonment for life in chains, and to have their eyes put out.

Tibet's relations with the outside world are scanty and desultory. The British Younghusband expedition to Lhasa in 1904 resulted in an Anglo-Tibetan agreement providing for some trade and other relations with India, but not much was changed in the seclusion of Tibet. An Anglo-Chinese-Tibetan conference in 1914 agreed on autonomy for Outer Tibet and Chinese administration for Inner Tibet, after Chinese officials and garrisons had been driven out in 1912. (Tibet had for a long time been under Chinese suzerainty.) China did not ratify the agreement, and there was fighting between the Chinese and the Tibetans in 1918 and on other occasions. British mediation failed. China has not abandoned claims to suzerainty, but Tibet admits Chinese missions and representatives only as complimentary or diplomatic missions. There are some relations between Tibet and its immediate neighbours, China, India and Nepal. Recently there have also been reports of Russian feelers having been put out to Tibet via Sinkiang (q.v.) and Lamaist Outer Mongolia (q.v.), a Russian satellite. Russia took some interest in Tibet already early in the century. The country is of

strategic importance and acts as a buffer state between Russia and India.

TIMOR, an island in the East Indies, 13,000 sq. m., population about 2,000,000. The northern part belongs to Portugal (q.v.); the south is Dutch and is part of Indonesia (q.v.).

TITO, Marshal, pseudonym of the Yugoslav communist politician Josip Brož, born 1892. He was imprisoned for communist activities in 1923, and left the country on release. He returned before World War II, and during that war he organized the partisans against the Germans after the German attack on Russia. He fought and eventually overcame the conservative guerrilla leader Mihailovitch. In 1943 he became President of the National Liberation Committee, and with Russian aid made himself *de facto* dictator of Yugoslavia. After a short-lived attempt by representatives of the Yugoslav royalist government in London to collaborate with Tito, he proclaimed the Yugoslav People's Republic which became part of the 'Soviet bloc'. Tito assumed the offices of Prime Minister, Minister of Defence, and Commander-in-Chief. He organized Yugoslavia on communist lines, but in June 1948 the Cominform (q.v.) denounced him for pursuing an unorthodox policy, the principal charges being nationalism, bureaucratic dictatorship, and insufficient collectivization of farming. Tito insisted on a communist policy on his own lines, but reaffirmed his loyalty to communism as such and to the Soviet Union. Nevertheless the breach widened, and Moscow accused Tito of treason, Trotskyism (q.v.), and collaboration with 'western imperialists'. Tito secured the support of the Yugoslav communist party, adherents of the Cominform being eliminated, and continued his policy in the face of growing Russian threats and military demonstrations. He stated that the breach was due to his refusal to be subservient to Stalin and Russia. (See *Yugoslavia.*)

TOMLINSON, George, British labour politician, born 1890. A cotton weaver, he entered business and politics. In the Churchill coalition government he was Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour 1941–5. In the Attlee labour government he was Minister of Works from August 1945 to February 1947, when he became Minister of Education.

TONGA. (See *British Pacific Islands.*)

TORY, popular name for conservative. The British Conservative Party dropped the name, which it had since 1670 used for itself, in 1828, but it has survived in English popular usage. The origin of the word is obscure; it may be derived from an Irish word 'tory' for a kneeling cushion, which Cromwell's men applied to royalist conservatives in order to show that they disliked them as much as they did the Irish 'papists'. In America the British loyalists were during the revolution also known as 'Tories'. The word has also been used at various times by American progressives to describe their more conservative opponents. (See also *Whig.*)

TORY DEMOCRACY, in Britain a term used for the policy of that section of the Conservative Party (q.v.) which advocates social reform. It was used especially of Lord Randolph Churchill in the 1880s and has since been applied to such movements as the Tory Reform Committee (q.v.).

TORY REFORM COMMITTEE, in Great Britain a group of conservative (q.v.) M.P.s, led by Q. Hogg, P. Thorneycroft and Lord Hinchingbrooke, who in 1943 joined together to press the government to introduce social and economic reforms in preparation for peace and to persuade the Conservative Party to accept extensive social reform and governmental control of the economy. After the conservative defeat in the 1945 election it disintegrated. (See *Design for Freedom.*)

TOTALITARIAN SYSTEMS, political systems based on the 'total' or all-embracing state. Its form of government is dictatorial. It is based on a single party and credits the state, or the monopolist party identified with the state, with the right of regulating the entire life of the citizens, including their cultural and indeed private life. Its interference consists in regulation, supervision and 'co-ordination'. The term 'total state' was coined by Mussolini (q.v.). While the democratic conception of the state assigns only certain tasks to the state and leaves the shaping of life in all other spheres (as many as possible) to the individual or to free associations, the total state seeks to extend its domination over all spheres of life. The

individual counts for nothing, while the state is everything. A cult of the state is characteristic of all totalitarian systems. Totality means the complete extinction of all independent, political, cultural, or social life outside government or party control. This leads to the suppression of all parties but the ruling one, substitution of government-controlled organizations for independent associations in every field, and the control of such organizations as the army or the Church which might still remain factors outside totality. The totalitarian state watches every step of the citizen by means of a secret police; it orders mass meetings to pass preconceived resolutions; it permits only one philosophy, only one tendency in Press and literature. Not every dictatorial state is totalitarian; where several parties remain in existence, though with little power, and an amount of free association is permitted, and government, if absolute, refrains from the all-pervading interference described before, there is no totality. Thus, certain Latin American states, though dictatorial rather than democratic, cannot be described as totalitarian; yet Vargas's system in Brazil almost deserved the name. Horthy's Hungary as before the war could not be called totalitarian either, though it was a very conservative dictatorship. Examples of totalitarian states are Hitler's Germany, Fascist Italy, Franco's Spain and the Soviet Union (all q.v.).

TRADE CYCLE, term for the succession of prosperity and depression (boom and slump) which characterizes capitalism. An analysis of its nature has to consider two problems: (1) Why there are booms and slumps and the economy does not remain at one level, and (2) why even in the boom some workers and material resources remain unemployed. Trade cycle theory has been strongly affected since 1930 by the work of the late Lord Keynes, whose analysis of the cycle and proposals for dealing with it have greatly influenced contemporary economists and governments. The following is an attempt to state briefly the gist of much current trade cycle theory.

The incomes which employers and employees receive may be either spent on consumers' goods and services (food, clothes, furniture, entertainment, professional services, etc.) or saved. In so far as they are spent they sustain effective demand for goods and thus for workers to produce them. In so far as they are saved they may be invested or kept idle. If invested—i.e. used to pay for the manufacture of capital goods (building of all sorts, including factories, machinery for producing consumers' goods, railways, etc.) they also sustain the demand for labour. If, however, they are kept idle in anticipation of future use, then they do not sustain the demand for goods and labour. The decisions to invest and the decisions to save are, on the whole, taken by different people—the first by the directors of firms, great and small, and by public authorities, and the second by the recipients of income, such as wage-earners, salaried persons, receivers of profits (rentiers), although, of course, many firms do not distribute all their profits to their owners but reserve some for direct investment in the above sense. (The word 'investment' is also used for the purchase of stocks and shares. Investment of this kind will result in investment of the other only if the money so invested is eventually spent by a firm. But much investment of this kind is the purchase by one rentier from another of stock giving him an income from a firm—only if the seller then buys new stock being issued by some firm to obtain resources for direct investment or spends it on consumers' goods will demand be sustained.) As a result of being made by different people, the sum totals of these decisions may not coincide. The sum of the amounts which it is decided to save may exceed that of those which it is decided to invest, with the result that there is a net decline in the demand for goods and labour—this causes unemployment (slump, deflation). The reverse may happen and then the increase will give employment to the existing unemployed (boom) and, if great enough, will cause inflation.

There may be various causes for the fatal decision not to invest—fear of insufficient returns, or loss of capital, is the obvious psychological cause, but the various theories of the trade cycle differ as to how this fear comes about, and how far it has justifiable material reasons. Socialists believe that the periodic recurrence of material conditions in which private investment comes to a standstill is inevitable in a capitalist system, in which the decision to invest is entrusted to numerous unorganized individuals guided merely by the profit incentive and specula-

tive estimates of an unorganized market. Planless operations lead to over-investment, and production outstrips consumption; meanwhile the rise in wages and salaries, which goes with a boom, has reduced the margin of profit—thus two reasons have arisen which cause the owners of capital to stop investment. (On details of this theory, see *Marxism*.) Other theories link the rhythm of investment with the chances to invest overseas (see *Imperialism*). Classical economics attributed to the depressive phase of the trade cycle a purifying function; it was supposed to weed out the businesses unfit for survival. A self-healing mechanism was ascribed to the cycle; after the slump, excess products are absorbed by the market while the flow of new supplies is throttled, and lower wages restore the chances of profit for manufacturers; an amount of deflation or disinflation (qq.v.) accompanies this process; and at a certain point the economic machinery begins to work again. Since the great economic slump of 1930, however, which failed to heal itself and produced disastrous political sequels (see *Hitler*), the appreciation of the negative phase of the trade cycle has changed, and interest in its nature and the possibilities of controlling it has been greatly stimulated.

Among the proposals to deal with the trade cycle two are of prime importance. The first is a policy of public works, designed to stimulate investment by promoting the construction of capital goods when the production of those goods seems about to decline. This policy is most supported by socialists and other collectivists, who desire not only to deal with the trade cycle but also to direct the employment of the nation's resources. The second proposal is a policy of monetary manipulation—when a slump was approaching people would be encouraged to buy goods (and thus stimulate consumption) by tax concessions, and increases in social security benefits, and by the government purchasing the goods and services it required not by raising money by taxation but by creating credit (an 'unbalanced budget'); when inflation was on the way, consumption would be discouraged by tax increases designed to balance the budget and indeed, to obtain a budget surplus, as in Britain in 1948–50. This policy has been approved most by liberals and conservatives, who consider that it requires less government intervention in the economy than the other policy. But the two policies are not incompatible; indeed, the simultaneous application of both to a moderate extent is held by many observers to be the best means of combating the trade cycle and securing permanent employment. The duration of the classical trade cycle used to be 10 years, and in this century, 7 years. Recently it has become distorted by the effects of the great wars and by the increasing amount of government interference with it, and it would be difficult to estimate its probable length at this juncture. (See *Beveridge, Capitalism, Full Employment, Keynes, Social Credit*.)

TRADE DISPUTES AND TRADE UNIONS ACTS, 1927 AND 1946, in Britain two of the many acts dealing with trade unions, a term which in law includes associations of employers as well as of workers. The first act was designed to deal with the General Strike of 1926. Its chief provisions were that any strike or lockout with an object other than or in addition to the furthering of a trade dispute in the trade or industry concerned was illegal (this was designed to prevent general and other political strikes), that members of trade unions wishing to support the funds of a political party through their union must express their willingness to do so (this was called 'contracting in', as opposed to 'contracting out', whereby every member automatically paid a political contribution if the union decided to raise a political fund unless he refused to do so; 'contracting out' was believed to involve coercion of non-Labour workers, since most unions supported the Labour Party, while Labour said it was just a simplified method of collecting regular contributions from people adhering to Labour in any case), and that civil servants must not join unions or federations of unions other than those confined to civil servants (this was to prevent civil servants joining the Trades Union Congress (q.v.), a body closely connected with the Labour Party). The Act was resented by the labour movement, and after attempts to have it amended by the Churchill coalition government had failed, it was repealed in the first session of the 1945 labour parliament by the Act of 1946, despite liberal as well as conservative opposition.

TRADE UNIONS, also known as labour unions, associations of workmen and other

employees for the joint promotion of their interests, especially in relation to employers. Unions act as collective bargaining agencies for their members and aim at collective agreements determining wages and the conditions of work. These agreements may or may not extend also to non-members. The underlying idea is that by joint action the employees can secure better terms than they could, on an average, obtain by individual action. Unions have developed their own ethics, requiring members to practise union loyalty, union discipline and solidarity. Their main weapon is the strike (q.v.) (concerted stoppage of work). Also go slow work, known as 'ca' canny', is sometimes used as a milder form. Labour unions were often persecuted in the first half of the nineteenth century, but achieved legal recognition in most countries in the latter half. To-day they are important elements of national life everywhere. Constitutionally, labour unions are non-political associations dealing with wages and conditions of employment within the existing social order, as distinct from labour parties (socialist parties) aiming at a change of the social order by political means. The relation between unionism and socialism is an old problem of the labour movement. In Europe and in a number of non-American countries unions are usually associated with socialist parties by personal or organizational links, or at least through political affinity. Traditionally, the social-democratic labour parties have been in control of the unions or controlled by them, but recently the communists have taken the place of the socialists in union control in some countries. In the United States, 'pure' unionism without any party affiliation prevails; there is no labour party of any significance so far, and most union members are not socialists at all. However, the question of a 'third party' connected with the labour unions is often discussed. In some Latin American countries unions are likewise associated with sympathetic political parties. A former radical trend known as *syndicalism*, which sought to unite political and economic functions in the unions, is of little significance to-day.

Unions may be *craft unions*, also known as horizontal unions, or *industrial unions*, also known as vertical unions. Craft unions organize workers of a particular craft, skill, or trade, regardless of their place of employment. Industrial unions organize all workers employed in one industry regardless of their craft, skill or trade. Skilled workers have developed craft unions rather than industrial ones, while the masses of the unskilled and semi-skilled have adopted industrial unionism. The boundaries between the two kinds of unions are less sharp to-day than they used to be. Within a given country, unions associate in federations, and these in turn are associated in international federations.

Unionism in various countries *Britain* was the first country with a strong trade-union movement. In 1799 'combinations' had been illegalized—the laws, like all British trade-union legislation, applied to unions of employers as well as of employees, but were directed mainly against workers' unions, which were suspected of revolutionary designs. In 1824 the Combination Laws were repealed and unions were no longer illegal, though their legal and political position was insecure. They were subject to persecution in the 1830s but they were gradually recognized as legitimate organizations and by the statutes of 1871, 1874, 1906 and 1913 secured privileges not granted to other associations. The movement became associated with the Labour Party (q.v.). The powerful Trades Union Congress was formed in 1871 by the most important unions. It now comprises 192 unions with a total membership of about 7,500,000 (see *Trades Union Congress*, *Trade Disputes and Trade Union Acts*, *Closed Shop*).

In the *British Empire* trade unionism is strongest in the older Dominions—in *Australia* (q.v.) it is especially strong, and is important also in *New Zealand* and, among the white populations, in *South Africa* (see both). The Africans in *South Africa* and the native peoples of the *colonial Empire* are developing unionism. In *Canada* unionism is also strong and is associated with the unionism of the *U.S.A.* The two great North American federations of unions, the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (both q.v.) between them unite most Canadian and U.S. unions. The latter developed most rapidly in the 1930s, during the period of the New Deal (q.v.). The Wagner Act of 1935 forbade employers insisting that their workers do not join a union; the Taft-Hartley Act (q.v.) of 1947 conversely forbade workers insisting that all their fellow-

employees join the same union as themselves (see *Closed Shop*). American unions tend to support capitalism and have not given much support to socialist parties (see *United States*, section on parties); of the two older parties, they tend now to support the Democratic Party (q.v.). The number of trade unionists in the U.S.A. is about 15,000,000.

In *France* the fear of sectional, antinational organizations delayed the full recognition of unions until 1884, although they had developed earlier. The 1946 constitution guarantees the workers' rights to join unions of their own choice and to strike. French unions have long been divided into socialist, communist, Christian (Catholic) and independent unions. After World War II the first two combined in a reunited *Confédération Générale du Travail* (C.G.T.). In November 1947, however, socialist unionists were opposed to the communist-inspired strikes designed to overthrow the socialist-Catholic coalition government and formed the *Force Ouvrière* which in December seceded under the veteran union leader Jouhaux from the communist-dominated C.G.T. to establish the *C.G.T.-Force Ouvrière*, which has about 1,000,000 members. The C.G.T. retains about 4,000,000 members, not all of them communists. In addition there are the Christian Federation of Trade Unions (C.F.T.C.) with about 750,000, which is related to the Catholic M.R.P. Party (see *France*), and the 'Trotskyite' *Confédération Nationale du Travail* (C.N.T.) founded 1946, with about 150,000 members.

The *German* trade-union movement, until Hitler's rule the second most powerful in the world, was suppressed during the period of Nazi rule. The social-democratic unions had nearly 5,000,000 members, and there were also smaller Christian (Catholic) unions, liberal unions and Red (communist) unions. Under Allied occupation a start was made with the reconstruction of the union movement. A unitary union took the place of the former political division, and in 1949 the German unions had over 6,000,000 members again. In Germany's western zones the leadership of the unions is largely social-democratic, while in the Russian zone it is communist. German unions are generally based on the industrial union principle. The West German trade union federation (4,000,000 members) joined the Free Trade Union International in 1949.

In the *Soviet Union* labour unions are closely affiliated to the state and the Communist Party. They have 25,000,000 members; all Russian workers and other employees are obliged to join unions. The Russian conception of the function of unions is different from that in capitalist countries; the unions are embedded within the structure of planned state economy, and essentially government controlled. They are concerned with the increase of production and other tasks which do not fall within the province of unions elsewhere.

In *Latin America* there are various trends in the trade-union movement. The Latin-American Confederation of Workers, led by Mexico's Lombardo Toledano, is radical left wing and described by its opponents as toeing the communist line. The American Federation of Labour sponsors a new, anti-communist Latin-American trade-union organization. A struggle between communist, non-political unionist and other influences is going on in Latin-American unions. Syndicalist traditions are strong in some Latin-American countries. Next to Mexico (q.v.), Argentina (q.v.) has the most important labour movement. Its centre is the General Confederation of Labour. In 1946 a large section of Argentine labour supported Perón. In Brazil the Workers' Confederation formed in 1946 was suppressed and there is a struggle between independent unions and the government, which promotes a state-sponsored National Federation of Labour. In Latin America socialist tendencies are mixed with nationalism, largely directed against the influence of the U.S.A.

Nationalism is also mixed with socialism in Asian unions, especially in countries under European control or influence. In India, after the end of British rule, there is a struggle between the communist and Congress parties for the control of the labour movement—the former dominates the All-India T.U.C. and the latter has formed an Indian National T.U.C.

International Federations of Labour: European unions with social-democratic tendencies and the A.F.L. were until 1945 federated in the International Federation of Trade Unions. In 1944 and 1945 trade-union conferences resulted in the formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions (W.F.T.U.) and the older organization,

founded in 1901, was dissolved. The W.F.T.U. had as members the members of the former I.F.T.U. (except the A.F.L.) and the Russian unions. The A.F.L. refused to join because it held that the Russian unions were government-controlled organizations and not free trade unions. The C.I.O., however, joined the W.F.T.U. There had been eighteen vocational trade-union Internationals before 1945, such as the Miners', Metal Workers', Transport Workers', etc. It was intended to incorporated these 'international Trade Secretariats' into the W.F.T.U.

Differences of policy between the Russian and Russian-controlled unions and the West European unions within the W.F.T.U. made themselves increasingly felt as political differences grew between Russia and the West. In November 1948 the T.U.C. demanded that the activities of the W.F.T.U. should be suspended for a year, or else the T.U.C. would withdraw from it. The C.I.O. supported this demand. When at the meeting of the W.F.T.U.'s executive committee on 19 January 1949 the Soviet, French, Italian and Chinese delegates opposed the British motion to suspend W.F.T.U. activities for a year, the British left the W.F.T.U. and were joined by the C.I.O. and the Dutch unions. The other democratic unions soon followed, and at a conference held at Geneva in June 1949 it was decided to form a new International of democratic unions, without communist unions. Both the A.F.L. and the C.I.O. participated in the new International, which was established in November 1949 at an international conference held in London. It took the name of International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.), comprising unions in 53 countries with a total membership of 48,000,000, plus sympathizing International Trade Secretariats with 2,000,000 members.

The rump W.F.T.U. in Paris continued, Italy's Di Vittorio taking Deakin's place as chairman.

A Christian Trade Union International was founded in Holland in 1920. It had 4,000,000 members before World War II. It resumed its activities in 1945 and has its seat at Utrecht, Holland. It comprises both Catholic and Protestant unions, the majority being Catholic. Its programme is based on the principles of Christianity; it is democratic and wants social reform, but is anti-socialist and anti-Marxist. Its practical policy in labour questions and at international labour conferences is not very different from that of other democratic unions. Its general secretary is P. J. S. Serrarens. Membership was reported to be 3,000,000 in 1949. Some member unions took part in the London conference which set up I.C.F.T.U. in November 1949.

TRADES COUNCIL, in Britain a council of the trade unions of a locality, formed to co-ordinate their political and industrial action.

TRADES UNION CONGRESS (T.U.C.), in Britain the federation of the most important trade unions, founded in 1868. There are about 1,000 trade unions, but most of them are small, and the 187 affiliated to the T.U.C. contain a very large majority of the organized workers; the T.U.C. now has 7,540,000 members, of whom 6,300,000 are men and 1,200,000 women. The unions are organized into 19 trade groups, each of which has one or more representatives on the General Council of 33 members. This is the executive; the supreme authority is the annual conference, usually held in September. The T.U.C. is associated with the Labour Party (q.v.), with which and with the Co-operative Union it forms the National Council of Labour. The Scottish T.U.C., an allied rather than a competitive body, has 83 unions and 51 trades councils affiliated to it and a total membership of 670,000. Among the leaders of the movement are G. Thomson, Sir V. Tewson, G. Gibson, A. Horner, J. Tanner, Dame A. Laughlin, Sir W. Lawther, E. Bevin.

The T.U.C. forms what is known as the trade union wing of the Labour Party, as distinct from the 'political' wing. Unions are corporate members of the party, and have as many votes as they have members. They far outnumber the 'political' members, and their influence in the party corresponds to this position. During and after World War II, the T.U.C. has been consulted by the government, especially by the Labour government, on measures relating to labour, wages, the direction of labour, nationalization, general economic policy, and other matters. The T.U.C. has at all times vigorously promoted the cause of British workers, and to it is largely due the strong position of the working classes in Britain,

often invoked as a model by trade unionists of other countries. Yet in recent years T.U.C. leaders have often accepted the responsibility of dissuading workers from pressing inflationary wage claims; and they have also supported moderate degrees of direction of labour. It was realized by the T.U.C. that the present economic situation and the existence of a Labour government treated new problems and responsibilities for the trade union movement. The T.U.C. is the leading body in the 'Western' Trade Union International. (See *Trade Unions.*)

TRANSJORDANIA, Arab kingdom east of Palestine, 35,000 sq. m., population 400,000. The capital is Amman. Transjordania used to be regarded as part of Palestine (q.v.), yet in 1923 it was not included in the British Palestine mandate, but made an Arab principality under separate British mandate. Abdullah, second son of King Hussein of Hedjaz (see *Arabs*), was made Emir. In 1928 Britain, with League approval, recognized the independence of Transjordania, stipulating that the Emir's government should enable Britain by a special agreement to fulfil its international obligations. This agreement was concluded on 31 October 1929. On 22 March 1946 Britain recognized Transjordania's full sovereignty, and on 25 May 1946 Emir Abdullah assumed the title of King. There is an Anglo-Transjordanian treaty, and R.A.F. stations are maintained in Transjordania, which has a force known as the Arab Legion, created by the British Brigadier Glubb Pasha and in part officered by British instructors. The legislature consists of a lower house of 20 members elected by manhood suffrage, and a Council of Notables of 10 members appointed by the King.

Transjordania is a member of the Arab League (q.v.). Saudi Arabia, also a member, has claims to the southern province with the port of Akaba; the two countries have, however, affirmed their friendship, thus ending the dynastic quarrel between their kings (see *Ibn Saud*). King Abdullah is interested in Palestine and he has been mentioned in connection with plans for a 'Greater Syria', consisting of Syria, Arab Palestine and Transjordania (see *Syria*). He led the Arab armies invading Palestine in May 1948 (see also *Israel*). He was proclaimed King of Transjordania and Arab Palestine on 1 December 1948, by an assembly of 2,000 Arab notables. His claim was opposed by the Egyptian-sponsored Arab Palestinian government at Gaza (see *Palestine*). In June 1949 Transjordania was renamed 'the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan', 'Jordania' or just 'Jordan' for short. It was believed early in 1950 that agreement existed between Jordan and Israel regarding the division of Palestine, including Jerusalem.

TRANSYLVANIA, an area of 24,000 sq. m. between Hungary and the eastern Carpathians, Hungarian until 1918, then annexed to Rumania by the Peace Treaty of Trianon. According to Rumanian statistics of 1930, the population was composed of 3,270,000 Rumanians, 1,480,000 Hungarians and 540,000 Germans. Hungary kept claiming the return of the area, and by the Vienna Award of 30 August 1940, made by Germany and Italy, the northern part of Transylvania (17,000 sq. m.) was given back to Hungary. About 1,000,000 Hungarians were restored to Hungary, but 1,500,000 Rumanians also came under Hungarian rule. By the armistice between the Allies and Hungary of 23 August 1944 Rumania was promised the return of Transylvania or at least the greater part of it by the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States. On 10 March 1945 Northern Transylvania was restored to Rumania and the former frontier with Hungary was re-established, subject to final settlement by the peace treaty. Under Russian pressure, Rumania substantially improved the treatment of the Hungarian minority, set up Hungarian schools up to university level and appointed Hungarian officials. Still, racial tension in the area seems to continue, and Hungary's claims have not been given up. The Hungarian minority is represented by a communist-controlled Hungarian People's League. The Germans of Transylvania were partly expelled to Germany, partly sent to work in Russia. Some have recently returned from Russia. The Peace Treaty of Paris, signed 10 February 1947, endorsed the armistice terms. The Russians indicated that certain frontier alterations might still be possible by 'friendly discussions' between Rumania and Hungary.

TREASURY BENCH, in the British House of Commons (q.v.) the front bench on the

Speaker's right, occupied by members of the government.

TRIESTE, Free Territory of, about 420 sq. m., stretching along the western coast of the Istrian peninsula in the northern Adriatic Sea. Until 1918 Trieste was the principal port of the Austrian Empire, and after the dissolution of the latter it came to Italy. The port declined in importance after the loss of its hinterland. Yugoslavia already demanded Trieste after World War I. Supported by the Soviet Union, it renewed its claim after World War II. The peace conference in Paris reached a compromise in 1946, making the port and the adjacent area a Free Territory. The territory has 266,000 Italian and 55,000 Slovene (Yugoslav) inhabitants. The treaty provides for a legislative assembly elected by proportional representation, which is to choose a council of government. The Security Council of the United Nations is to appoint a governor after consultation with Italy and Yugoslavia. The governor is to hold actual power. He may initiate legislation and may veto decisions taken by the legislative assembly or refer them to the Security Council. No troops may be stationed in Trieste, unless sent by the Security Council. Trieste becomes a free port. Russia and Yugoslavia found the powers of the governor were too great. Eventually Yugoslavia and Italy signed the treaty under protest on 10 February 1947. But the Security Council was unable to agree on the selection of a governor, and the provisional system whereby Trieste is occupied by British and U.S. forces and most of the surrounding territory by Yugoslavia has been maintained. Yugoslavia has virtually incorporated her zone into her own state. Because of this Britain, the U.S.A. and France proposed in March 1948 that Trieste should be returned to Italy. This proposal, made to influence the Italian general election in favour of the anti-communist parties, was rejected by Russia. Yugoslavia repeated her offer to cede Gorizia in return for Trieste, but this was declined by Italy. (See Map III.) When the Cominform (q.v.) expelled Yugoslavia's Tito (q.v.) in June 1948, Cominformists gained control of the Communist Party in the British and American zone and Tito-ists in the Yugoslav zone. Municipal elections held at Trieste City in June 1949 resulted in a victory for the pro-Italian parties, mainly the *Democrazia Cristiana*. The Western Powers were reported to give continued support to the return of Trieste to Italy, and no governor has so far been appointed for the Territory.

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO. (See *British West Indies.*)

TRISTAN DA CUNHA. (See *St. Helena.*)

TRIZONIA, term for the combined British, American and French zones of occupation in Germany (q.v.).

TROTSKY, Leon Davidovitch, Russian revolutionary leader, born 1877 in Janovka, near Yelizavetgrad, assassinated 1940 in Mexico City, was the son of a farmer, studied at Kiev University, and soon joined the Russian revolutionists. His real name was Bronstein. When the Russian socialists split in 1903 he joined the moderate mensheviks (q.v.) in opposition to Lenin (q.v.), the leader of the radical bolsheviks (q.v.). Later he took up an intermediate position between the two rival factions and put forward his own radical theory, that of 'permanent revolution'. In 1905 he was prominent in the first Russian Revolution. After an escape from exile in Siberia, he afterwards lived abroad until World War I and was in frequent contact with Lenin. After the February revolution of 1917 Trotsky returned to Russia and joined Lenin's Bolshevik Party. With Lenin he was the driving force and principal organizer of the October revolution. He directed the Bolshevik uprising of 7 November 1917, in St. Petersburg, became commissar for war in the first Soviet government, created the Red Army and commanded it during the Russian civil war. After Lenin's death there was a struggle for his succession between Trotsky and Stalin (q.v.), the political formulas being continuation of a policy of world revolution and international communism on the part of Trotsky, and 'socialism in one country', meaning building up Soviet Russia first, on the part of Stalin. In 1925 Trotsky was forced to resign and was exiled to the Caucasus. Recalled in 1926 and again given a government appointment, he continued his fight against Stalin who had meanwhile consolidated his power, and was exiled to Siberia. When street demonstrations in his favour occurred in Moscow in November 1927, Trotsky was

exiled to Turkey and deprived of Soviet citizenship. Pursued by Stalin's enmity and fighting back by means of an underground 'Trotskyite' organization in Russia and similar groups formed out of dissident communists elsewhere, he went in 1934 to France, thence to Norway, and finally in 1936 to Mexico. On 27 August 1940 Trotsky was assassinated in Mexico City by an agent of the Soviet G.P.U. (q.v.).

His ideas, which he declared to be the unadulterated continuation of the teaching of Marx (q.v.) and Lenin, were laid down in 1938 in a book called *The Revolution Betrayed.* Trotsky said the policy of Stalin had led to the rise of a Soviet bureaucracy with a primarily national outlook in place of the Leninist generation of international revolutionists. Stalin was the head of this new ruling caste, whose class interest was leading it away from the original communist ideals. Yet on a long view the rule of this bureaucracy was in Trotsky's opinion incompatible with the requirements of the Soviet state and the 'world proletariat'. A new revolution, he predicted, would emanate either from Russia or the West and would overthrow 'Stalinism' to restore true communism. Later Trotsky advocated a Socialist United States of Europe. He wrote a great *History of the Russian Revolution* and a biography of Stalin, which was published after the author's death. Trotsky's views are the last formulation of pure Marxism (q.v.), based on the theory of class war, historical materialism and determinism, faith in the international working class and its revolutionary character.

Trotsky's adherents in a number of countries, recruited from discontented left-wing communists, tried to found a Fourth International. It did not, however, assume a definite shape (see *Trotskyism*). The struggle between the official Moscow Communists and the Trotskyites became very acute. Inside Russia every favourable mention of Trotsky's part in the revolution was eradicated, and he was described as having been a traitor from the outset. The Russian Communist Party purge of 1936 and the 'Moscow Trials' were largely designed to eliminate Trotskyism.

The theory of the 'dictatorship of the bureaucracy', evolved by Trotsky, has influenced not only views on Soviet Russia, but also various recent schools of sociological thought which believe the rise of governing bureaucracies to be a general historical trend. (See *Bureaucracy, Burnham.*)

TROTSKYISM, the views of L.D. Trotsky (q.v.) on socialism, revolution and the development of the Soviet Union, and the movement propagating these ideas. After the overthrow of Trotsky in 1925–7, a number of communists supporting his opposition to Stalin (q.v.) formed revolutionary communist parties (originally Bolshevik-Leninists), which in 1936 established the Fourth International, a shadowy organization which held conferences in Paris in 1936 and 1948. They are left-wing communists, more radical and revolutionary than the Stalinist, official communists, with whom they are in conflict. After World War II Trotskyite parties appeared in various countries of South and South-East Asia, especially in Ceylon, Indonesia, Malaya and Burma. In Europe and America these parties call themselves 'Revolutionary Communist Party', 'Revolutionary Socialist Party', 'Socialist Workers' Party', etc.

TRUMAN, Harry S., President of the United States, born 1884. He first worked in journalism and banking, and then operated the family farm. He served in World War I, returned to enter local politics and was member of Jackson County Court (a local government body in the state of Missouri) 1922–4 and 1926–34. He entered national politics and was a Senator 1934–44. In 1944 he was elected Vice-President to F. D. Roosevelt (q.v.) and succeeded him on his death in April 1945. He stood for the presidency in November 1948 and, contrary to all forecasts, he was elected by 24,105,000 votes as against 21,969,000 votes cast for the republican candidate, T. E. Dewey (q.v.). It was believed that the trade-union vote had swayed the election, for Truman had vetoed the republican-sponsored Taft-Hartley Act (q.v.), and had promised that the democrats would repeal it. His proposals had in general been a revival of Roosevelt's 'New Deal' (q.v.), to which he gave the name of 'Fair Deal'. He had also spoken in favour of equal rights for negroes, and this had caused the temporary alienation of the southern democrats. (See *Solid South, Democratic Party, Negro Problem.*)

TRUMAN DOCTRINE, a name given to the policy announced by President Truman in the spring of 1947 in respect of Turkey (q.v.) and Greece (q.v.). The President stated that the protection of these countries against totalitarian encroachment, meaning Soviet aspirations, was of vital interest to the United States. Financial and technical aid was extended to these countries by the United States under this policy. The 'doctrine' was extended to Italy (q.v.) in the autumn of 1947.

TRUST-BUSTING, the American term for attacks on monopolies. (See *Monopoly Capitalism.*)

TRUSTEESHIP, a new term for what used to be called a mandate (q.v.) in the old League of Nations (q.v.); the United Nations (q.v.) assign colonial territories to individual member states for administration under trusteeship. The territories concerned remain theoretically under the ultimate authority of the United Nations. For all practical purposes, they are colonies of the assigns, but possession may be qualified or may be terminated under certain conditions. In 1946 the United Nations established the Trusteeship Council, consisting of Britain, France, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and China, other countries holding trusteeships (Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Belgium) and two other states. All countries holding League Mandates submitted plans for administering the territories under trusteeship, except South Africa (q.v.) which proposes to incorporate South-West Africa, though it has offered to report to the Council on Development there. The U.S. has received the former Japanese Pacific islands in trusteeship.

TUNISIA (Arabic *Afrikiya*), French protectorate in North Africa, area 48,000 sq. m., population 2,608,000 (1936), of whom 2,336,000 were Arabs and Bedouins, 108,000 French, 94,000 Italians, 59,000 Jews, 11,000 others. The nominal ruler is a native prince, styled Bey, whose family has occupied the throne since 1705. Tunisia became a French protectorate in 1883, and effective power is in the hands of the French Resident-General, who acts as Foreign Minister; there is a ministry of three Arabs (including the Prime Minister) and eight Frenchmen. French occupation was resented by Italy, Italians having started to emigrate to Tunisia in the mid-nineteenth century, and the Italian fascist movement demanded that Tunisia be ceded to Italy. The Italians retain their original nationality and rank as foreigners.

Among the Arabs nationalism has developed. When France fell in 1940 Tunisia adhered to Vichy and the reigning Bey, Sidi Mohammed al-Mounsaf, sympathized with the Axis, as did many of the people. Tunisia was occupied by Italo-German forces, but these were expelled in 1943 by the Allies, who forced the Bey to abdicate in favour of his cousin, Sidi Mohammed al-Amin, the present ruler. The ex-Bey remained popular with the nationalists until his death in 1948. The chief nationalist party is the *Destour*, led by Habib Burghiba; the party is illegal and its leader is now in Egypt. The trade unions, with a membership of 50,000, are close to the Destour Party and are led by Fadhel ben Ashur. The nationalists boycott the Grand Council which is elected on a limited Arab Franchise and by the French, and is divided into a French and an Arab section. Its powers were increased in 1947 and reforms to give the Arabs more share in the government have been announced.

TURKEY, Republic of, 295,000 sq. m. (of which 9,000 sq. m. in Europe), population 16,300,000. The capital is Ankara. The old Ottoman Empire, having been pushed back for centuries, collapsed after World War I in which it had sided with Germany. The Sultan continued to reign nominally in Constantinople, but under the leadership of Kemal Pasha (see *Ataturk*) a revolutionary national movement formed in Asia Minor, from which issued the National Assembly at Ankara in April 1920. Kemal ousted the Greeks from Asia Minor and reorganized Turkey on the lines of a modern national state, after it had lost nearly all territories inhabited by non-Turkish peoples. On 1 November 1922 the sultanate was abolished. The troops of the national government occupied Constantinople, the ancient capital, and the Sultan left Turkey. A year later Turkey was proclaimed a republic with Kemal as President. On 24 July 1923 the Peace Treaty of Lausanne ended the state of war with the Allies, after the first peace treaty, concluded at Sèvres in 1920, had become obsolete through Kemal's victories

over the Greeks. In 1924 the caliphate (q.v.) too was abolished, and all members of the dynasty of Osman were exiled.

Kemal's government effected the modernization of Turkey by dictatorial methods. By application of the death penalty the opposition of the Moslem clergy and other groups against the policy of Kemal and his Republican People's Party was broken. The fez, women's veils and polygamy were banned; women were declared equal and given the vote. European clothing and custom were made obligatory. Islamic law was abolished and European (mainly Swiss, Italian and German) law adopted. In 1929 Latin script was adopted instead of Arabic. The Turkish language was purged of Arabic and Persian words. In 1934 all Turks had to take surnames, and the titles of Pasha and Bey were abolished. Kemal Pasha became Kemal Atatürk. A modern system of education was created. Islam ceased to be the state religion in 1928, and religious influence was eliminated from public life and politics. But no formal secession from the 'historic religion of the Turkish people' was propagated, and at the 1935 census all inhabitants of Turkey testified to Islam, except 200,000 Christians and 80,000 Jews. There were only 559 people stating they were not members of any religion. Racially Turkey is now uniform, except for a Kurdish minority in the East. (See *Kurds.*) A policy of assimilation is applied to the Kurds, and they are officially referred to as 'mountain Turks'.

According to the constitution Turkey is a republic. The National Assembly (*Kamutay*) is elected every four years and chooses the President for the same term. The President appoints the ministers who are responsible to him; but the Assembly may interfere with government at any time and recall the government. The principles of the Republican People's Party (nationalism, democracy, dynamism, laicism, *étatism*) are laid down in the constitution. There is a great amount of state planning; industrial five-year plans have been carried out since 1934 and resulted in a degree of industrialization. Large-scale industry is mostly state-owned. But private property and enterprise are not abolished. The number of industrial workers is about 300,000. Annual steel output is 200,000 tons. Turkey has coal and iron ore. Universal compulsory education is being put into practice only gradually. In 1935 only 23 per cent of the male and 8 per cent of the female population could read and write.

Until 1945 the Republican People's Party was the only permitted party. After the death of Atatürk (1938), Ismet Inönü (q.v.) became chairman of the party and President of the Republic. His policy is somewhat more moderate than that of his predecessor, though following the same principles. He was re-elected in 1942 and 1946. In 1946 an opposition party was permitted, mainly due to Inönü's insistence; it is known as the Democratic Party and led by Jelal Bayar. Its platform is scarcely different from that of the ruling party. In the election of 21 July 1946 this party obtained 66 seats, while the People's Party obtained 395. The Democratic Party has been demanding more civic liberties, especially habeas corpus. A section of the People's Party also favours this outlook, and a governmental change effected on 5 September 1947, replacing the government of Recep Peker by that of Hassan Saka, likewise of the Republican People's Party, was interpreted as a move in this direction. There has for some time past been a substantial amount of freedom of discussion in Press and on platform (except for communists), and a charge is always preferred in case of arrest, but there have been delays. In January 1949 Hassan Saka was replaced by Semsettin Günaltay, who formed a slightly more liberal government.

Turkey's foreign policy was from 1920 to 1938 based on friendship with Soviet Russia, notwithstanding the suppression of communism in Turkey. The ancient Greek-Turkish antagonism reached a climax in 1922 with the mass expulsion of the Asiatic Greeks, but ebbed afterwards and gave way to a treaty of friendship in 1930. In 1934 Turkey also took part in the anti-Bulgarian 'Balkan Entente'. (See *Balkans.*) Turkey's importance in world politics rests on the control of the Dardanelles (q.v.), and since Russian aspirations to these straits have been resuscitated, Turkish policy has turned toward the Western Powers. In 1939 France ceded Syrian Alexandretta (q.v.) to Turkey. In May the same year Turkey obtained an Anglo-French guarantee against aggression, followed by a fifteen-year Anglo-French-Turkish mutual aid pact in October. It provided for Allied help for Turkey if the latter was attacked by a European Power. Turkey

had to come to the aid of the Allies (except against Russia), if aggression by a European Power should lead to war in the Mediterranean or if the Allies had to fulfil their guarantees to Greece. Both cases occurred in 1940 and 1941 respectively, but Turkey stayed neutral. When Hitler had conquered the Balkans, Turkey concluded a pact with Germany on 5 June 1941, providing for mutual respecting of integrity, abstention from direct or indirect measures directed against the other party, and consultation before important decisions, all this without prejudice to existing Turkish treaties. On 23 February 1945 Turkey declared war on Germany and Japan, but took no part in military operations. A pact of non-aggression and neutrality with the Soviet Union, concluded in 1925 and reaffirmed on 25 March 1941, expired at the end of 1945. In 1946 the Soviet Union demanded from Turkey strategic bases in the Dardanelles (q.v.) and the exclusion of all non-Black Sea Powers from the régime of the straits; the Russian Press also demanded the cession of Turkish frontier districts, mainly those of Kars and Ardahan. Turkey refused, and the British attitude concerning the Dardanelles was supported by Britain and America. Growing American concern was also shown by a loan (and technical aid) granted to Turkey by the United States in 1947 for the purpose of strengthening Turkish defence against 'totalitarian threats', and by American naval visits. (See *Truman Doctrine.*)

TUVA. (See *Tannu-Tuva.*)

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UGANDA. (See *British East Africa.*)

UKRAINE, member republic of the Soviet Union (q.v.), 212,000 sq. m., population 40,000,000, of whom 32,000,000 Ukrainians, 4,000,000 Russians and 4,000,000 various minorities. In Tsarist days the Ukraine was known as South Russia, and the inhabitants were called 'Little Russians' as distinct from the 'Great Russians' of the north. These names were derived from the medieval descriptions of the two parts of Russia as 'Great Russia' and 'Little Russia' respectively. The Ukrainians of some western territories once belonging to Austria were called Ruthenes. (See *Ruthenia.*) The Great Russians regarded the Ukrainian language as a mere dialect of Russian and insisted on the use of standard Russian in offices and schools. The Ukrainian language is closely akin to Russian, but there are marked differences in vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation, which were partly introduced by West Slav influence. (The Ukraine was for a long time under Polish rule.) A Ukrainian national movement began in the nineteenth century. After the Russian revolution of 1917 the Germans and Austrians occupied the Ukraine and set up a puppet republic under a 'Hetman', the former Tsarist general, Skoropadsky. After the end of the occupation in 1918 the Ukraine became a theatre of the Russian civil war. A Ukrainian Soviet government, proclaimed as early as 27 December 1917, but forced by the occupation troops to withdraw, was reinstated with Soviet Russian aid in December 1919. The Ukrainian Soviet Republic made an alliance with Soviet Russia, followed by union in 1922.

The Ukraine is the second most important constituent republic of the Soviet Union. It is one of Europe's traditional granaries. A centre of coal-mining and heavy industry already under the Tsars, the Ukraine was developed into one of the Soviet Union's principal industrial regions. It was much devastated in the German-Russian war of 1941–5; part of the industry was destroyed, part transferred to the East. The autonomous Ukrainian Soviet government has its seat in Kiev. The Ukrainian language is in general use, but the Russian minority is much in evidence. Prior to World War II a secret Ukrainian national movement aiming at separation from Russia was spoken of, and after the German invasion of 1941 certain Ukrainian quarters for a while sympathized with the Germans for this reason. This stopped soon in view of the Germans' racial policy. On account of its wealth, the Ukraine was one of the main objects of Hitler's plans of conquest. Some secret nationalism is said to continue.

In October 1939 the former East Polish territories largely inhabited by Ukrainians were annexed to the Ukraine. (See *Curzon Line.*) So were Bessarabia (q.v.) and the North Bukovina, formerly Rumanian, in 1940. The ex-Czech province of Ruthenia, also known as the Subcarpathic Ukraine, came to the Ukraine in 1945. (See *Czechoslovakia.*) The Ukrainian republic now unites the whole Ukrainian nation. In 1944 the constitution of the Soviet Union was amended to allow constituent republics to conduct their own foreign policy and have separate representatives in foreign countries and at international conferences. The Ukraine and White Russia (q.v.) have exercised this power. Their representatives support the policy of the Soviet Union without deviation.

ULSTER, a term often used for Northern Ireland (q.v.), after the province of Ulster, six of the nine counties of which are included in Northern Ireland.

ULSTER UNIONISTS, the name of the conservatives in Northern Ireland (q.v.). (See also *Conservative Party.*)

UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, Committee on, also known as the Dies Committee after its founder, a Committee of the House of Representatives for the investigation of what are termed un-American activities, such as Nazism, fascism and communism. Founded 1938 by Representative Martin Dies of Texas, it investigated and exposed the activities of the Nazi Bund and other organizations. The Committee's activity met with approval in some quarters and disapproval in others, the latter including the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt who was critical of its methods. After 1944 little was heard of the Committee until it re-emerged in 1947, investigating the spread of communism, open and hidden, in all sorts of places, again meeting with support as well as criticism.

UNESCO, short for United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, a Specialized Agency of the United Nations (q.v.) set up to promote international cultural collaboration, mutual understanding, popular education, and the diffusion of knowledge. Unesco has its seat at Paris.

UNICAMERAL LEGISLATURE, a legislature with only one chamber, e.g. the Czechoslovak National Assembly. (See *Bicameral.*)

UNION MOVEMENT, in Britain an authoritarian movement formed in 1947 by Sir O. Mosley. (See *Fascism in Britain.*)

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS (U.S.S.R)., official name of the Soviet Union (q.v.).

UNITED EUROPE, a movement for the unification of Europe in order to avoid further European wars, and facilitate economic recovery from World War II and to enable the European states to retain their independence and way of life. The movement continues the work of the earlier pan-European movement (q.v.) and is in its present form largely due to the sponsorship of Winston S. Churchill (q.v.,) who began by urging, in a speech at Zürich in September 1946, European unity and Franco-German friendship. In 1947 a United Europe Committee was formed under his chairmanship by members of the chief British parties and by prominent non-political persons. Similar movements were formed abroad and in December the British, French, Dutch and Belgian groups formed an International Committee of Movements for European Unity under D. Sandys, a British conservative politician and Churchill's son-in-law. In May 1948 these groups and other organizations working for European Unity, such as pan-Europe (q.v.) held a conference at The Hague. It recommended a European federation, which was to be preceded by economic co-operation and the summoning of an Assembly representative of the parliaments of the nations to discuss the means to union. The International Committee's Executive Bureau held a conference at Brussels in October 1948, when it announced that the Committee would henceforward be styled the European Movement, membership of which would be open to all organizations working for European unity.

The leaders of the movement expressed the hope that Russia and the rest of Eastern Europe would join the proposed European federation, but the communist governments of the countries concerned maintained that the movement was in effect aiming at the creation of a western alliance against the Soviet group of states. In fact, the motive of defence against eastern communism had been mentioned by some of the leaders of the movement, but they insisted this was not the chief purpose. However, United Europe is condemned by communists and the eastern European states did not send representatives to The Hague, although exiled politicians from these countries attended.

These plans for a Western European federation as a first step towards the federation of all Europe have inspired Western Union (q.v.), and the establishment in 1949 of the Council of Europe (q.v.), but neither of these organizations is a federation—in essence, the former is an alliance and the latter a regular diplomatic conference. The European plans have also been linked with plans for an Atlantic Union (q.v.) which would associate Canada and the United States with the countries of Western Europe.

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND. (See *Great Britain.*)

UNITED NATIONS, an international organization of states, the second league of nations, foun led at the close of World War

II as successor to the first league. (See *League of Nations.*) A conference on international organization, held in San Francisco by delegates of fifty nations, signed the Charter of the United Nations on 26 June 1945. The name United Nations had been used by the Allies in World War II after 1942 as a description of their coalition; like the League of Nations, the United Nations took their lease of life as an organization of the victors in war, but, as in the precedent, provision was made for the immediate accession of the neutrals and later entry of the vanquished.

According to the Charter, the purpose of the United Nations is the maintenance of international peace, the promotion of human rights, economic advancement of all peoples and social progress, and the provision of international machinery serving these ends. Members shall settle their disputes peacefully and refrain from the use or threat of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any state. The organization shall ensure that non-members act in accordance with these principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of peace and security. The United Nations may not intervene in internal affairs of member states, but this principle shall not prejudice the application of sanctions (now termed 'enforcement measures').

Election to membership is by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council, wherein seven of the eleven members, including the five permanent members, must approve. Every independent state, including the British Dominions and two members of the U.S.S.R. (the Ukraine and White Russia) was a member when these pages went to press, except Eire, Ceylon, Transjordan, Portugal (whose applications have been vetoed by the U.S.S.R., which is not in relations with them), Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania and Outer Mongolia (whose applications have been vetoed by Britain and the U.S.A.). Italy and Finland (whose applications had been vetoed by the U.S.S.R. because the other allies have vetoed the applications of Albania, etc.), Bhutan, Nepal, Spain, Switzerland and Tibet (which have not applied for membership). In October 1949 there were fifty-nine United Nations.

There are six principal organs: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the Secretariat and the International Court. Some of these organs have various sub-organs and special commissions. There are also international 'specialized agencies' working in conjunction with the United Nations.

General Assembly· The General Assembly meets annually, and may be convoked more often if required. Every state has one vote, although it may send more than one delegate. The powers of the Assembly are, on the whole, small in comparison with those of the old League Assembly, which was the earlier organization's chief organ. All real decisions now lie with the Security Council or more precisely the representatives of the 'Big Five' on it. The General Assembly is primarily a deliberative body; it may discuss all questions relating to peace, security, welfare and human rights, except those just under consideration by the Security Council; it receives reports from the Security Council and other organs, elects the non-permanent members of the Security Council, all members of the Economic and Social Council and of the Trusteeship Council, and also appoints the Atom Commission (q.v.). Jointly with the Security Council it chooses the fifteen judges of the International Court. On the recommendation of the Security Council the Assembly appoints the general secretary. It is not authorized to take decisions on action by the United Nations, but may make recommendations to the Security Council, other organs and member states. It may also lay down its views in resolutions. Discussion and criticism are not limited. The General Assembly acted as more than a deliberate body when it took the decision on the partition of Palestine in November 1947, this problem having been submitted to the Assembly and not the Security or Trusteeship Council. The same applied to the question of the Italian colonies (see *Italy*, *Italian East Africa*, and *Libya*). Generally speaking, the Assembly now discusses all political questions mainly in its Political Commissions in which every member state has one vote, and the Assembly also takes votes on such questions, usually on the same lines as the Commissions may have done before; but Assembly resolutions may under the Charter be normally only in the nature of recommendations to the Security Council. (On the 'Little Assembly', see next section.)

Security Council This is in fact the principal organ of the United Nations. It is in permanent session. It has eleven members, of whom five are permanent, while six are elected by the General Assembly for two years; the custom is that such members shall be chosen with a view to the representation of regions or groups, e.g. one for South America, Eastern Europe, the British Commonwealth, etc., and that the wishes of the countries of the region concerned should be taken into account when the choice is made. This led to conflict when in October 1949 Yugoslavia was elected as representative of Eastern Europe at the insistence of the United States, while the Soviet Union and the other states of Eastern Europe rejected Yugoslavia on account of the policy of Tito (q.v.), and presented Czechoslovakia, whose unsuccessful candidature was supported by Britain.

The five permanent members are the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, France and China The Security Council may act without consultation of the General Assembly or individual member states. Member nations are obliged to accept and carry out the Council's decisions. Decisions of the Council are made by an affirmative vote of seven members, among whom on all matters other than procedure must be the five permanent members. This means that unanimity of the five Great Powers is required (China is regarded as a Great Power), and each of these five Powers individually may mar a decision by its veto or abstention, the Soviet Union especially insisting on this right. (However, in a few special cases mere abstention has not been reckoned as a veto since December 1946.) A Power which is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Council may not vote during attempts at a peaceful settlement of the dispute and may therefore not veto such attempts. It may, however, vote and use its veto when it is a question of sanctions; thus it can prevent sanctions against itself or its friends.

Considerable differences of opinion have arisen on the use of the veto. They refer to the definition of a dispute and a party to a dispute, and moreover to the definition of the point in the proceedings at which a Power may stop the Council from further dealing with a dispute if and when, in its view, such dealing has reached the stage of practical action coming under the veto. This in turn requires a delimitation of the stages of procedural treatment, peaceful settlement and active intervention. One school of thought, led by Russia, interprets the veto as widely as possible, indeed to such a point that even the investigation of a dispute might be vetoed. The other school holds that the investigation of a dispute, peaceful mediation and pronouncement of recommendations by the Council are not subject to the veto, only sanctions being so. A special committee has so far been unable to agree on the questions of vote and veto.

In practice the position is that the Security Council can do nothing if a small country attacks another small country and a Great Power patronizing the aggressor country vetoes intervention by the United Nations. The whole structure of the organization is built on the idea of world government by the three principal Great Powers (France and China do not count fully) in mutual agreement. If this fails, the organization also fails. Any disputes between members may be brought before the Security Council; also non-members may submit their disputes provided they undertake to accept the Council's decision The Security Council may by its own initiative investigate any dispute or any situation which might lead to international friction.

Up to the end of August 1947 vetoes used in the Council totalled twenty, of which the Soviet Union used eighteen. With a view to ending the deadlock caused by the use of the veto in the Council, the United States with the support of the majority of member nations then proposed first a limitation of the veto to decisions on actual sanctions (while Russia had been using it also on other questions), and when this was turned down by Russia, the establishment of a United Nations committee on peace and security composed of all member nations to deal with any situation likely to impair general welfare or friendly relations. This meant virtually that a standing committee of the General Assembly might deal with any matter on which the Security Council was not making progress. The 'Little Assembly' was voted into existence on 7 November 1947, by 43 votes against the Slav six, which announced their decision to boycott this new organ. The 'Little Assembly' may, under the Charter, in no event do more than the Big Assembly; it may only consider questions and make recommen-

dations. Until the end of 1949 the number of vetoes increased to 46, of which 41 were used by Russia.

Sanctions. As a rule, the Security Council will first attempt a peaceful settlement of a dispute and make recommendations for the purpose. A settlement is to be achieved by negotiations between the parties or by decision of the International Court. If this proves impossible, the Security Council may declare the existence of a threat to the peace, a breach of the peace, or an act of aggression, and decide upon measures to be taken for the preservation or restoration of peace. The Council may do so even if no proceedings for peaceful settlement of the dispute have preceded its decision. It may call upon the parties to take provisional measures for preventing any aggravation of the situation; for instance, to refrain from mobilization or to stop their armies already on the march. Further, it can apply non-military sanctions, especially complete or partial interruption of economic and diplomatic relations, of traffic and communications. If this is considered inadequate, military action may be taken, ranging from demonstrations and blockade to actual military operations by forces of member nations.

All member states are bound to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with special agreements still to be made, a certain number of armed forces, and other necessary facilities, including rights of passage. The agreements are to be concluded as soon as possible and require constitutional ratification by each country concerned. A nation contributing armed forces, if not represented on the Council, will participate in the Council's decision on the employment of that particular nation's forces. Members shall hold immediately available contingents of their national air forces for international use. A Military Staff Committee of the United Nations, composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Council or their representatives, with the possible association of other members, shall deal with the military aspects of the matter, with the organization, stationing and strategic direction of the forces placed at the Council's disposal, their employment and command, the regulation of armaments and possible disarmament.

These provisions in no wise impair the right of states to individual or collective self-defence against an attack until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Only they must report to the Council on all measures taken by them. On the other hand, the Council's right of decision is not affected by such measures of self-defence. Supposing the Council takes no decision, for instance owing to a veto, the nations will wage war in the old fashion. Regional agreements for the settlement of disputes or joint defence are permitted, but such regional groups may undertake sanctions only with the consent of the Security Council.

The military agreements with the member states have not been concluded so far. The Military Staff Committee designed to be a World General Staff was constituted early in 1946, but its activities have been meeting with difficulties. It has not so far any command over any international forces, nor has it been given any essential military information from member states. No efficient organization has so far been created for economic sanctions either. The Commission on Atomic Energy (see *Atom Commission*), which deals with both the warlike and peaceful aspects of this new kind of energy, has not reached any results so far.

Economic and Social Council This Council has eighteen members and studies economic and social questions on which it may make recommendations. It appoints commissions for various questions. One is the Commission on Human Rights, which has created an international charter of rights and drafted a covenant designed to ensure their being respected. (See *Human Rights.*) Other commissions deal with employment, transport and communications, statistics, population, social questions, status of women, drugs, population and fiscal questions. Also Economic Commissions for Europe, Asia and the Far East, the Middle East and Latin America, are in operation.

Trusteeship Council: The Trusteeship Council consists of the representatives of all colonial Powers to whom 50 per cent of the seats are reserved, of the five Great Powers, and any states chosen by the Assembly. The Council acts as successor to the mandates commission of the old League; it renews or grants mandates (q.v.) under the names of trusteeship.

Secretariat: The Norwegian, Trygve Lie, is general secretary of the United Nations. He has the right to call the attention of the Security Council to all events which threaten peace and security. The United Nations have set up branch offices in various important centres of the world. A branch has been opened in Geneva, Switzerland, in the old League's palace, the Swiss government provisionally agreeing on condition that no military operations may be directed from Swiss territory.

Specialized Agencies: Established by international agreement and associated with the United Nations. Among them are the Food and Agriculture Organization with a World Food Council to assess food requirements and allocate supplies; International Bank and Monetary Fund (see *Bretton Woods Agreement*), International Civil Aviation Organization, International Labour Office (q.v.), International Refugee Organization, International Trade Organization (q.v.), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco q.v.), and the World Health Organization. Russia takes no part in any of these U.N. specialized agencies. The International Telecommunications Union and the Universal Postal Union are to be associated with the United Nations.

International Court · The United Nations have taken over the International Court of Justice in The Hague, Holland, which evolved from the International Court of Arbitration of 1907. This Court was linked with the League in 1921. Four hundred international agreements provided for arbitration by the Court and thirty-eight states had generally accepted the Court's jurisdiction in all questions of interpretation of treaties, international law and breach of international obligations. The Court had fifteen judges taken from various nations. The new International Court of Justice also has fifteen judges who are elected for a nine-year term by the General Assembly of the United Nations and the Security Council in separate sessions and must obtain a majority in both. They are re-eligible. (A Russian judge has been elected to the Court, but Russia has not so far made an agreement on jurisdiction.) Parties to a dispute may demand the addition of a judge of their own nationality for that particular dispute, unless the Court already contains such a judge. Only states may appear before the Court. The old treaties of jurisdiction pass to the new Court. The Court is entirely independent, even from the United Nations; it has no executive power, but the Security Council may decide on measures to give effect to the Court's judgments. On request, the Court also gives opinions. The cost of the Court is borne by the United Nations. The Court deals with disputes coming under the treaties of jurisdiction, and the Security Council and individual states may submit to the Court any other dispute. (This applies to members of the United Nations; for non-members, the Security Council may lay down special conditions.)

In practice the activities of the United Nations have so far been overshadowed by the antagonism between the leading Great Powers, more precisely speaking between the Anglo-Saxon Powers and the Soviet Union. After the League, the United Nations are the second attempt in history to create a supra-national political organization and to outgrow the concept of national sovereignty. With all the loopholes in its statute and its other shortcomings, the organization may at least be said to promote the propagation of this principle.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, area 2,977,000 sq. m., population 145,000,000, capital Washington, D.C. The United States consists of forty-eight states and the federal District of Columbia (D.C.). President Harry S. Truman (q.v.) succeeded President F. D. Roosevelt (q.v.) in April 1945 and was re-elected in November 1948.

Constitution America is an example of federalism (q.v.). Eighteen 'enumerated powers' are delegated to the federal government, while all other powers, the 'residuary powers', are vested in the states or reserved to the people. The federal government deals with foreign relations, war and peace, foreign and interstate commerce, naturalization, currency, bankruptcy; it can impose taxes and borrow money on the credit of the U.S.A., can establish federal courts inferior to the Supreme Court, and can protect by legislation citizens of the U.S.A. from unjust or discriminatory state legislation. But it may not discriminate between the states, abridge civil or political liberties, grant titles of nobility or establish a religion —the last three interdictions apply also to the states. Administration is largely the concern of the states. Nevertheless, by a

wide interpretation of its inter-state commerce powers and by creating important federal agencies under the New Deal (q.v.) the federal government has gradually increased the field of its activities, especially in the last fifteen years.

The federal government is based on the separation of powers—the President, each House of Congress and the Supreme Court being designed to balance and restrain each other—hence the famous concept of 'checks and balances'.

The President is elected in the November of every leap year for a four-year term which begins in the following January. Election is indirect—the people choose electors who in turn elect the President; as the candidates for election for all practical purposes run in the name of the presidential candidate for whom they intend to vote, this system is really direct (see *Electoral College*). Presidential candidates are nominated by the national conventions of the parties (see *Convention*). In the event of the death, disability or resignation of the President, the Vice-President, elected simultaneously with him, becomes President for the rest of the term; in case of his disability the succession devolves in a fixed order on the heads of the seven most important executive departments. The President is constitutionally re-eligible for any number of terms, but usage has limited actual tenure of office to two terms, the only exception being F. D. Roosevelt who was elected for four consecutive terms; a constitutional amendment passed by Congress in 1947 and now being submitted to the legislatures of the states for ratification will give the old usage constitutional force. His powers are very great, considerably exceeding those of most European heads of state, since he combines in himself the functions of head of state and prime minister. He appoints his cabinet (q.v.), which is responsible only to him, not to Congress, for government in the U.S.A., both the federation and the states, is presidential, not parliamentary (see *Parliamentary Government*). He may veto all laws passed by Congress, but his veto may be overridden by a two-thirds majority in both Houses. (See *Veto*.) He is commander-in-chief of the armed forces. He directs and supervises the executive departments, the equivalent of ministries in other countries, he appoints many officials, certain higher ones, as mentioned before, with the consent of the Senate (which is rarely withheld), the others as he wills; and the provision that he has to see that the laws are duly executed gives him great authority. Also he has the right of pardon. The President has control of foreign relations which he conducts with the assistance of the Secretary of State (the title of America's foreign minister). He cannot make treaties with other countries without the approval of two-thirds of the Senate, and only Congress can declare war; but the President can, within his great prerogative in the executive field, to a considerable degree determine the line to be taken in foreign policy and take a good deal of action which may in fact commit the country to a given course, though the last word lies with Congress. At any time and on any subject the President may send messages to Congress recommending policy or legislation; customarily he sends an annual message on the state of the union as soon as Congress assembles after the New Year. He may have the message read for him or deliver it himself. The President is in fact the real leader of American policy. As a rule the President, the cabinet and the majority in Congress all are of the same party, but temporarily situations occur in which this is not the case.

Federal legislative power is vested in *Congress*, which consists of the *House of Representatives* and the *Senate*. Both Houses are popularly elected, suffrage extending to all male and female citizens over 21 years (in Georgia 18 years); but a number of states impose certain voting qualifications as mentioned below. The House of Representatives (q.v.) has 435 members and is elected every two years. The Senate (q.v.) has 96 members, two for each state regardless of population. Senators are elected for six years, one-third rotating every two years. General elections are held (except in Maine) on the Tuesday following the first Monday in November of even years. (See also *Ballot*, *Primaries*.) The legislative rights of both chambers are broadly equal; all laws must be passed by both. But the House of Representatives alone may initiate revenue bills, while the Senate has special rights with regard to foreign policy. All treaties with other countries must be approved by it. The Senate's approval is also required for the appointment of certain high officials, such as cabinet members,

judges of the Supreme Court and full generals.

The Supreme Court, whose 9 members (the 'Nine Old Men') are appointed for life by the President with Senate approval, may declare any law, federal or state, unconstitutional and therefore invalid. The Court is thus virtually a factor in legislation, and consideration of what it might say plays a considerable part in the deliberations of legislators. On the whole, the Court has exercised its influence in a conservative sense, but has upheld many reforms.

The states are governed by popularly elected governors and bicameral legislatures. The exact periods of office and powers of the several parts of the governments of the states vary from state to state; in general, however, and making allowance for the different subjects with which they have to deal, state governments may be said to be replicas of the federal one.

Political Parties and Domestic Policies

American domestic policies are based on the two-party system, as in Britain. The two great parties, the Republicans and the Democrats (see *Republican Party*, *Democratic Party*), have for the last eighty years been alternating in government, the periods of Republican rule having been more frequent and longer than those of Democratic rule. As for their respective programmes, the two parties are not easily distinguished at first glance. Both are democratic as well as republican. In the course of their long evolution they have repeatedly exchanged important planks of their platforms, and indeed their very names. From their somewhat confused early history the following main data stand out: The Democratic Party dates back to 1787 and the early anti-federalists. It called itself originally the Republican Party and was led by Jefferson (q.v.); it advocated limitation of the central power, more direct influence of the people on politics and free trade. From 1817 to 1825 it was the only party (the 'Era of Good Feeling') and its practical position now approached that of its former opponents; indeed it adopted a moderate tariff. About 1828 the party split over the tariff and other issues; the National Republicans, the followers of Adams, broke away and became, via the Whigs (q.v.), the precursors of the later Republican Party. The free-trade party took the name of Democratic Republicans and supported Jackson. Later it became the Democratic Party, but the name Democratic-Republican is still occasionally used by it, for instance in New York City. The Republican Party in its modern form became organized in 1854 out of former Whigs, National Republicans and other groups. The basic antagonism underlying the development of the two parties was that between the agricultural interests of the countryside, especially the south, and the industrial, commercial, and financial interests of the cities. With many diversions and criss-cross developments, agricultural interests became roughly identified with the Democrats, and industrial and other urban interests with the Republicans in the first half of the nineteenth century. Correspondingly, the Democrats upheld slavery, while the Republicans opposed it: the latter also favoured a higher protective tariff for the development of American industry. The victory for the Republicans in the Civil War of 1861–5 under Abraham Lincoln signified the eclipse of the democrats for a considerable period. They gradually recovered, but generally the Republicans ruled the Union henceforward, interrupted only by short periods of Democratic government (Cleveland 1885–9 and 1893–7, Wilson 1913–21). The great slump of 1930 once more brought the Democrats into power; the towering personality of President Franklin D. Roosevelt (q.v.) inaugurated a long period of Democratic rule. After his death in 1945 the elections yielded a Republican majority again, but mid-term elections often go against the party in power. The elections of November 1948 resulted in a Democratic victory, against all expectations, and President Truman was re-elected, with a Democratic majority in both Houses of Congress to back him.

The two parties no longer so clearly represent the two social forces which stood by their cradles, and both have alternately or simultaneously sponsored the causes of industry and agriculture, the upper and lower classes, the negroes and 'lily-whites', and other controversial issues, drawing their support from varying areas and social strata in accordance with these policies. Yet certain regions stand out as traditionally attached to one or the other party, e.g. the steadfastly Democratic 'Solid South' (q.v.), despite its temporary defection in 1948, and various Republican strongholds in the northern and western states. Sometimes,

and especially abroad, the Democrats are regarded as the more 'left-wing' party and the Republicans as more 'right wing', a view that has been enhanced by the policy of reform with which the Democratic Party became associated under the leadership of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt (see *New Deal*), while the Republicans opposed it. Yet the left-and-right pattern is not readily applicable to the American party system. There are conservative as well as progressive Democrats, those in the south being distinctly conservative, and there are both conservative and progressive Republicans. Indeed either party is continually confronted with the task of balancing the various sections and influences meeting in its midst. The party platforms on the state level (American parties are based on state units) are often rather different from each other and from the national platform for the same party, but on the other hand the platforms of both parties on national and lower levels look at times fairly similar. The platform is not always strictly adhered to after the election—*vide* the Democrats and the Taft-Hartley Act (q.v.).

The two great American parties are not based on clear-cut divisions of ideology, class or interest; on certain issues they may be seen voting together, as happened, for instance, in 1947 when the conservative democrats voted with the great majority of republicans for the Taft-Hartley Act (q.v.) restricting the rights of trade unions. Again, the two parties may be seen for mere tactical reasons voting against each other on issues on which they do not really disagree. Party attachment is often determined by such non-logical factors as family or local tradition, but permanent or varying sectional interests (see *Pressure Groups*) also play a considerable role in party affiliation. The peculiar nature of the American party system has in the past often resulted in low standards of politics, and 'political bosses' and 'political machines' in which business intermingles with politics, are still to be met with, especially on the state and local levels; yet in general American political standards have been raised considerably in more recent times through the Corrupt Practices legislation, the institution of the primaries (q.v.), and other reforms aimed at the elimination of caucus and machine dictatorship inside and outside the parties, of the securing of votes by purchase, bribe or intimidation, and of undemocratic methods of nomination of candidates. Regulations have also been made to limit the spending of money by parties in campaigns and to shed more light on party finances. These prescriptions are, however, still not infrequently circumvented or otherwise rendered illusory, especially on the lower levels. Efforts to stop malpractices continue. The 'spoils system' (q.v.), previously connected with politics and meaning a complete exchange of the holders of public jobs when the party of the 'outs' had won a victory over the party of the 'ins', has been largely eliminated on the national level owing to the introduction of the permanent civil service, yet to some degree it still applies to higher offices. On the state and local level, it has also been somewhat reduced, but still flourishes to a considerable extent.

The right of the states to determine voting qualifications has resulted in a number of southern states prescribing property, tax-paying, educational and other requirements or tests for the exercise of suffrage, which are administered with a bias against the negro population and used to keep negroes from the polls. This aim is not seldom also achieved by the exercise of direct terror by whites against negroes in these states. (In places, the poorer classes of the white population are also excluded from voting by the legal methods mentioned before.) The 13,000,000 negroes in the United States, the descendants of the former slaves, enjoy nominal equality, and there are constitutional provisions against disqualification and discrimination on account of race or colour, but the negroes are in fact discriminated against in a variety of ways, and the 'colour bar' (q.v.) is an important social factor despite continued efforts on the part of reformers to alter the position. (See *Negro Question.*)

The question of a 'Third Party' has repeatedly arisen in American politics, but so far no such party has been able to take roots. It is generally supposed that such a party would tend to have a labour or socialist platform, and most parties that have tried their hands at this role in recent times have indeed been based on a programme of far-reaching social reform. The Socialist Party of the United States and Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Party of 1912 had noteworthy success at certain junctures (the progressives polled over 4,000,000 votes in

1912, the socialists over 900,000 both in 1912 and 1920), but the Socialist Party soon relapsed into comparative insignificance and the Progressive Party of 1912 vanished. Both may, however, claim that practically all planks of their platforms (except nationalization in the case of the socialists) have since been enacted by the two great parties, and may claim a substantial share in the propagation of the principles and reforms concerned. Indeed, this capacity of the traditional great parties for stealing the thunder of would-be third parties, if the reforms in question are urgent and popular, may be reckoned among the main causes for the survival of the two-party system. Smaller new parties, such as La Follett's Progressive Party, the Farmer-Labour Party, the Socialist Labour Party, the Union Party of 1936, which advocated Townsend's 'share-the-wealth' plan and polled 800,000 votes, and the American Labour Party, have also been based on programmes moving more or less in the socialist direction.

Yet the fundamental political feature of the United States is a deep-seated capitalistic liberalism; the workers (indeed not all of them) want strong labour unions (q v.) for improving wages and conditions of work, but they do not want socialism. On the contrary, they rather wish to preserve the opportunity to rise into the upper classes. This is a heritage from the long period during which the vast territory and tremendous resources of the United States offered practically everybody the opportunity of rising. Hence class boundaries were not so rigid for the individual worker as in Europe, and in numerous cases the working man rose into the middle and indeed the rich class. Attempts to spread class-consciousness and socialism on the European pattern were bound to fail in these circumstances. Such attempts were made in the latter half of the nineteenth century in connection with the early trade union movement; the Knights of Labour, the forerunners of the modern labour unions, were socialists, the 'ten philosophers' who founded the American Federation of Labour (q.v.) were originally socialists although most of them turned away from socialism in union practice, and the I.W.W. movement in the early twentieth century, belonging to the syndicalist brand of socialism (see *Syndicalism*), was also connected with unionism. Neither have various socialist parties founded in the period under review, such as the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labour Party, and the Communist Party, made much headway. Still there is a section of opinion which argues that the period of unlimited opportunity has virtually come to an end with the exhaustion of land reserves in the west, the attainment of a certain saturation with industry and the stopping of mass immigration; and that this structural change must one day be reflected in the political consciousness of the masses, leading to the rise of a third party on a labour platform. The influence of the Communist Party, now led by William Z. Foster, is, or was until recently, greater than its numerical weakness would suggest, since this party has infiltrated many so-called fellow-travellers in positions in the Democratic Party, the administration, the unions of the C.I.O. group (q.v.), in cultural life and elsewhere. A campaign to eliminate crypto-communists from these positions was started in 1947, supported by special decrees and directed by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities (q.v.), but it met with criticism for being persecution for the mere holding of political views, and some of those concerned took the case to the Courts, invoking the constitutional liberties. This campaign, as well as the turn communist activities were taking, was, of course, connected with the world-political tension between the U.S.A. and Russia (see below).

The communists are accounted the chief supporters of the Progressive Party of H. Wallace (q.v.), for although that party wants reformed capitalism and not socialism, its foreign policy is one of friendship with Russia and hostility to 'Anglo-American imperialism'. Wallace is supported also by the American Labour Party and minor liberal and socialist groups, but is opposed by other liberal groups and by the three great labour federations—the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the American Federation of Labour and the Railway Brotherhoods, which support the Democratic Party. In the presidential election of 1948 Wallace polled only 1,157,000 votes.

In that election no fewer than seven 'third parties' tried their hand: the Progressive Party, the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labour Party, the Socialist Workers' Party, the Prohibition Party (see *Prohibition*),

the Vegetarian Party and the States' Rights Party. With the exception of the last they are all bent on reform. The States' Rights Party was formed by those southern democrats who opposed President Truman's liberal policy towards the negroes. The party's candidate polled 1,169.000 votes. (See *Democratic Party, Dixiecrats, Negro Problem, Solid South.*)

As a rule, only 52 to 60 per cent of the electorate take part in elections. Abstentions are largely due to indifference, but about 10 per cent of the electorate are in fact disfranchised by the electoral practices of southern states. Participation in referenda as known in a number of states is usually even smaller. It has often been said that political indifference is the greatest enemy of American democracy.

The period of prosperity 1924–9 under republican administrations, based on the adoption of modern methods of mass production and the promotion of sales by high wages and deferred payment plans, was followed by the great economic slump of 1930, against which the democratic Roosevelt administration militated by the New Deal policy. The economic crisis threw fifteen millions out of work in a country which so far had not known unemployment relief or social insurance. The New Deal (q v.) was a complex of government interference in economic and social affairs, unheard of in the classic country of 'rugged individualism' and self-aid. It provided public aid for the unemployed and set up a system of social insurance on European lines; it embarked on a vast programme of public works and expansion of credit. Also the prohibition of alcohol, adopted 1919, was repealed in 1933. Within the framework of the New Deal about 20 billion dollars were spent in the following years and unemployment was reduced to about one-half. World War II then absorbed the rest of the workless. President Roosevelt's popularity grew to such an extent that he was re-elected three times in departure from established tradition. He died soon after the beginning of his fourth term. The struggle for the New Deal, and all it stood for, its continuation or abolition, has dominated American politics in recent years and is likely to remain a paramount issue. A recoil from government interference and anything resembling socialism has been making itself felt since World War II, and a return to entirely free enterprise on earlier lines has been much demanded, indeed to a large extent effected, though a return to some degree of control again has its advocates. Republican policies are generally associated with repudiation of the New Deal, but portions of it have adherents among republicans too. It is believed that much of the New Deal has come to stay, and not a few of its institutions are now more or less universally accepted. However, the strengthened position which the labour unions (q.v.) achieved under the New Deal has become the first target of the anti-reformers who enacted the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947. (On related problems, see also *Capitalism, Monopoly Capitalism, Socialism, Liberalism, Democracy.*)

Congress: On 1 January 1950 Congress was composed as follows (figures prior to the election of 2 November 1948 in brackets): *Senate*: Democrats 54 (45), Republicans 42 (51). *House of Representatives* Democrats 262 (184), Republicans 171 (244), Socialists 1 (0).

Foreign Policy Since World War I, and potentially, indeed, since a considerable time before, the United States has been the most powerful country in the world. It accounts for nearly one-half of the world's industrial capacity; steel capacity exceeds 80 million tons annually, coal production is about 700 million tons, and oil production about 250 million tons. All these are multiples of the production of any other country. Apart from a few tropical products, the United States is potentially self-sufficient in food, rawstuffs and finished products of any description. In peace time it used to export only about 7 per cent of its production.

The rise of the country to its present position has brought great changes in its foreign policy. Traditionally it used to be based on the legacy of the early period: Washington's rule of non-implication in Europe's politics, Jefferson's and Adams's warning against entangling foreign alliances and the Monroe Doctrine (q.v.). Keeping aloof from Europe's quarrels proved impracticable in both World Wars, although formal alliances were still avoided. The old principle also induced the United States, against President Woodrow Wilson's attempt to the contrary, to stay away from the League of Nations (q.v.) after World War I; at the close of World War II, how-

ever, the United States sponsored and joined the United Nations (q.v.) in a leading capacity. Through the Kellogg Pact (q.v.) of 1928 it had tried earlier to foster international collaboration and the outlawry of war. American foreign policy was often criticized abroad for being unstable and incalculable. Between the two World Wars, isolationism (q.v.) was very influential; it led to the enactment of the Neutrality Act of 1935, which for all practical purposes amounted to the encouragement of Europe's aggressive dictators and delayed America's intervention in World War II until the Japanese and German declarations of war in December 1941 precipitated it. Isolationism still lingers on, but is officially discarded and certainly no longer the force it used to be. The 'Stimson Doctrine', announced in 1936, and saying that America would not recognize any change of frontiers brought about by force, seems to be a thing of the past. To-day the prevalent view in America, shared by both parties, is that the United States is bound to take an active and leading part in world politics, and it is widely believed that its task is to balance the other great World Power, the Soviet Union, on a global scale. The antagonism between America and Russia is the principal fact of world politics to-day. Regrettable as this may be, it is a natural fact in a world organized in sovereign states conducting power-politics, and in which the greatest Powers have always found themselves in opposition to each other; with the fact becoming obvious that the world is bound to get a more unified organization if it is to survive, this antagonism is often interpreted as meaning nothing less than rivalry for world leadership. It is enormously enhanced by the ideological cleavage between communism as understood by Russia and the American principles of life, around which most of Western Europe and the greater part of the rest of the world rally, albeit with varying modifications.

The changed position of the United States in foreign policy has led to a new departure: the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty (q.v.) in 1949, which is a military alliance with Western Europe in all but in form.

The regions in which the United States is most interested include Latin America (q.v.), toward which United States policy is characterized by what is known as the Good-Neighbour Policy, pan-Americanism (q.v.), hemisphere defence, and of course the Monroe Doctrine; Canada with which arrangements exist on joint defence; together with the Arabian-Persian oil districts (see *Persia*, *Saudi Arabia*), a recent addition to the list. Increasing American interest is also visible in many other parts of the globe, practically in any region of importance. With Japan's defeat (see *Japan*) the principal Power opposing the United States in Asia was eliminated, but Russo-American antagonism now provides fresh points of friction in Asia. (See *China*, *Korea*.) American foreign policy is also strongly engaged in Europe. The United States takes part in the occupation and administration of Germany (q.v.) and Austria (q.v.), shows interest in goings-on in the Soviet-controlled lands of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, and is determined to have a say in the final shaping of the new Europe. The European Recovery Programme is the financial side of this policy. The 'Truman Doctrine' of 1947 established American interest in the defence of Greece (q.v.) and Turkey (q.v.) against 'totalitarian encroachment', meaning Russia, and this interest was by an announcement in December 1947 extended to Italy. Financial aid along these lines was granted to Greece and Turkey, where American missions are operating in the fields of defence and economic improvement. American policy is anti-communist, none too enthusiastic about moderate socialist parties but prepared to work with them, and at bottom liberal-democratic. On principle inclined to promote liberal parties wherever possible, United States policy is in practice seen lending its support rather to conservative parties, preferably those with a democratic structure, but sometimes also to those in which such a structure is feeble or absent. Official or unofficial support for right-wing dictatorial régimes of many shades has also been observed and been variously explained by the influence of class and business interests, or by the tactical exigencies of anti-communist policies.

The relationship of the United States to Britain and the British Commonwealth is of a special nature. Community of language, outlook, culture and to a substantial degree also descent, provide strong bonds. (See *Anglo-Saxons*.) It was Germany's Bismarck who declared that the fact that Britain

and America speak the same language was the most important fact in world politics. To-day Anglo-American collaboration may, in spite of many a difference on detail, be regarded as a world political constant.

American Possessions: The United States possesses two incorporated territories, Alaska and Hawaii (both q.v.), whose citizens have the substantive and procedural rights granted to American citizens by the constitution, and several unincorporated territories whose citizens have the substantive rights but not the procedural ones (trial by jury, etc.). These latter territories are Puerto Rico (q.v.), the Virgin Islands, three islands off Puerto Rico, purchased from Denmark in 1917, Guam and other islands in the Pacific Ocean, used as naval bases, and the eastern islands of the Samoa group in the South Pacific. (See *South Seas Commission, Caribbean Commission.*)

Since 1903 America has had sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone (q.v.). In 1947 she received in trusteeship from the United Nations the Pacific islands which in 1919 had been taken from Germany and given as mandates to Japan; they are the Marianne (or Ladrone) islands, the Caroline Islands and the Marshall Islands. The bases in Newfoundland and the British West Indies which the United States obtained in 1940 for fifty destroyers are still under British sovereignty, having only been leased to America for ninety-nine years.

UNRRA, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, an organization formed in November 1943 to provide relief supplies, relief services (health and welfare), and rehabilitation services (the restoration of public utilities, industry and agriculture in war-devastated countries). Its activities ended in June 1947 after £930,000,000 had been spent—of this total the U.S.A. contributed 72 per cent and Britain 16 per cent. Italy received 45 per cent of the total volume of supplies, Greece 12 per cent, Yugoslavia 11 per cent, China and Poland 9 per cent each, Czechoslovakia 7 per cent, Austria 4 per cent and ten other states 3 per cent between them. These supplies met only the most immediate needs of the receiving countries. UNRRA's functions in respect of food aid passed to the Food and Agriculture Organization, in respect of the resettlement of refugees and displaced persons (q.v.) to the International Refugee Organization, and in respect of health work to the World Health Organization (see *United Nations*).

URANIUM, a radioactive metal essential for the production of atomic energy. Its control has with the advent of the atomic bomb become practically as important as a basis of political power as coal, steel and oil (q.v.). Uranium is found in more than fifty known places all over the globe, but so far only two deposits are known where it can be mined in fairly large quantities, due to rich ores and other circumstances: one is in North Canada near the polar circle, at the Great Bear Lake in the north-west, and the other in the Belgian Congo (region of Katanga). The other deposits are smaller and their ores are poorer. Uranium is also mined within the Soviet Union (east of the Urals) and its sphere of influence (at Joachimstal in the Sudetenland, Czechoslovakia, and in the neighbouring district of Aue, Saxony, Germany). In the United States uranium is mined in Utah. Uranium often occurs together with radium. Ordinary uranium cannot be used for atomic bombs. An isotope of atomic weight 235, known as U 235, will explode with terrific power if assembled in a quantity of 'critical size'. The latter is kept secret but believed to be in the region of 100 to 200 lb. This isotope occurs mixed with ordinary uranium, known as U 238, in the proportion of 1 to 140. Its separation from U 238 is a very difficult and lengthy process, requiring enormous plant. Most of the processes involved are jealously guarded secrets of the countries concerned, mainly the U.S.A., Canada, Britain and the Soviet Union. Mixed with U 238, the active isotope 235 causes the latter slowly to change into plutonium, a new radioactive element of atomic weight 239, which is even more powerful as an explosive; its critical size is believed to be under 50 lb. The atomic bomb contains two pieces of the active material each of which is below the critical size; a secret device fires one piece at the other when the bomb is dropped, and at the instant of their union the critical size is attained and the bomb goes off. Ordinary uranium may not be used for bombs but for atomic power plants; again U 235 and plutonium are the active parts, the former gradually transforming the ordinary uranium into the latter, large amounts of energy

being released in the process in the form of heat. The heat can be used for driving electrical generators, but many technical problems must be solved before this becomes practicable. The fundamental process in the production of atomic energy is the release of elementary particles known as neutrons within the active metal. Atoms disintegrate under the bombardment of these neutrons in a 'chain reaction' which is fast in the case of the bomb and slow in the case of power production. The uranium atoms split eventually into atoms of other elements, among which are ordinary substances such as silver, iodine, barium and about twenty others.

URUGUAY, Republica Oriental del, South American republic, 72,000 sq. m., population 2,250,000. The capital is Montevideo. Uruguay is a buffer state between Argentina and Brazil. It depends on agriculture and dairy farming, and Argentine influence is strong. Government has for a long time been progressive and fairly orderly. This is due to the existence of a strong middle class and the comparative absence of the sharp social contrasts otherwise dominating South America. José Battle, the leader of the conservative *Blancos*, did much reform work from 1907 to 1929. He ended previous disorder, reformed the administration and introduced advanced social legislation. There are elements of state socialism, such as bank control, public monopolies for insurance, cement, alcohol and fuel, and provisions for government control of business.

The Uruguayan constitution of 1934 provided for a Senate of 30 members and a Chamber of Representatives of 99 members, elected on proportional representation by male and female suffrage for four years. The opposition party was constitutionally entitled to one-half of the seats in the Senate, regardless of the vote, and the second strongest party, for all practical purposes again the opposition, was entitled to 3 seats in the cabinet of 9. The Uruguayan parties are split into legally recognized factions or *lemas*. The candidate of the faction obtaining the highest vote is also accorded the vote cast for the other factions.

In 1938 General Baldomir, the leader of the *Battlista* faction of the liberal *Colorados*, became President. The super-democratic constitution of 1934, which permitted the opposition permanently to sit in the government, made governing difficult, and the question of revision became acute. The *Blanco* ministers resigned. President Baldomir dissolved the parliament in February 1942 and called a State Council of all parties except the communists and the conservative *Blancos* led by Dr. Herrera, who was pro-Axis. The constitution was amended in connection with the election of November 1942, and the privileges for the opposition were dropped. The election of November 1946 resulted in a Senate composed of 15 *Colorados*, 10 conservative *Blancos*, 3 Independent *Blancos*, 1 Catholic, 1 communist; and a Chamber composed of 48 *Colorados*, 31 conservative *Blancos*, 9 Independent *Blancos*, 5 Catholics, 4 communists and 2 socialists. The *Colorados* are dominated by the progressive Battlista faction, whose leader, Dr. T. Berreta, was elected President for the 1947–51 term. The government coalition consists of the *Colorados* led by Dr. Berreta, General Baldomir and Dr. Guani, and the Independent (more progressive) *Blancos* led by Dr. Larrieta. On Berreta's death in August 1947 Vice-President L. B. Berres became President.

UTHWATT REPORT, in Britain the report of the Committee on Compensation and Betterment under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Uthwatt, published in 1942. It recommended that development rights—the right of landowners to benefit from increases in the value of their land resulting from its development—be vested in the state and that a global fund of compensation, to be divided amongst landowners, be formed. The report became a basis of the Tov n and Country Planning Act, 1946.

UTOPIAN SOCIALISM. (See *Utopianism, Socialism.*)

UTOPIANISM, the advocacy of an ideal society which is to be established by moral regeneration. In most utopias, property is held in common and the people labour together in happy co-operation; they live simple lives in idyllic conditions. The term is derived from the *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More (q.v.). Before *Utopia*, the *Republic* of Plato (q.v.) and the *Life of Lycurgus* of Plutarch had described ideal commonwealths. Among other famous books describing utopias are Campanella's *Civitas Solis* (1623), Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1629),

Harrington's *Oceana* (1656), Bellamy's *Looking Backwards* (1888), Morris's *News from Nowhere* (1891) and Blatchford's *Merrie England* (1894). Butler's *Erewhon* (1870) is a satire of existing society rather than an account of an ideal system.

The term 'utopian socialists' has been applied to those socialists, such as Fichte, Fourier, Owen and St. Simon (see separate entries), who have described the future socialist state and have suggested that it will come not through revolution but through moral persuasion, supported by the example of socialist model settlements and co-operatives. Utopian socialism was criticized by Marx and Engels (both q.v.), who held that socialism would come only through revolution and that descriptions of the future state were idle fantasy. They developed 'scientific socialism', according to which socialism will be achieved through the historical process, determined by social forces governed by scientific laws. (See *Communism, Marxism, Socialism.*)

V

VANDENBERG, Arthur Hendrick, American politician, born 22 March 1884 at Grand Rapids, Mich., became a lawyer; journalist till 1928 (*Grand Rapids Herald*); Senator (republican) since 1928; isolationist during pre-war period; specialized in foreign affairs during and after World War II, supporting President Truman's foreign policy, United States representative in United Nations General Assembly, 1945; President *pro tempore* of the Senate, and Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate from 1947 to 1949.

VALERA, Eamon de. (See *De Valera.*)

VANSITTARTISM, a current of national hatred for Germany which appeared in England during World War II. It is named after Lord Vansittart, until 1939 a high official of the British Foreign Office, whose writings during the war ascribed the conflict not to the Nazi system but to German national character. The latter was painted very black, and the author maintained that the Germans had been aggressive since the days of Tacitus, had caused five European wars since 1864, and were comparable to 'butcher-birds'. These writings noticeably contributed to the change of opinion in England which made the war from an ideological struggle against Nazism into a national war against Germany as such.

VATICAN CITY, the seat of the Papacy and an independent state since 1929, population about 1,000. Before the unification of Italy in the nineteenth century the popes had for centuries ruled Rome and much of central Italy—the papal states. In 1870 these territories were incorporated into Italy. This action was not recognized by the Pope, who refused the Italian government's offer of the use of the Vatican and Lateran palaces and the villa of Castel Gandolfo (which remained in his possession) and an annuity of 3,225,000 lire, and no Pope left the Vatican until 1929. In that year the Lateran Treaties were concluded between Italy and the Vatican and the conflict was settled. By the political treaty the full sovereignty of the Holy See in the Vatican City was recognized by Italy, and the Pope recognized the Kingdom of Italy. By the financial agreement the Holy See received 750,000,000 lire in cash and 1,000,000,000 lire in Italian bonds as compensation for the loss of its other secular possessions. The Vatican is neutral in international conflicts and takes no part in international conferences. But the Pope may be asked to mediate or arbitrate in a conflict. By the concordat (q.v.) the Catholic Apostolic Roman Religion is the only religion of the Italian state (other religions are permitted) and the Pope submits the names of persons to be appointed archbishops or bishops to the Italian government, which may make political objections (this concordat was confirmed by the republican constitution of 1947; see *Italy*).

The Vatican is now a sovereign state, consisting of the two palaces, some other buildings in Rome, St. Peter's Square, and the villa. Its sovereign is the Pope (see *Conclave*) who is in independent relations with many foreign states (see *Nuncio*). He now leaves the Vatican again. The Pope has a small Swiss guard. The institutions of the Papacy include: (1) the College of Cardinals of 70 members when full; (2) the twelve Sacred Congregations, composed of cardinals and others, for the government of the Catholic Church; (3) several commissions, tribunals and offices. Political influence is exercised by the Pope by means of encyclicals (q.v.) and Catholic Action (q.v.), an organization of the Catholic laity in many countries under the control of the local bishops. Influence is, of course, exerted also by the Church, by Catholic parties (q.v.), by various propagandist organizations and by non-political agencies. As the head of a Church whose adherents are estimated at 400,000,000 souls, the Pope is

an important factor in world politics. Yet Catholics are not bound to obey him in politics as they are in faith, and can join any political party except anti-Catholic ones. There is a Catholic social doctrine, which recommends a Corporate state (q.v.), but this doctrine is not accepted by all Catholics, nor even by all Catholic parties, which have liberal, corporatist and socialist elements. On the whole, Catholic parties are moderate right-wing and nationalist parties; in some countries they are 'clerico-fascist' (q.v.). The Vatican has to take their national interests and antagonisms into account, and there is no such thing as a Catholic International. The political influence of the Pope is to some extent in favour of specifically Catholic parties and political systems, but generally in favour of any local policies which will best secure that Catholics can live as Catholics—to obtain recognition of the Catholic Church and worship, and of the Catholic doctrines of marriage, the family and education. The Vatican condemns and combats communism, and on 30 June 1949 the Pope threatened excommunication to all Catholics actively promoting communism; but mere passive participation, especially if brought about under duress, was exempted. In eastern Europe the Church is now the chief surviving institution opposed to communism. It is being subjected to heavy pressure.

During the reign of fascism in Italy, the Vatican maintained, on the whole, good relations with that system, apart from some friction on education. The Vatican disapproved of Italy's entry into the war on the side of Nazi Germany, but was unable to prevent it. It made no secret of its aversion to Nazism—not on account of Nazi authoritarianism, but in view of its racial materialism and worship of the secular state, both principles being incompatible with Catholic doctrine, and even more because Nazism militated against the Church. Yet on the whole, Vatican policy toward Hitler's Germany was rather cautious. Generally speaking, caution, patience, and a long-term outlook are believed to be essentials of Vatican policies.

The present Pope is Pius XII (Eugenio Pacelli), born 1876, Cardinal 1929, Papal Secretary of State (=Foreign Secretary) 1930–9, elected Pope in 1939, on the death of Pius XI (1922–39). For several centuries no non-Italian has been elected Pope.

VEBLEN, Thorstein B., American sociologist, economist and political thinker (1857–1929), the son of a Norwegian immigrant in Wisconsin, became professor in the University of Chicago in 1900, held posts in various universities afterwards. Veblen developed original theories on society, which had many a feature in common with socialism, although he did not call himself a socialist in the usual sense of the word. He was visibly influenced by Marx (q.v.), but a Kantian rather than a Marxian or Hegelian in general thought. Veblen sees the history of civilization as one long struggle between the predatory and the industrious. Predation is masked in various ways by ethical principles or reference to the general interest. The pirate chief and the robber baron are earlier types of the modern industrial and financial magnate. The structure of predation varies with the development of the industrial arts. The system of free enterprise or capitalism appeared to Veblen as a 'price system', which he thought could not survive much longer, but would give way to a system of production controlled by engineers on rational, technical principles. In this he presumably gave the cue to the later advocates of technocracy (q.v.). Veblen has stimulated a variety of schools in sociology, politics and philosophy. Among his works are *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899), *The Theory of Business Enterprise* (1904), *The Vested Interests and the State of the Industrial Arts* (1919), and *The Engineer and the Price System* (1921).

VENEZUELA, United States of, South American republic, area 352,000 sq. miles, population 4,289,000, capital Caracas (269,000). About 20 per cent of the people are white, most of the rest are mestizo; 90 per cent are illiterate. Economically Venezuela consists of three zones—the agricultural, the pastoral, and the forest zone. The forests are almost untapped. There are few manufacturing industries. The most important source of national wealth is oil (q.v.). Venezuela is the world's second largest producer and first exporter of oil. (1947 production 63 million tons.) The oil concessions are all owned by foreign companies: the Dutch-Shell, British Controlled Oilfields, Anglo-Persian, and several American groups of which the chief are the Standard Oil corporations of Indiana and

New Jersey and Gulf Oil. More than a third of the revenue is derived from oil taxes.

After fifty revolutions in 100 years, Venezuela was from 1908 to 1935 ruled by the tyrant J. V. Gomez, whose cruelty was notorious. Sometimes he was President, sometimes he ruled through puppets. His death in 1935 was celebrated by the people. His successor, General Lopez Contrera, tried to restore constitutional government and promulgated a new constitution. He was succeeded in 1941 by General Medina Angarita, who was overthrown in 1945 by a military junta professing radical opinions and allied with a group of intellectuals known as *Accion Democratica*. A constituent assembly was elected in 1946, *Accion Democratica* had a large majority and a new constitution was adopted. It provided for a popularly elected President, a Senate of 40 members—two from each of the twenty states, and a Chamber of Deputies of 160 members, all serving for four years. The suffrage was extended in 1945 to women, and voting for the Chamber was made direct—previously the municipal councils elected the Deputies. The constitution guaranteed the rights of property and a fair return on capital, but reserved the state's right to plan and forbids monopolies. The social rights of the individual and the rights of labour were guaranteed.

In May 1947 Medina Angarita attempted to overthrow the new government, but failed. At the elections in December, R. Gallegos (*Accion Democratica*) defeated R. Caldera (Conservative Party, known as Copei—*Comite de Organizacion Politica Electoral*) and G. Machado (Communist). *Accion Democratica* polled 80 per cent of the votes and secured almost all the seats in both Chambers. On 23 November Colonels Chalbaud and Jimenez seized power by a *coup d'état* with the aid of the army. They alleged that the Gallegos government was incompetent and that its extremist supporters were plotting a general strike. The new government dissolved the Venezuelan and state legislatures, and announced that new elections would be held. Vested interests and conservative forces are believed to be behind the overthrow of the social-democratic Accion régime.

VERBAL NOTE, a diplomatic term for a verbal statement made by an ambassador to the foreign minister of the country where he is accredited. It is a milder form of a diplomatic note; a written note is a more serious step.

VERSAILLES, PEACE OF, the peace treaty between Germany and the Allied and Associated Powers which ended World War I. The first section of the treaty deal with the establishment of the League of Nations. In the second section the following terms were imposed on Germany: Cession of Alsace-Lorraine (q.v.) to France, of Eupen-Malmedy (q.v.) to Belgium, of the province of Posen and the Corridor (q.v.) to Poland, of the frontier district of Hultschin to Czechoslovakia, part of Northern Schleswig (after a plebiscite) to Denmark (see *Schleswig-Holstein*), of Memel to Lithuania; a plebiscite in Upper Silesia (followed by the cession of its eastern half to Poland); renunciation of Danzig (q.v.) which was made a Free City under Polish suzerainty; renunciation of union with Austria; abolition of compulsory military service; limitation of the German armed forces to 100,000 professional soldiers and a small navy; Germany not to have war planes, submarines, tanks, and heavy artillery; destruction of armament factories; fifteen-year occupation of the Rhineland by the Allies; internationalization of the Saar (q.v.) with a plebiscite on its future after fifteen years; the Saar coal mines to go to the French state; internationalization of German waterways; German colonies to be shared out among the Allies on the basis of League mandates; recognition of German war guilt and payment of reparations (q.v.), the amount of which was to be fixed later by the Allies. The reparations were gradually reduced and cancelled altogether in 1932; the Rhineland was evacuated in 1930, earlier than was provided in the treaty; the Saar voted itself back to Germany in 1935. The other terms were unilaterally abolished by Germany under Hitler from 1933 to 1939, the Powers conniving until his attack on Poland on 1 September 1939, when World War II broke out. At that time only the territorial clauses, except those relating to Austria and Memel, were left of the treaty.

VETO, Latin for 'I forbid'; (1) the right of heads of state to refuse enactment of a measure passed by the Legislature. In

Britain, where the King now acts on the advice of ministers supported by the majority of the House of Commons, the veto power has not been exercised since 1707. In the United States the President's veto can be overridden by a two-thirds majority in both Houses of Congress. The bill must be returned by the President within ten days, together with his objections to it. If it is not so returned then it becomes law even without his signature. Thus bills which the President dislikes but does not want to veto can become law without his express assent. If within the ten days Congress adjourns before the President has passed or returned a bill, then the bill is dead. This makes it possible for legislation at the end of the session to be silently vetoed, and is known as the 'pocket veto'. (2) in bodies whose decisions require unanimity, or at least unanimity between certain members, any member whose vote is required can block a proposal by voting against it or abstaining from the vote. This is also known as the veto. In the ancient Polish Diet any member could veto a proposal in this way and the right was known as the *liberum veto* (free veto). This power is possessed by the permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations (q.v.).

VIET-NAM, a part (or, at present, actually two parts) of Indochina (q.v.). The Indochinese (Annamite) national movement calls itself *Viet-Minh.*

VOCATIONAL REPRESENTATION. (See *Corporate State.*)

W

WAFD, Egyptian nationalist party. The Arabic name means delegation and is derived from the Egyptian delegation headed by Zaghlul Pasha, which went to demand Egyptian independence from the British on 13 November 1918. Zaghlul became Prime Minister after winning the 1923 election and founded the Wafd Party one year later. He died in 1927. He was succeeded as leader of the party by Nahas Pasha, who has since been repeatedly Prime Minister. The party, once the principal force of Egyptian nationalism, has lost much of its former importance owing to repeated splits. In 1938 the Saadists broke away under Nokrashy Pasha, and they soon became the strongest party in the Egyptian parliament. In 1943 the Kotla party, calling itself also the Wafdist bloc, followed suit under Mokram Ebeid Pasha. These two leaders have also been Prime Ministers. All Wafd factions insist that they stand for the original and true Wafd programme. The Wafd platform is nationalist and progressive. In 1949, after many years of boycotting elections and cabinets, the Wafd joined a coalition government and later took part in the election of January 1950, in which it obtained a majority. It had always maintained to be the largest party in Egypt (q.v.).

WAHABBITES or Wahabbis, puritan Moslem sect in Inner Arabia, founded by Mohammed ibn Abd el Wahab (1703–91) with the object of restoring pure original Islam. The Wahabbis recognize only the Koran and the primitive Sunna, reject the worship of the Prophet and the saints, of their graves and relics, and live a simple life. Silken garments, music, and tobacco are banned; an earlier ban on coffee is no longer so strictly adhered to. Wahabbis are obliged to devote themselves to the *Jihad*, the Holy War. Ibn Abd el Wahab won over the Emir of Nejd, Mohammed ibn Saud, who made Wahabbism the official religion of his desert state. The Wahabbis set out on a *Jihad* and gradually conquered neighbouring territories, in 1806 indeed Islam's holy cities, Mecca and Medina, where they destroyed numerous shrines as incompatible with pure Islam. They were pushed back into their desert by Mehmet Ali of Egypt in a twenty-five-year campaign. The Saudi dynasty is derived from Mohammed ibn Saud, under whose scion, Ibn Saud (q.v.), the Wahabbis have attained fresh importance in recent years. In 1924 they once more conquered Mecca and Medina, and incorporated them in the new Wahabbi realm, Saudi Arabia (q.v.). But this time the Wahabbis did not stress Islamic purity. Only a few shrines in the holy cities were destroyed or closed, while the principal holy places were respected. The caliphate (q.v.) plays no part in Wahabbi doctrine, but the sect has to some extent become interested in it for political reasons.

WALLACE, Henry A., American politician, born in Adair County, Ia., 7 October 1888; graduated in agricultural science; edited farming periodicals, 1910–33; secretary of agriculture under Roosevelt, 1933–40. He wrote a number of books expounding advanced social policies, including *Paths to Plenty* (1938) and *The Century of the Common Man* (1940). Vice-President, 1941–5; secretary of commerce, 2 March 1945; advocated a foreign policy friendlier to the Soviet Union after World War II, came into conflict with the State Department, resigned at President Truman's request on 20 September 1946. For a time he was editor of *The New Republic.* Visited England in April 1947, spoke of the dangers he saw in American imperialism. Backed by the Progressive Citizens of America and other left-wing organizations in which communists are believed to have a say, he accepted an invitation to run for President in 1948, and formed a Progressive

Party, which was, however, opposed by many liberal groups and also by the two great federations of trade unions, the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (both q.v.), which supported Truman. In the Presidential elections he polled only 1,157,100 votes.

WALL STREET, the street in New York City in which the Stock Exchange is situated. The name is used not only as a symbol for this Stock Exchange, but for American finance at large, especially when it is a question of pointing to its political influence. As a matter of fact, the influence of Wall Street receded under the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his New Deal policy (q.v.), and the political attitude of Wall Street bankers was by no means uniform. Some banking interests, including the Morgan group, opposed the President's reforms, while others, such as Warburg and Lehman, supported them.

WAZIRI. (See *Afghanistan.*)

WEBB, Sidney (1859–1947) and Beatrice (1858–1943), British political and social workers. Sidney Webb was a clerk in the Colonial Office when in 1883 he became a member of the Fabian Society (q.v.), which he soon came to dominate by ability and thoroughness. In 1892 he married Beatrice Potter, thus beginning a life-long partnership of social and political activity. Together they were the leading intellectuals of the Labour movement, and the Fabian socialism developed by them was adopted by the Labour Party (q.v.). The 1918 statement of Labour policy—*Labour and the New Social Order*—was largely their work; they also wrote *Constitution for a Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain* (1920). Their minority report for the Royal Commission on the Poor Law and Unemployment (1905–9) advocated the abolition of the poor law—which was achieved by the Labour Government in 1946, after it had long been one of the aims of the party. Among their other works were *History of Trade Unionism, Industrial Democracy, English Local Government. The Decay of Capitalist Civilization,* and *Soviet Communism—a New Civilization?*

The Webbs advocated the peaceful and gradual acquisition by local authorities and the state of economic services. They criticized the dogmas of class warfare and revolution, which they considered prejudicial to the introduction of efficient socialism and, indeed, to almost any extensive social reform.

Webb was one of the chief founders of the London School of Economics (1895), and of the socialist review *The New Statesman* (1903). He was a member of the London County Council, 1892, President of the Board of Trade 1923–4, and Colonial and Dominions Secretary 1929–31. In 1929 he was created Baron Passfield; his wife continued to be known as Mrs. Webb. (See also *Shaw.*)

WEIMAR REPUBLIC, a name given to the German republic 1919–33, the constituent assembly of which was held in Weimar in 1919. The place had been chosen for its symbolic significance as the town of Goethe.

WEIZMANN, Dr. Chaim, President of Israel, born 1873, in Russia but went to England as a boy. He became an eminent organic chemist and Professor of Chemistry in the University of Leeds. At an early date he joined the Zionist movement. His war work in World War I brought him into contact with Balfour, then British Foreign Secretary, a relationship which helped to bring about the Balfour Declaration (q.v.). Weizmann was President of the Zionist World Organization from 1919 to 1938, when he resigned because his advocacy of acceptance of the proposed partition of Palestine (q.v.) was not supported by the Zionist Congress. Yet he remained the leading man of Zionism (q.v.) and immediately after the establishment of the state of Israel (q.v.) he was elected its first President. He is a Liberal and a moderate.

WELLS, Herbert George, British novelists political thinker, sociologist, and educator (1866–1946). Politically a socialist, Wells was an empiricist, critical of Marxism (q.v.). Believing that mankind would meet disaster unless it organized and planned its activities, he spent the inter-war years in expounding for the general public the historical, sociological and scientific ideas necessary for the creation of a planned

world order. His three greatest works in this field were *The Outline of History* (1920), *The Science of Life* (1929), and *The Work, Wealth, and Happiness of Mankind* (1932).

WELSH NATIONALIST MOVEMENT, a movement aiming at self-government for Wales. At present Wales is administered as part of 'England and Wales', and there is no special Minister in charge of Welsh affairs, although the various government departments have Welsh sections and offices. The Welsh Nationalist Party, a union of four nationalist groups, demands Dominion status, or at least Home Rule, for Wales, and the Republican Party wants an independent republic. The Welsh Parliamentary Party, which consists of those members of the British parties who sit for Welsh constituencies, has demanded the appointment of a Minister for Wales. In 1949 the Labour government established an Advisory Council, representing many Welsh interests, but repeated previous governments' refusal of the demand for a Welsh Officer. Under the Representations of the People Act, 1948, Wales and Monmouthshire are to return 36 M.P.s, one for every 49,000 electors; the whole United Kingdom is to return 625 M.P.s, one for every 52,000 electors.

Welsh nationalists want also more rights for the (Celtic) Welsh language which is spoken by about one-half of the population of Wales. Yet within this section some 800,000 people are bilingual, and a mere 200,000 speak only Welsh. Many Welsh nationalists aim at a Celtic revival on the model of Eire (q.v.), whose language is closely akin to Welsh. Still, Welsh Celtic culture is even now much more of a living culture than its Irish counterpart was before the Eireann policy of revival. There are schools in which the language of tuition is Welsh, and the University of Wales also fosters Welsh culture. Newspapers and a considerable literature are published in the Welsh language, and the B.B.C. broadcasts a daily programme in it. Apart from Erse, the Welsh language is akin to Scotland's Highland Gaelic and to the tongue of the French Bretons (q.v.).

WESTERN UNION, name given to the close association of the western European countries. The need for close co-operation in working the European Recovery Programme (q.v.), in dealing with the problem of Germany, and in resisting communism, caused E. Bevin (q.v.), British Foreign Secretary, to propose a formal association between the countries of western Europe in a speech in the House of Commons on 22 January 1948. Plans for Western European federation as a forerunner of All-European federation had been discussed since 1945 (see *United Europe*) and the foundation of Benelux (q.v.) had been hailed as an inspiring example, if not a nucleus for wider federations. By the Treaty of Brussels (q.v.) signed on 12 March 1948, between Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg the nucleus of the Western Union was formed. A permanent committee of the five participant countries (the treaty is also known as the Five-Power Pact) was set up, and a military committee under the chairmanship of Field-Marshal Montgomery was entrusted with the co-ordination of defence. The participant countries agreed to pursue a common policy toward Germany, though this has to be defined from case to case, and on political, military and economic collaboration.

Like Benelux, Western Union is still far from being a federation and is essentially a defensive alliance against the Russian group of states. Plans for widening it into a European federation persist and on 25 October 1948 the Union created a standing committee for the study of such federation. This resulted in the creation of the Council of Europe (q.v.). Western Germany is for all practical purposes an appendix of Western Union and seems anxious to join it as a full member. The United States Senate adopted the Vandenberg resolution on 11 June 1948, favouring American participation in certain regional defence combinations, meaning primarily Western Union. This was given effect in April 1949 by the North Atlantic Treaty (q.v.).

WESTMINSTER, the London borough in which the British Parliament has its seat. The name is sometimes used as a symbol for that parliament.

WESTMINSTER, STATUTE OF, 1931, in the British Empire (q.v.) an Act of the British Parliament to make the Dominions (q.v.) equal in status to Britain. This equality and its applications are stated in the

Preamble; the operative part of the statute validates all Dominion legislation, even if it conflicts with British laws, empowers Dominion parliaments to pass laws with extra-territorial effect, provides that British Acts shall henceforward apply to a Dominion only at the request and with the consent of that Dominion, and regulates merchant shipping and admiralty jurisdiction. At the request of Australia, Canada, and New Zealand the constitutions of those Dominions were safeguarded. The Statute is expressly declared not to affect the division of powers between the governments of the states and the Commonwealth in Australia; it continues the old practice whereby the Canadian constitution may be amended only by the British Parliament; it forbids the New Zealand Parliament to alter that Dominion's constitution more than is permitted by that constitution itself. The Statute was formally adopted by South Africa in 1934 and Australia in 1942. In 1947 the British Parliament, at the request of the New Zealand Parliaments, passed an act enabling that Parliament freely to amend the constitution, the restrictions imposed by the constitution and the Statute being repealed. The Statute has been the basis of legislation in Canada and Eire, and has been automatically applied to the new Asian Dominions of India, Pakistan, and Ceylon.

WHIGS, old name for English liberals, no longer in use (in contrast to its 'Tory' counterpart; see *Tory*). It was the description of the more liberal party in the English parliament after 1680, while the conservatives were known as 'Tories'. The name fell into disuse before the middle of the nineteenth century. It is believed to have been derived from the Whigamores, a rebellious anti-royalist peasant faction in Scotland at the time of Cromwell. In the United States, a Whig party was founded in 1934 as a combination of National Republicans, Anti-masons, and some southern Democrats to oppose Andrew Jackson. It conducted its campaigns under the slogan of opposition to 'executive usurpation', which it identified with the Whig tradition: hence the name. In fact, the party's platform was not really liberal. Its southern adherents upheld slavery. After a defeat in 1852 the party disintegrated, its northern section joining the Republicans and the southerners lining up with the Democrats. In Liberia the dominant party is called the True Whig Party.

WHIP, in the British Parliament a term used for a member of a party charged with securing that the ordinary members of the party support the party leaders, with facilitating communication between the ordinary members and the leaders, and also with other functions concerning the detailed arrangement of business. The Whips of the party supporting the government are junior ministers, the Chief Whip being Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury and his assistants being the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury (now five in number), and the Treasurer Comptroller and Vice-Chamberlain of the Royal Household. The Chief Whip was formerly known as Patronage Secretary, a title surviving from the eighteenth century, when governments relied partly on jobbery and bribery to maintain themselves in office.

(2) The term whip is applied also to the weekly notices sent by the whips to inform members of their party what important debates and votes are to take place, and to request the attendance of the members. The importance of the debate is shown by the number of lines (one, two, or three) with which the request is underscored. To ignore a three-line whip without what is regarded as an adequate reason (e.g. illness, absence from the country) is considered a serious offence against party discipline. Whips are not issued for all debates; sometimes 'the whips are off' and members are free to vote as they please—a free vote. To decline the whip is a method of resignation from the party; withdrawal of the whip is a means of expelling a member from his party.

WHITE ARMY, the counter-revolutionary army in the Russian civil war 1917–21, so called in contrast to the Red Army (q.v.) of the revolution. The term probably dates back to the Vendée rising against the French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century, when the royalists wore white badges as symbols of the Bourbon dynasty's white lily. *Émigrés* of the Russian revolutionary period are to this day known as 'White' Russians, to be distinguished from the White Russians or Byelorussians (see *Byelorussia*) who are a nation within the Soviet federation.

WHITE RUSSIA, western constituent republic of the Soviet Union (q.v.) bordering on Poland, 90,000 sq. miles, population 9,000,000, of whom about 80 per cent are White Russians, the remainder Russians, Ukrainians, and other minorities. The capital is Minsk. White Russia is an autonomous Soviet republic, and in 1944 was allowed to have separate representation in foreign capitals and at international conferences. These representatives always support the Soviet Union. The White Russians are a nation and must not be confused with the 'White' Russians of the civil war and the emigration. Russians prefer the use of the name Byelorussians (from Russian *Byely*, white) in other languages also. The White Russian language is akin to Russian and Ukrainian, but distinct from both. Eastern Polish territories inhabited by some two million White Russians came to Soviet White Russia in October 1939, and the frontier with Poland is now roughly identical with the Curzon Line (q.v.), though in places it has been shifted somewhat to the west.

WHITEHALL, a street in London leading up to Parliament Square, and consisting largely of ministries and other government offices; its sidestreets also house many such offices. The name is therefore often used in Britain as a symbol for state administration and indeed bureaucracy; in Scotland it is frequently used to refer to what is denounced by Scottish nationalists as English control of Scottish affairs.

WHITE HOUSE, the seat of the President of the United States in Washington, D.C. Sometimes used as a symbol for the presidential office and presidential policy.

WILLIAMS, Tom, British Labour politician, born 1888. A former miner, he was Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries in the Churchill coalition government 1940–5, and became Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries in the Attlee Labour government.

WILSON, James Harold, British Labour politician, born 1916. A University lecturer, he served in the War Cabinet Secretariat and in several conomic ministriese 1940–5. In the Attlee Labour Government he was Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Works, August 1945 to March 1947, and Secretary for Overseas Trade from March to October 1947, when he became President of the Board of Trade.

WINDSOR, House of, the British reigning family, descended from the Princess Sophia, granddaughter of James I, in whose descendants, being Protestant, the succession to the British throne was vested by the Act of Settlement, 1701. Known as the House of Brunswick, or Hanover, from 1714 to 1901, it was styled the House of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha from 1901 to 1917, Edward VII and George V being son and grandson respectively of Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort, Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. In 1917, during World War I, George V declared that his family should be known as 'the House and Family of Windsor'. Its principal members now are King George VI, son of George V (born 1895), succeeded to the throne 11 December 1936, his consort—Queen Elizabeth, their daughter and heiress-presumptive Princess Elizabeth (born 1926) who in 1947 married Prince Philip (born 1921), formerly Prince of Greece and Denmark and now Duke of Edinburgh, and to whom a son, Prince Charles, was born in 1948, and their second daughter Princess Margaret Rose. The King has two brothers, Edward, Duke of Windsor (born 1894, eldest son of George V whom he succeeded in January 1936, reigned as Edward VIII until December 1936 when he abdicated to marry Mrs. Wallis Warfield Simpson), and Henry, Duke of Gloucester (born 1900; two sons). His third brother, the Duke of Kent (1902–42) left two sons and a daughter. His sister, the Princess Royal, Countess of Harewood, has two sons.

WINDWARD ISLANDS. (See *British West Indies.*)

WOMAN SUFFRAGE, the right of women to vote, propagated in America and England from 1850 onwards. Wyoming was the first state in the world to adopt female suffrage (1869), and thirteen American states followed suit before female suffrage was enacted on a national scale by the nineteenth amendment in 1920. New Zealand may claim to have been the first sovereign state to adopt woman suffrage; it did so in 1893. Great Britain extended the suffrage, after the famous struggle of

the suffragettes, to women over 30 in 1918 and to women over 21 in 1928. Nearly all countries in the world now have female suffrage, except Switzerland and some Latin-American countries, although some countries extend the suffrage only to certain categories of women.

WOODBURN, Rt. Hon. Arthur, British Labour politician, born 1890 at Edinburgh; engaged in engineering and ironfounding administration for 25 years; became interested in working-class education, lectured on history, finance, economics at Edinburgh Labour College from 1919 onwards, later became its chairman and President of the National Council of Labour Colleges; Scottish Secretary, Labour Party, 1932–9; M.P. for Clackmannan and E. Stirling since 1939; Parliamentary Secretary to Secretary of State for Scotland, 1941–3; do. to Ministry of Supply, 1945–7; Secretary of State for Scotland, 1947. Wrote *The Mystery of Money* and *An Outline of Finance.*

WORKING PARTIES, in Great Britain committees for the investigation of industries, appointed by the President of the Board of Trade and other ministers since 1945. They consist of independent members, representatives of the employers and workers in equal numbers, and are appointed to examine the present organization of an industry and the problems, immediate and long-term, of organization, production and distribution with which it is confronted and to report on what should be done to enable the industry to become more stable and more capable of meeting competition in home and foreign markets. Although the recommendations of the many parties have varied considerably there have been some features common to all: the formation of a representative board to control or advise the industry, the speedy re-equipment of the industry and improvements in its management, labour relations, production and marketing methods. The Industrial Organization and Development Act, 1947, enables several ministers to establish development councils, representative of employers, workers, and the government, to aid the development of industries.

WORLD LANGUAGE, an international language designed to serve as an auxiliary language for members of different nations, and perhaps ultimately as the common language of all mankind in place of the existing multitude of languages. The idea has been propagated as an instrument of international reconciliation, its adherents believing the diversity of languages to be a primary cause of international dissension. In the Middle Ages Latin was a world-language for the educated classes. At present English is the most widespread language, since it is the first language of 220,000,000 people and is understood by the educated classes of many other nations.

In the 1920s C. K. Ogden invented 'Basic English', a simplified version for use as a world-language. In 1947 the copyright was bought by the British government.

Of wholly artificial world-languages, the best known is Esperanto, invented in 1903 by Dr. Zamenhof. It has Teutonic, Slav and Greek elements, with a fundamentally Romanic character. There are Esperanto organizations in all countries, and world conferences of Esperantists are held from time to time. Among other artificial languages are Ido, a more elegant but less widespread Romanic variant of Esperanto, and Volapuk (world speech), a Germanic language which was invented in the 1890's but has fallen into oblivion. Esperantists claim they number 6,000,000, and 15,000,000 signed a petition to the United Nations in 1947, asking for the adoption of Esperanto as an auxiliary international language.

WORLD LIBERAL UNION. (See *Liberalism.*)

WORLD-STATE, the idea of a common political organization for all mankind, with a world government, world parliament and world law, to eliminate war and ensure the rule of justice throughout the world. An old dream of humanity and the ideal of internationalists (see *Internationalism*), the plan of a world-state is believed to have become a practical necessity if mankind is to survive in the age of atomic war, and at the same time perfectly practicable in view of present-day means of communication which have made distances on the globe shrink so much that they scarcely present any obstacle to world administration. It is indeed believed that the idea of regional federations, such as Pan-Europe, Pan-America, etc. (q.v.), while not yet put into effect, is already obsolete, and must be

abandoned in favour of world federation. Others hold that regional federations may be useful stepping-stones to universal federation. The world-state is envisaged as a federation on the pattern of the United States or Switzerland (see *Federalism*). Some politicians believe that it needs a hegemonist (a very strong leading Power) to create the world federation, and the United States and the Soviet Union are supposed to be rival candidates for the task. The persistence of nationalism (q.v.) contrasts with the widely recognized need for world government. The League of Nations and the United Nations (both q.v.) failed to establish world government, as no country was prepared to give up its sovereignty (q.v.) and no effective supranational executive power was created.

Y

YALTA, Conference of, a conference on post-war policy held at Yalta, Crimea, Russia, in February 1945 between Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin. The decisions of the conference, some of which were published in a communiqué dated 11 February 1945, and some later in a British White Paper in 1947, included the division of Germany into zones of occupation and the establishment of an Allied Control Council in Berlin. 'The United Kingdom, the United States, and the Soviet Union are to possess supreme authority with respect to Germany. They will take such steps, including the complete disarmament, demilitarization and the dismemberment of Germany as they deem requisite for future peace and security.' The study of the procedure for the dismemberment was referred to a committee. An occupation zone for France was also agreed upon. German reparations were to consist of removals of equipment with a view to eliminating war potential, also of deliveries from current production, and use of German labour. The United States and Russia agreed on a total of reparations of $20,000,000,000, one-half of which was to go to Russia. Great Britain would not commit itself to any figure at that stage. The signatories further agreed on calling a conference for the establishment of the United Nations (San Francisco, 26 June 1945). The Atlantic Charter (q.v.) was endorsed as the basis of Allied policy. The signatories were jointly to assist in the holding of free elections and the establishment of democratic governments in the liberated countries. As regards Poland (q.v.), the Russian-sponsored government was to be broadened by the inclusion of democratic representatives, and a free and unfettered election was explicitly provided for. The Curzon Line (q.v.) was to become the approximate eastern frontier of Poland, while Poland was to get substantial accessions of territories in the north and west, their final delimitation to be left to the peace conference. With respect to Yugoslavia (q.v.), the Tito-Šubašič agreement on the collaboration of the parties was endorsed. It was agreed that the Russian demand for a revision of the Montreux Convention (see *Dardanelles*) should be considered. Concerning Japan, it was agreed that Russia should declare war on Japan and should obtain South Sakhalin and certain Japanese islands. Port Arthur was to be leased to Russia as a naval base; the port of Dairen was to be internationalized and a Soviet-Chinese corporation was to be formed for the Manchurian railroads. (This last point was later rejected by the Chinese government.) Korea (q.v.) was to become independent. The Yalta decisions have since been the object of widely diverging interpretation by the signatories. It is said that there were also further secret clauses, not published so far.

YEMEN, Arab state in south-western Arabia, area 75,000 sq. miles, population 3,500,000, capital San'a. The ruler is styled Imam; in the 1934 treaty with Britain he is called King. The form of government is a patriarchal despotism. In February 1948 the Imam Yahya and two of his sons were assassinated and Abdullah al Wazir proclaimed himself Imam. But Yahya's heir, Seif al Islam Ahmad marched on San'a, captured the usurper and succeeded as Imam. King Ahmad quelled a tribal rebellion in March 1949.

In 1934 the Imam, with Italian support, waged war on his neighbour Ibn Saud (q.v.) but was defeated, had to cede a border area and sign the Treaty of Taif of friendship, neutrality and arbitration. The Treaty of San'a, 1934, with Britain and India settled the southern frontiers of the state.

YUGOSLAVIA, Republic of, 100,000 sq. miles, population 15,752,000. The capital

is Belgrade. After the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918 the 'Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes' was formed by the union of Serbia with the South Slav-inhabited territories of the old Empire (Croatia, Bosnia, Voivodina, most of Dalmatia) and the former Kingdom of Montenegro, under the Serbian dynasty of the Karageorgevitch. The tribal and cultural differences between the various provinces soon created new political problems. There were 6·5 million Serbs, 4 million Croats (q.v.), and 1 million Slovenes (q.v.), also considerable minorities of Macedonians, Moslems, Hungarians, Germans and others. Croats and Slovenes demanded self-government. Yet after the union a 'Greater Serbian' trend prevailed, and the Vidovdan Constitution of 1921 made Yugoslavia a centralist state ruled from Belgrade. The conflict between the Serbian rulers and the Croat autonomists dominated Yugoslav policies in the years that followed, coupled with social questions, especially the peasant problem. (The largely agricultural country was only beginning to develop an industry.) The nominally parliamentary constitution remained largely on paper. In 1929 King Alexander I established a royal dictatorship and attempted to enforce unification of the country. Its name was changed to Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and it was redivided into new provinces the boundaries of which cut across the old tribal areas. All parties were dissolved, and a new absolutist constitution was decreed.

King Alexander was assassinated at Marseilles, France, in 1934; a regency under Prince Paul was set up for the time of the minority of his son Peter II, born 1923. Government became somewhat more liberal, and in 1938 the opposition was permitted to poll 41 per cent of the votes at a general election. Croatia was granted a limited autonomy in 1939. Meanwhile the Powers began to struggle for influence in Yugoslavia. Germany attracted the largest proportion of Yugoslav foreign trade and German political influence grew accordingly. This trend was opposed by the Western Powers, and from 1938 onwards also by the Soviet Union; also Italy tried to increase its influence although it was antagonistic to Yugoslavia on account of a frontier dispute dating from 1918. Gradually German influence prevailed in Belgrade. During World War II, toward the end of 1940, Yugoslavia adopted anti-Jewish laws at the request of Germany, and on 25 March 1941, the government of Prince Paul acceded to the Three-Power Pact of Germany, Italy and Japan. Thereupon a revolution broke out in Belgrade on 27 March 1941 under the leadership of General Simovitch. King Peter II was declared of age and assumed government, while Prince Paul left the country. Although the new government announced a policy of neutrality, Germany and Italy retorted by an attack on Yugoslavia on 6 April 1941, and the country was soon overrun. It was then partitioned. Croatia was declared independent under an Italian prince; Dalmatia and part of Bosnia were given to Italy; Slovenia was shared between Germany and Italy; Macedonia came under Bulgaria, and part of the Voivodine under Hungary. Serbia was placed under a puppet government headed by General Neditch. The King and government went to England.

Part of the Yugoslav army under General Mihailovitch refused to lay down its arms, and entrenched itself in the Bosnian mountains. Mihailovitch was then appointed Minister of War by the exiled government in London. His troops became known as Chetniks. (*Cheta*, Serbian for a detachment.) On the other hand, a communist-directed and pro-Soviet partisan movement also developed in Yugoslavia. Initially both fought the troops of occupation, but soon they turned against each other. The partisan movement grew and sought to secure the country for the coming Russian sphere of influence, while Mihailovitch stood for the conservative, western-oriented government in exile and wished to prevent the rule of communism. He went to the length of making agreements with the occupying Axis Powers which amounted to a policy of keeping aloof, and the Chetniks took part in the war against the partisans, whose leader was General Tito (q.v.), actually a Croat communist named Josip Brož. The Western Allies eventually stopped support for Mihailovitch and supplied weapons to the partisans, as the latter actually continued to fight the Germans. So Yugoslavia was throughout the war the scene of most sanguinary and cruel warfare between the resistance forces and the troops of occupation on the one hand, and between the various sections of the resistance movement

on the other. The number of victims is estimated at a million.

Gradually Tito's National Army of Liberation won the ascendancy in the Yugoslav resistance movement, and its victory was finally assured by the arrival of the Russians in 1944. Tito assumed the title of Marshal, and his National Liberation Front took power. Meanwhile the antagonism between the Tito movement and the exiled government in London had become more acute. Still co-operation was attempted on the basis of the Tito-Šubašič agreement of February 1945. The agreement provided for democratic elections and a free plebiscite on the form of government. On 10 October 1945 the representatives of the London government, Šubašič and Sutaj, resigned from Tito's government, declaring that communist methods were making the agreement illusory. In November 1945 a Constituent Assembly was elected, Tito's National Front polling 90 per cent of the vote. The opposition declared the elections a farce.

The Constituent Assembly proclaimed Yugoslavia a Federal People's Republic on 29 November 1945. Yugoslavia now consists of six federal republics, namely, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Montenegro, Macedonia (q.v.), and Bosnia (including about 750,000 Slav Moslems); in addition there are the autonomous provinces of Voivodina and Kossovo. The President of the National Assembly (at present Dr. Ivan Ribar) exercises the functions of the head of state. Parliament is elected for four years and consists of a Federal Assembly and a 'House of Peoples'. It chooses the Commander-in-Chief for four years. Marshal Tito is Commander-in-Chief and Prime Minister, and he is in fact dictator of Yugoslavia. The government was recognized by Britain and America at the close of 1945. The Tito administration is essentially communist, but formally it is a coalition of some fourteen parties, ostensibly independent yet in fact co-ordinated with communist policies. Besides the communists, whose membership is estimated at 1,700,000, there are, *inter alia*, a republican party, Serbian, Croat, and Slovene peasant parties, Slovene liberals and populists, and an independent democratic party. Some of these parties claim to be the continuation of democratic pre-war parties. The régime is authoritarian and employs a secret police known as Ozna. A series of political trials in 1946 and 1947 indicated the existence of an opposition. Mihailovitch was captured and executed in July 1946.

The Tito government has put into effect a policy of socialism and economic development. The large estates have been distributed among the peasantry. In 1947 a five-year plan of industrialization and agricultural expansion was approved by the National Assembly. Abroad, it co-operated with the other communist governments of eastern Europe. With Albania (q.v.) it concluded an agreement for a customs union and eventual economic union. From Austria it demands part of Carinthia, which has a Slovene minority enjoying cultural rights in Austria, and parts of South Styria. From Italy it hoped to acquire all of Istria (Venezie Giulia) but obtained only a part, Trieste (q.v.) becoming a free territory; however, Yugoslavia gained Fiume, Zara and some Dalmatian islands. When Tito incurred Russia's enmity in 1948 (see below), Russia stopped supporting his demands on Austria, and the Powers refused them in 1949. Until 1948 Yugoslavia aided the communists in Greece (q.v.).

The Yugoslav Communist Party joined the Cominform in 1947. In June 1948 it was expelled by that body ostensibly for nationalism, for being too swift in industrialization and too slow in agricultural collectivization, for merging itself in the People's Front with non-communists, and for coming under the control of a dictatorial bureaucracy. The party was called upon to reform and to expel the principal offenders—Tito, vice premier Kardelj and Minister of the Interior Rankovitch. Zujovitch and Hebrang, two ministers earlier dismissed by Tito for 'hostile and anti-national activities' were praised as true communists. The true reasons for the expulsion are believed to be Tito's refusal to accept Russian direction, his refusal to offer Trieste to Italy so as to influence the Italian elections in favour of the Communists, his alleged attempts to lead the Balkans by controlling Albania and planning to federate with Bulgaria and his adequate aid to the communist insurgents in Greece. Albania denounced the economic agreement. Tito repudiated these charges and his refutation was supported by a congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party. Friendship with

Russia and the Russian Party was emphasized, but the methods of the Cominform were denounced. In December 1948, Tito advocated the development of Yugoslav trade with the west, and in 1949 obtained a small loan from America.

Tension between Russia and Yugoslavia grew to the point of open hostility, with military preparations on both sides. Russia's satellites denounced their former treaties with Yugoslavia. In October 1949, Yugoslavia was, at United States insistence, elected to the Security Council of the United Nations (q.v.), which Russia regarded as an affront. Yugoslavia unconditionally supported Soviet foreign policy until the autumn of 1948, being a member of the 'Soviet bloc'; then support became more reserved, and at present Yugoslavia, although continuing to profess communism and the principles of the Soviet group, if in a modified version, can scarcely be regarded as a member of that bloc any more.

Z

ZANZIBAR, (See *British West Africa.*)

ZINOVIEFF LETTER. (See *Red Letter.*)

ZIONISM, Jewish movement for the restoration of the Jewish state in Palestine (achieved in 1948). Precursors of Zionism appeared about the middle of the nineteenth century among Russian Jewry, from whose midst the first Jewish settlers went to Palestine in 1885. The Zionist Organization in its present form was founded in 1895 by Dr. Theodore Herzl, a Viennese journalist, whose book, *The Jewish State*, attracted great attention at the time. In 1897 the first Zionist World Congress was held in Basel, Switzerland. Zionism regards Jews as a nation, not merely as members of a religion or race, and demands according to its Basel Programme 'the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people'. Herzl tried in vain to win Turkey, at the time the possessor of Palestine, and the Powers, especially England and Germany, for the Zionist plan. He died in 1904. In the following year, Britain offered the African colony of Uganda to the Zionists, but the Zionist Congress, insisting on Palestine for emotional and historical reasons, declined the offer. The 'territorialists' under the Anglo-Jewish writer, Israel Zangwill, who were willing to accept any other suitable territory, remained insignificant.

The Zionists went in for small-scale colonization of Palestine, until Zionism entered a new phase with World War I. The British government promised support to Zionist aspirations by the Balfour Declaration (q.v.) of 1917. The reasons included, in addition to Balfourian idealism, the interest of Britain (now apparently obsolete) to get a foothold in strategically important Palestine and to secure the sympathy of world Jewry in the war. After the war Britain obtained a League mandate for the administration of Palestine in accordance with the Balfour Declaration. Zionist colonization now made considerable progress, but remained hampered by several factors. One was the relatively weak spread of Zionism among the Jews of the world. Membership in the Zionist movement is acquired by payment of a small fee, known as the *Shekel.* In Congress years (Zionist Congresses are held every other year) prior to World War II, some 950,000 Jews all the world over paid this fee, while in non-Congress years the figure used to drop to 250,000–300,000. (The total of Jews, reckoning only adults, was about 10,000,000 at the time.) Correspondingly, the influx of Jewish capital was comparatively limited in Palestine. From 1920 to 1947, some 35 million pounds were invested there and an additional 20 million pounds spent for current expenditure—considerable amounts in themselves, but only a small fraction of world Jewry's wealth. The impoverishment of east European Jewry and the disconnection of Russian Jewry from Zionism by the Soviet government (hostile to Zionism in Europe though supporting the state of Israel in Palestine) were further factors contributing to this development. American Jewry became the principal financial base of Zionism. Another restricting factor arose in the unexpectedly vehement resistance of the Arabs, whom Zionist policies in Herzl's days had hardly taken into account. To this was added the policy of the mandatory power, which furthered Zionist colonization within certain limits, but was at the same time bent on keeping it just within those limits. The upshot was that the catastrophe of European Jewry under Hitler did not find Palestine in a condition in which the country would have been able to exercise its function as a Jewish national home. From 1933 to 1945 it offered salvation only to some 300,000 persecuted Jews, one-half of whom could get into the country only illegally against the official opposition of the man-

datory power (which is, however, believed to have to some extent condoned it).

From 1920 to 1946 the Zionist world organization was headed by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, formerly a professor of chemistry in Leeds, England. He was also President of the Jewish Agency, the officially recognized all-Jewish agency for the development of Palestine, which is composed of one-half Zionists and one-half non-Zionists. (After the granting of the mandate, Zionism was able to secure a measure of support also in non-Zionist Jewish quarters.) At the Zionist Congress in Basel in 1946, Dr. Weizmann advocated a moderate policy and acceptance of partition (see *Palestine*), which failed to meet with the approval of the Congress majority. He resigned afterwards, but remained the most influential background figure in Zionism, his policy being borne out in 1947 by the acceptance of partition by the United Nations and also the Zionist movement. The Palestine labour leader, David Ben-Gurion, assumed Weizmann's offices. Dr. Weizmann was in 1948 elected first President of Israel.

Within Zionism, there are several political parties, largely co-extensive with the parties in Israel (q.v.), mainly the general or democratic Zionists under Dr. Weizmann, the social-democratic Labour Party under Prime Minister Ben-Gurion, a religious party known as *Misrachi* under Rabbi Meier-Berlin, and various nationalist groups.

The creation of the state of Israel (q.v.) on 15 May 1948, brought the consummation of Zionist aspirations, though the Zionists' territorial demands were only partially fulfilled. There were about 600,000 Jews in Palestine at the time. The number was reported to have risen to 773,000 by the end of 1948. (On the subsequent war with the Arabs, see *Palestine, Israel, Transjordania.*) The Zionist movement outside Palestine remains concerned with the promotion of the state of Israel.

APPENDIX

British General Election of 23 February 1950

Parliament was dissolved on 3 February 1950, and Polling for the Election of a new House of Commons took place on 23 February.

The policies and programmes of the major parties were as follows.

In its manifesto 'Let Us Win Through Together', a revised version of the 1949 statement 'Labour Believes in Britain', the Labour Party stressed the fact that in its four and a half years of power full employment had been maintained, the social services had been developed, and, by these means, by taxation and by the food subsidies, the social balance had been redressed in favour of the mass of the people. The party pledged itself to maintain these policies, whose beneficial results it contrasted with the unemployment and inequalities of the pre-war years. In addition it proposed to put into effect the Act to nationalize the iron and steel industry; to nationalize beet-sugar manufacture, sugar-refining, the cement industry, water supply, the wholesale distribution of meat, cold storage plant, suitable minerals, and food-producing land not fully used; state supervision of, and state competition in, other industries was suggested as a spur to efficiency; and the industrial assurance companies would be transferred from their present shareholders to the policy-holders. Measures would be taken to protect consumers and to give them better goods at lower prices. The full development of the nation's resources would be continued. The present policies of colonial development and of co-operation with the Commonwealth, the countries of Western Europe and the United States would be maintained.

The Conservative Party's manifesto, 'This is the Road', was a revised version of the 1949 statement 'The Right Road for Britain'. The party rejected the Labour charges that the inter-war years had been years of want and waste: it contended that they had been a period of social improvement and that unemployment had fallen during Conservative governments and risen under the two Labour governments. Conservatives favoured full employment and social reform. They would aim at increasing production and lowering costs so as to restore the country's economic solvency by 1952, when Marshall Aid ended. By economies government expenditure would be reduced (though not at the expense of the social services) and taxation would be lowered to increase incentives; the food subsidies would be reduced in so far as this could be done without causing prices to rise—the restoration of private enterprise in food purchasing was expected to reduce costs. The Iron and Steel Act would be repealed, road transport restored to private enterprise, controls over private traders and manufacturers reduced, and the bulk-buying of certain commodities replaced by private competitive buying. Aid and protection would be given to agriculture. Among the constitutional changes proposed were the restoration of university representation in the House of Commons, an all-party conference on the House of Lords, a Minister for Wales, extra Ministers for Scotland, and a Royal Commission on Anglo-Scottish affairs. Colonial development and imperial trade were given high priority, and the party would foster close co-operation with Western Europe and the United States. During the election Mr. Churchill raised two new issues, both denounced as stunts by the Labour Party: he suggested, first, that the petrol ration could be increased, and, second, with reference to the recent American decision to proceed with the construction of a hydrogen bomb, that a conference of the leaders of the great parties might result in a settlement of their differences.

The policies of the National Liberal Party differed in no important respects from those of the Conservative Party. Candidates of the two parties fought under a variety of titles containing the words 'Conservative', 'Liberal', 'National', and 'Unionist'. The use of the term Liberal was denounced by

the Liberal Party, which contended that the Conservatives and their allies had no right to it.

The Liberal Party's manifesto was entitled 'No Easy Way'. It demanded the drastic reduction of government expenditure, including the food subsidies (to be compensated by increased social security payments). Taxation would be reduced, and joint consultation, co-partnership and profit-sharing would also provide incentives. The Iron and Steel Act would be repealed, road transport returned to private enterprise, and monopolies controlled. Aid would be given to agriculture and small-holdings encouraged. Trade and industry would be freed from controls, and tariffs gradually eliminated. Proportional representation would be introduced, the House of Lords re-formed, and separate Parliaments established for Wales and Scotland. Its external policy resembled that of the two other parties.

The Communist Party put three main issues before the electorate: first, the need to prevent a slump by letting wages rise, restoring the cuts in capital expenditure, taxing the rich, and extending nationalization; second, the need to secure peace by participating in the Soviet-proposed Five-Power Peace Pact, banning the atom bomb, and ending overseas military commitments; third, the need to end what the party described as American domination by sending home the American warplanes and troops now in Britain and establishing full political and economic relations with Russia and Eastern Europe.

The poll was heavy, 84 per cent of the total possible electorate of 34,047,000 taking part. The election resulted in a victory for the Labour Party, but the party's majority in the new House was only 6, the smallest for a century. Particulars of candidates, votes and new members are as follows.

Description	*Candidates Nominated*[1]	*Votes Received*[1]	*Members Elected*[1]
Labour	618	13,301,672	315
Conservatives, etc.	619	12,450,403	296
Liberal	473	2,634,482	9
Communist	100	91,746	—
Labour Independent[2]	5	24,014	—
I.L.P.	4	4,112	—
Socialist Party of Great Britain	2	448	—
Social Credit	1	551	—
Irish Nationalist, etc.	8	101,618	2
Scottish Nationalist, etc.	7	12,158	—
Welsh Nationalist, etc.	9	19,722	—
Independent, etc.	19	91,694	2[3]
Totals	1,865	28,732,620	624

[1] Excluding Moss Side, Manchester.
[2] Messrs. H. L. Hutchinson, J. Platts-Mills, D. N. Pritt, L. J. Solley, and K. Zilliacus.
[3] The Speaker and an Independent Liberal.

The results showed that the Labour Party was still the party with most popular support. It polled 46 per cent of the votes against the Conservatives, 43 per cent and the Liberals, 9 per cent; in 1945 the shares were 48 per cent, 39 per cent and 9 per cent respectively. It held its position in Scotland and Wales, but lost seats in almost every part of England and in Northern Ireland. The Conservatives' gains were most numerous in the Home Counties, but their share of the poll increased in every part of the country. No candidate sponsored by the Labour Party lost his deposit of £150 through failing to gain at least one-eighth of the votes cast in his constituency; 5 Conservatives forfeited their deposits.

A feature of the election was the effort

made by the Liberal Party, which for the first time since 1929 offered the electors enough candidates for it to receive a Parliamentary majority if sufficient support was forthcoming. In the result, however, only 9 Liberal candidates were elected, although the party polled 2,634,482 votes; thus each Liberal seat cost 292,720 votes, in comparison with 42,227 for each Labour seat and 42,048 for each Conservative seat. 314 Liberals lost their deposits. The Liberals held the balance in 68 constituencies won by Labour and 93 won by the Conservatives. Although the Liberal Party was officially anti-Socialist, only a minority of its supporters were believed likely to vote Conservative in the absence of a Liberal candidate; the rest would either abstain or vote Labour. The view that the Conservatives would have won a majority if the Liberals had not fought, was challenged by Liberal leaders, who showed that on the probable distribution of the Liberal vote the Conservatives would have gained only 12 of the seats held by Labour on a minority vote.

The Communist Party and other minor contestants were also defeated. With 100 candidates the Communists polled fewer votes than they had in 1945, with only 21 candidates. The two Communist members of the 1945–50 Parliament lost their seats, and 93 candidates lost their deposits. All the Independent members of the old House were defeated, except the Speaker and a former National Liberal now standing as an Independent Liberal, and deposits were forfeited by 39 candidates standing as Independents or as members of the minor parties.

After the election Mr. Attlee reconstructed his government. The new ministry was composed as follows; in the case of changes the name of the former occupant of the post is given in brackets.

The Cabinet

Prime Minister: C. R. Attlee.
Lord President of the Council: H. Morrison
Foreign Secretary: E. Bevin.
Chancellor of the Exchequer: Sir S. Cripps.
Minister of Town and Country Planning: H. Dalton (L. Silkin—not in Cabinet).
Lord Privy Seal: Lord Addison.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster: Lord Alexander (H. Dalton).
Lord Chancellor: Lord Jowitt.
Home Secretary: J. C. Ede.
Minister of Defence: E. Shinwell (Lord Alexander).
Minister of Labour: G. Isaacs.
Minister of Education: G. Tomlinson.
President of the Board of Trade: H. Wilson.
Colonial Secretary: J. Griffiths (A. Creech-Jones).
Secretary of State for Scotland: H. McNeil (A. Woodburn).
Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations: P. Gordon-Walker (P. J. Noel-Baker).