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Programme For the Third World War (V)

By C. H. DOUGLAS

One of the ideas essential to any understanding of genuine political activity can perhaps be most easily expressed in the language of gambling. To the roulette player, *Rouge et Noir* is a game of chance. To the keeper of the Bank, it is a certainty.

To the Stock Exchange gambler, gain or loss on a stock movement depends on whether he is a bull or a bear. To the Stock-Broker, all that matters is that enough people shall buy and sell stocks. In this case, his percentage is a certainty. To the racegoer who backs the favourite, the victory of an outsider means loss; to the bookmaker it merely means a larger gain than if the favourite won.

I do not think that the importance of understanding this principle can be over-rated, because the manipulation and perversion of the gambling spirit is of the very essence of International policy. The fundamental idea is always to play a long-term certainty against a short-term possibility so that a win for the genuine gambler is at best or worst only a postponement of the inevitable final loss. It is called insurance.

I can imagine that someone who has not devoted much attention to the subject may observe that anyone who gambles deserves to lose. That is the Whig idea, propagated to justify the fact that Whigs only invest in a certainty. But, in fact, gambling is a special form of the adventurous spirit from which all progress is born, whereas insurance is a financial fallacy; and no greater disaster can overtake a community than to lose the spirit of adventure. That is why a mass of Law which smothers initiative and substitutes a Beveridge insurance plan for the dividends of an advancing adventure is a creeping death.

Now, World War, Parts I and II, like all previous wars, is a gamble between A and B for the certain advantage of C. It is essential that the Programme of Part III shall be the combination of A and B, for the elimination of C. Since the position of C rests on an abstract fallacy his effective elimination is in sight.

The derivation of Bolshevism, as we have seen, covers a fairly lengthy period. Fascism, by which name it appears to be fashionable to designate anything which isn't labelled Bolshevism, is as a title contemporaneous with the rise of Mussolini. It is quite easy to show, however, not merely that its origin is identical with Bolshevism, but that it is merely Bolshevism wintering in the Mediterranean. Its aims are similar, and its technique, like that of "German" National Socialism, or P.E.P., is localised centralisation in order to transfer power to International Centralisation—as

you might say, "C." It is the second episode, in point of time, in the advent of gangster Government.

Now, it is important to observe that, subject only to modifications to suit the climate, the advent of the New Order in Italy followed almost exactly the same essential process as that which established Lenin and Trotsky. Italy has always been riddled with secret societies. She sustained heavy defeats in the 1914-1918 phase of the war, and these defeats were followed by social and industrial disorganisation, which culminated in the seizure by the "workers" of Italy's most famous engineering organisation—the Fiat Works at Turin. The seizure was complete, but the "workers" found to their astonishment that you can't eat motor-car parts, and that the banks require certain formalities to be observed in regard to the signature of cheques.

The Italian is no fool, and the whole of this "Communist" seizure of the Fiat factories has a curious air, more particularly since within a short period of time after the meek restoration of the works to the management, it became known that "American" interests have taken over Fiat.

But it was clearly a highly effective excuse for drastic action, and the financial controllers of Italy, Counts Volpi and Pirelli, produced a Saviour who had a long reputation as a Socialist. The March of the Black Shirts on Rome, led from behind by Mussolini in a "train de luxe" (a march which could have been stopped by a battalion of regular soldiers), announced the Dawn of the New Day, and, as in Russia, wages dropped to subsistence level and strikes became a thing of the past. Both Bolshevism and Fascism had a short way with strikers.

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To be continued.

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The New Planning Bill

The Times states that the first Bill to be brought forward by Mr. W. S. Morrison, the new Minister of Town and Country Planning, is an interim development Bill, and its main purpose is to bring under planning control land which is not subject to a scheme or resolution under the Town and Country Planning Act, 1932. This will make it possible to secure more effective control of development pending the coming into operation of post-war planning schemes in town and country.

The Uthwatt Committee, in its interim report, recommended that an essential preliminary to effective post-war planning was to vest in the Central Planning Authority the power to control "building and all other developments throughout the whole country by reference to national planning considerations and with a view to preventing work being undertaken which might be prejudicial to reconstruction."

A year ago Lord Portal announced that the legislation being drafted to give effect to this and other interim recommendations of the Uthwatt Committee was being postponed to wait the final report of that committee, and also the report of the Scott Committee on land utilisation in rural areas. The final report of the Uthwatt Committee again emphasised the point that the control necessary to prevent prejudicial development during and immediately after the war should cover the whole country. Many important areas are not at present covered by planning resolutions, and the committee recommended as the most convenient method of achieving the object in view that legislation should provide that areas not already covered by operative schemes or resolutions to plan should be deemed to be subject to such resolutions.

Of other decisions already taken upon recommendations of the Uthwatt Committee the Government have also promised to provide in forthcoming legislation for the appointment of a permanent commission to assist the Minister of Town and Country Planning. They have similarly announced the intention to confer on local authorities wide and simple powers for the compulsory acquisition of land.

A Test of Good Government

"The people of England have been famed, in all ages, for their good living; for the abundance of their food, and goodness of their attire. The old sayings about English hospitality, had not their foundation in nothing. And in spite of all refinements of sickly minds, it is abundant living amongst the people at large, which is the greatest test of good government, and the surest basis of national greatness and security."

— WILLIAM COBBETT.

Publications

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THE VOTERS' POLICY as applied to the Beveridge Report

Headed "A Statement by the Bristol Voters' Policy Association"* the following has reached us:—

NOTE: *This statement is made after a careful investigation of the facts, to be studied as such in the light of experience rather than opinion.*

In pursuance of its aims the Association seeks to provide representatives of the people, and others, with a service of information which will enable them to place the Voters' Policy before all others in considering their attitude to proposed governmental measures.

The Voters' Policy is defined as the results wanted from government by the governed.

By a 'result' is meant something which directly affects individuals, who can therefore judge from experience whether they want it or not. It is not an abstraction, nor a proposed method of obtaining a desired result, which is a matter for specialised experience, not to be correctly decided upon by argument or majority opinion.

In view of the fact that the controllers of information and publicity can create whatever majority opinions they desire by the selective use of their materials, a majority opinion as expressed *e.g.*, in an election, referendum or Gallup Poll, provides direct evidence of the results desired only by those controllers. Nevertheless, by taking account of this fact, an honest investigator can arrive at an accurate estimate of the will, as distinct from the opinions, of the people.

With this purpose in view, the Bristol Voters' Policy Association has conducted an investigation into the Voters' Policy as applied to the Beveridge Report, which was concluded at a special meeting held for the purpose on April 14, 1943, at which members of the public were questioned on their attitude to the Report, the results which they wanted in the field covered by it, and the results which they believed the Beveridge proposals would deliver.

With regard to OPINIONS, the following conclusions were reached:—

- (1) The Report is a massive technical document which has not been read by one per cent. of those who hold opinions about it. Most opinions are based upon the impression given by the Press and B.B.C. and the published selections from the Report, in that order of importance.
- (2) The Report has received great publicity which has been overwhelmingly favourable to it, stressing the benefits to the exclusion of other features, except in some of the local press which has shown greater impartiality.
- (3) Majority opinion is undoubtedly favourable to it.
- (4) There is a small minority Press fundamentally opposed to the Report, as well as some criticism of non-essential proposals and of its practicability from the 'right-wing' National press.
- (5) There is a proportionately somewhat larger minority opinion opposed to the Report.

All the views prevalent among the public were represented among those present, and it was made clear that the

* N. CORRADINE, Director, "Windermere," Barleycroft, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol.

division of purpose which existed arose from the expectation of different results from the proposals contained in the Report.

An analysis of these results, on the broadest possible lines, with reference to the will of the people concerning them, follows:—

RESULT 1. *The payment by everybody of a compulsory financial levy in the form of insurance contributions, increased taxation and probably increased prices.*

This result is not wanted by anybody since it increases poverty and financial strain, but a majority are prepared to endure it because they have been given the impression (e.g., not 9d. for 4d. but 1/- for 3d.) that the financial benefits to be obtained exceed the payments, which, in the aggregate, is not so.

RESULT 2. *The receipt of a part of this money up to a maximum of the amount levied, less costs and any surplus in the fund, by selected categories (unemployed, invalids, parents and the aged) in the form of insurance benefits, at rates calculated to relieve extremes of want.*

The relief of want is approved by all to whom it might apply and the publicity given to this result has ensured the majority approval of the Report. There is, however, dissatisfaction with the rates of benefit as being insufficient to achieve this result, particularly with the delay in payment of the full rates of Old Age Pensions by many who state they will be dead before they could receive them, and with the rates of family allowances, which are regarded as quite insufficient for their alleged purpose of increasing the child population, except possibly among the mentally deficient, or those at a starvation level of poverty, who are not the people chiefly responsible for the fall in the birth-rate. It should be noted that the minority opposition to this result arises from the view that the prospect of these benefits would sap the moral fibre of individuals other than the critics themselves. This is a typical example of opinion based upon judgment of other people's affairs.

RESULT 3. *A condition of the receipt of money under (2) is the acceptance by the individual of a continuance and in some respects increase of war-time controls now experienced by all and endured only under stress of emergency, e.g., universal registration of occupation, compulsory transfer of labour, compulsory training, restriction on earnings of pensioners.*

This result is detested by the vast majority, but has produced violent opposition to the Report only on the part of that minority who have been given to understand that it is involved in the proposals. Moreover, it is desired by another minority who hope to benefit by taking part in the exercise of increased control over their fellow citizens.

The majority, however, are prepared to submit to Results (1) and (3) because they are under the impression that they are essential conditions for the delivery of the result wanted under (2).

In view of the ability of the nation to produce goods and services for war to the value of £15,000,000 daily and the inability of the individuals comprising it to pay for half this production despite unprecedented taxation and War-Saving Campaigns, the need for any form of compulsory re-distribution of income, or of additional controls, to ensure the abolition of want in peace time is not obvious. Indeed, we should expect that a continuation of compulsory saving,

a device used during war-time to 'kill' prosperity and reduce consumption, would be the reverse of the type of action required when the artificial shortages of war have ceased.

From the above considerations, it is clear that the Beveridge proposals would not fully implement the voters' policy. They might, in fact, be tersely but not inaccurately described as less than one-third voters' policy for two-thirds controllers' policy.

Since the actual will of the people, as distinct from their opinions, does not seem hitherto to have been studied, or clearly stated, a brief summary of the voters' policy with regard to post-war living conditions, being a synthesis of various descriptions of the results wanted by members of the public is here given:

A guarantee of a standard of living, of freedom of action, and of leisure with access to amenities, proportional to the productive resources which will be available after the war.

It is confidently expected that all genuine representatives and servants of the people, of whatever views or party affiliations, will, after verifying that these are in fact the results wanted, direct their energies towards obtaining them.

BOOKS TO READ

By C. H. Douglas:—

Economic Democracy	(edition exhausted)
Social Credit.....	3/6
The Monopoly of Credit.....	3/6
Credit Power and Democracy.....	(edition exhausted)
Warning Democracy.....	(edition exhausted)
The Big Idea.....	2/6
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The Tragedy of Human Effort.....	7d.
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Social Credit Principles.....	1½d.

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Southampton Chamber of Commerce: Report of Economic Crisis Committee.....	9d.
Large versus Small Scale Electrical Production: The Grid by W. A. Barratt.....	3d.
Lectures and Studies Section: Syllabus.....	3d.

Leaflets

The Attack on Local Government by John Mitchell.....	9d. doz.; 50 for 2/6
Carthorse Conditions for All (the Beveridge Report issue of <i>The Social Crediter</i>)	2d.
World Review; The Jeffrey Professor of Political Economy, Etc., (containing Financing of a Long- Term Production Cycle, reprinted from <i>The Social Crediter</i> of November 28, 1942.)	1d.
The Job of a Representative.....	½d.

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DESULTORY SCHEMES

Towards the close of *Zanoni*, the novel which Bulwer Lytton, its author, thought some might read 'with more attention than is given to ordinary romance,' there appears this passage:—"In all men who have devoted themselves to any study, or any art, with sufficient pains to attain a certain degree of excellence, there must be a fund of energy immeasurably above that of the ordinary herd. Usually, this energy is concentrated on the objects of their professional ambition, and leaves them, therefore, apathetic to the other pursuits of men. But where those objects are denied, where the stream has not its legitimate vent, the energy, irritated and aroused, possesses the whole being, and if not wasted on desultory schemes, or if not purified by conscience and principle, becomes a dangerous and destructive element in the social system, through which it wanders in riot and disorder. Hence, in all wise monarchies—nay, in all well constituted states, the peculiar care with which channels are opened for every art and every science; hence, the honour paid to their cultivators, by subtle and thoughtful statesmen, who, perhaps, for themselves, see nothing in a picture but coloured canvas—nothing in a problem but an ingenious puzzle. No state is ever more in danger than when the talent, that should be consecrated to peace, has no occupation but political intrigue or personal advancement. Talent unhonoured is talent at war with men."

This is one statement, less exceptionable than some others, of the 'revenge complex,' the dethronement of which from many minds was possibly the first positive accomplishment of Social Credit ideas. Almost until the opening of the present phase of the world war, it might reasonably be said of England that the vast store of pent energy denied legitimate outlet by the overriding conditions established through the agency of Finance had not yet become an active destructive element. It did not 'wander in riot and disorder.' The closest approach to riot and disorder was postponed for the advent of the vast bureaucracies of the war years which gave rein under the cloak of national emergency to the revolutionary tendencies generated in the scholarship-winning minorities of Universal Education. Intelligence became the tool of personal advancement through the Education Acts of the last century, and intrigue a method of necessity if not of choice.

What internal troubles the Social Credit movement has had to contend with—and measured beside the immense volume and ingenuity of external obstruction they are astonishingly few—have arisen in almost equal proportions

from the waste of energy on 'desultory schemes' and the incompleteness of separation or detachment from the revenge complex among the movement's 'pink' adherents. We have nothing against personal advancement *per se*. Advancement, not retrogression, is at least an intelligible individual policy. We strongly recommend Social Credit methods as appropriate means of securing this policy for any and for all individuals. We do not offer the Social Credit movement as an appropriate field for personal advancement, chiefly for the reason that one does not use an incoming tide to float out to sea, and personal advancement, as at present understood, is a state of being at sea. Everything has its appropriate use, and what machinery exists to assist Social Crediters to gain the objective which unites them politically is not properly utilisable for any other purpose.

Nevertheless, the 'fund of energy immeasurably above that of the ordinary herd' which for long years has had quite insufficient outlet satisfactory to its possessors is about to find release. There are abundant signs of it. The vast trouble which is being taken at the present moment by the organisers of 'desultory schemes' to drain off any surplus there may be from Social Credit is but one instance. And it becomes increasingly necessary to fix in the mind of all the main characteristics of a non-'desultory scheme.'

Put very briefly, the Party System is *par excellence* a 'desultory scheme.' Its essential failing is unmasked in Major Douglas's contribution in this issue. There must be a contest. Why? Not because in all contests there is victor and vanquished. That is what we are desired to believe. The essence of the Party System is a contest in which A fights B for the benefit of C. That is really all there is in it. The crude answer is (unfortunately) 'Let's all get together,' and this answer is being propagandised with greater and greater vigour as the real nature of the Party System becomes apparent to electors. For the simple reason that a majority is always ruled by a minority this crude solution does not work: inevitably A and B hand over to C instead of putting C underfoot. And so it is necessary to find means whereby individual consciousness (Christ-consciousness) may become supreme over group consciousness (Jehovah-consciousness). That is clearly an individual matter. It is being done. Not without cause is panic at the doors of *The Times*—"the 3d. edition of the *Daily Worker*"—and the Great City Institutions. T. J.

The Sliding Scale

Hypocrisy, says *The Economist*, may be the tribute which vice pays to virtue, but it is only exacted when virtue looks like being triumphant.

The Encyclopaedists

"This sect (the Encyclopaedists) propagate with much zeal the doctrine of materialism, which prevails among the great and among the wits; we owe to it, partly, that sort of practical philosophy which, reducing egotism to a system, regards human society as a war of cunning, success as the standard of right and wrong, honesty as a matter of taste, or of convenience, and the world as the patrimony of clever scoundrels."

—DE ROBESPIERRE, May 7, 1794.

ON INDIA

*Lord Birdwood's speech in the House of Lords
on April 6, 1943.*

Lord Birdwood: . . . I hope I need not apologise for addressing your Lordships to-day. I do so because it happens that I was born in India, where I followed a father who for some thirty-five years had been in the Indian Civil Service, and left, I believe, as one of the best-loved men India had seen. He followed his father, who was for some time in the Honourable India Company's service. I myself was fortunate enough to serve almost continuously for forty-six years in India, where I have been followed by both my son and my grandson now serving in my old Indian regiment. I venture to mention these details of family affairs in the hope that your Lordships will believe that after all those years of close connection with India I have many good friends there, a great proportion of whom are those Indians with whom I have served all my life.

I had the extraordinary good fortune as a young man to join what I regard as the very finest of Indian Services, a service composed of the yeomen of India. The men in that service are not rich men, they are all poor men, but all with a small stake in the country, owning their horses, their saddlery and their equipment. They were men whom I got to know so well that, when on several occasions I had to leave India on active service, I had no hesitation whatever in leaving my wife and children entirely to their care, knowing they would willingly give their lives for them if necessary. There was a time when I was one of some half dozen British officers with 625 Indian ranks. In those days we lived in the very closest touch with our Indian ranks. I feel, I may say, thankful that it was before the days of the advent of the motor car, because motor cars seem to have brought hustle and bustle into the lives of all of us, so that no one has the time to know their fellow men or to take an interest in their lives in the way we could when we had horses as a link between us. I had the good fortune in those days to traverse India from Chitral to Cape Comorin, and from Lashio, on the Chinese frontier, to Baluchistan. It was impossible not to get to know the people really well, for I marched with my regiment from Central India to the Afghan border, a long trek lasting four months, daily riding with my Indian comrades. We stopped at the villages through which we passed, getting into touch with the village authorities and playing football and cricket with the villagers.

One got to know people better in those days when one had to water one's horses at the village trough, than in modern days when one fills up at the petrol pump. In later years, when I left my regiment and was a more senior officer, I had the good fortune to visit every year what are known as the Canal Colonies in the Punjab, for which my noble friend Lord Hailey was to a great extent responsible. There great numbers of old soldiers were given Crown lands, generally on what were called horse-breeding terms. I would spend my days riding round renewing acquaintances with old friends and discussing with village elders their various interests, which mostly concerned the state of their crops or the iniquities of Canal officials in refusing, unless they were bribed, to give them the water to which they were entitled. After I had retired to the little one-roomed mud hut in the village which was reserved as a

guest house, there would presently come in a furtive figure who would sit beside me, and after looking round to make sure that no one was listening would say, "Sahib can you get the Government to send an English judge in place of the Hindu?" I would go on to the next village and there the request would be whether I could not get an English officer sent in place of a tyrannical Mahomedan.

I think your Lordships will realize that, looking back on that period, one feels that one really did get to know men in that way. Sometimes a sidelight would come when, overhearing a few words of conversation, one was made to realize how much was hidden and how much one did not know. It makes one dread to think of the ignorance of some week-end globe trotter who came out to India, with of course no knowledge of the language, and who had to place himself more or less at the disposal of an Indian politician in order to get information, some person perhaps out of touch with the tillers of the soil, who form 90 per cent. of the population of India. Those are the real people of India.

Will your Lordships excuse me if I digress for a short time into Indian history? I feel that it is quite impossible otherwise to see how it is that the state and government of India have changed, I feel your Lordships may agree for the better, and that as a result of our rule there has been very great benefit to the people of India. The first date I would mention is a long time ago when Gautama Buddha came on the scene, about 400 B.C., and the next date is 250 B.C. when the Emperor Asoka reigned in Northern India and had his capital at Taxilla, whence he marched to Orissa where we are told he slew 100,000 and drove back 50,000 prisoners as slaves. We are told that in those days famine was so terrible that children were sold to slavery and the very Brahmins were reduced to eating dogs. Yet we hear talk of that as India's halcyon days before a white man had set foot on her shores. Then there is a big gap until Mahmud of Ghazni invaded in 999 A.D., coming from Afghanistan and penetrating as far as Somnath, where he destroyed the temple with its great idol said to have been full of precious stones and carried off the gates.

In 1200 the first of the Moguls—Ghengis Khan—invaded from Afghanistan and established an empire. We may say, perhaps, that the Mogul Empire reached its zenith under Akbar in 1556 when the Moguls ruled a country right away from Kabul down to the banks of the Narbada, which flows into the Indian Ocean some hundreds of miles north of Bombay. South of that river the Moguls of course had big territories at Hyderabad, Bijapur and one or two other places. But south of the river generally the Mahrattas held sway. I will not say that they ruled but they swept over the whole country, devastating, destroying and burning everything they possibly could. In 1530 we come to the advent of another people who have very much influenced our British Army, the Sikhs. In 1530 a Hindu Fakir arose who used a cry which had been raised before in Israel: "Ye take too much upon yourselves, ye sons of Levi." And he established the Sikh theocracy. They resented the Brahmins' tyranny and their worship of hundreds of gods. The Sikh Guru Nanak rose and said: "I will have one god and one god only," and him the Sikhs still worship. From that date Sikhs had most terrible struggles with the Moslems. The Mahomedan rulers fought and fought them but they, like oppressed people generally, persevered and

finally they rose to their zenith under Ranjit Singh in 1840. Most unfortunately on Ranjit Singh's death the Sikhs, who were a very turbulent people, could not be restrained any longer. Since those days, however, they have become one of the most trusted, loyal and hard-fighting of the races whom we now employ in the Indian Army.

It is interesting to recall that the Honourable East India Company established a factory at Madras in 1639, to be followed twenty years later by a factory in Bombay. Perhaps it might also be of interest to mention that the island of Bombay, which had come to our Crown in the time of Charles II as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, was thought of such little value that it was sold to the Honourable East India Company for the enormous sum of £10. There is still one more invasion which took place, that of 1761, when Nadir Shah came down from Persia and got through the Punjab into Delhi, which he destroyed to an enormous extent, murdering thousands of people, and finally carrying off with him to Persia the famous Peacock Throne of Shah Jehan which has never since been seen. That was the final invasion of India. Since then the population of India—and we have had some say in the matter—has not only doubled and trebled, but has doubled and doubled and trebled and trebled itself, and now we have eleven Provinces and no fewer than 560 Indian States—some of them big, some of them very small, some of them merely small landowners' possessions, but of sufficient interest, I think, to warrant people using very large maps when they come to study the Indian question.

I would like to emphasise that our advance in India was never made with any design of conquest whatever. Time after time we were called upon to go to the assistance of people, and often most unwillingly we had to respond to the call for there was no alternative. That was at a time when India was simply a den of robbers. Pindaris and dacoits roved all over the country destroying cities, robbing and murdering all in their way, and no one attempted to stop them, or could stop them. No man in those times could count with certainty on reaping the harvest which he had sown. And yet again that has been referred to by historians as India's golden age! Golden, certainly, within the Emperor's palace, within the palace of Akbar at Agra and of Shah Jehan at Delhi, but at the gates there was the most abject, hopeless squalor, poverty, disease and starvation. Nobody held out a hand to alleviate these conditions. There was absolute and complete indifference to the well-being of the poor and no attempt to feed the starving. We took no man's land except by treaty with Princes, and we exacted no tribute.

It may interest your Lordships to know roughly what the Mogul tribute was in those days. It was this, "A man shall keep for himself of his produce sufficient to feed himself and his family and to provide seed for the next crop. The balance belongs to the State." That was the tribute paid before our arrival in India. Now all over India the cultivator ploughs the land wherever he wishes with the absolute certainty that he will be able to reap the crops which he has sown. Railways, provided mainly through British engineering and with the help of British capital, have spread all over the country. They carry food to any districts threatened with famine and where famines were constant they are now practically unknown. We have dug 20,000

miles of canals irrigating 30,000,000 acres—four times that of any irrigation possible in the whole of Europe—and incidentally we have built 250,000 schools. Surely that record in itself should be sufficient to justify us, and not only to justify us but to make us feel an enormous pride at the way in which we have administered India. But I feel that the greatest outcome of our humanitarian policy has been the way in which we have looked after those millions of unfortunate people known as Untouchables—inarticulate, illiterate outcasts of many classes and creeds. Those people in days gone by were looked after by nobody, but they are looked after by us now in a way never before attempted. Another matter in respect of which we can take credit is the abolition of that appalling performance known as Suttee. That was brought about, I think, when Lord William Bentinck was Governor-General in 1832.

In another place a short time ago, there was a good deal of discussion about the Legislative Assembly but no mention was made of the fact, and I do not know that it is generally understood, that there are three estates—The Council of State, corresponding to your Lordships' House, the Legislative Assembly, corresponding to the House of Commons, and the Chamber of Princes. And we must remember that for over a hundred years we have made definite treaties with the Indian Princes that we will be responsible for their honour and their country and will safeguard them in every possible way we can. These treaties we cannot possibly ignore. I have just mentioned the enormous number of States in India. The largest is Hyderabad, ruled by the Nizam, with a population of 15,000,000 and a revenue of £6,500,000. The Indian States altogether cover 700,000 square miles, with a population of 82,000,000. I think that very often it is not realised what a very large proportion of the people of India are governed by their own Princes, whom we have promised to uphold so long as they behave themselves.

I had the privilege for over five years of being a member of the Council of State. During those years, I am glad to say that I formed the closest relations with members of the Council of State and of the Legislative Assembly. When one got to know them well, one could not help realising what a deep gulf divided many of them the one from the other. It was evident that large numbers would never be prepared to accept Congress domination. Take the 95,000,000 of Mahomedans. The Mahomedans regard us Christians as *Ala Qitab*, Followers of the Book, and as such they are prepared to tolerate us and to regard us in a very different way from the way in which they regard the worshippers of idols, for whom they have no use whatever. Then there are 50,000,000 of the Depressed Classes, those unfortunate people who are also quite unwilling to accept Congress domination unless we can give them absolute and definite guarantees for their safety.

I was not in your Lordships' House when the noble Lord, Lord Wedgwood, who I regret to see is not here to-day, mentioned the fact that out of the 400,000,000 people of India we ought to raise a very much larger Army than we have done. I gather that he is under the impression that we might enlist almost the whole manhood of India in our Armed Forces. I hardly think the noble Lord could have been aware that among those 400,000,000 there are large numbers to whom the bearing of arms and the idea of fighting are loathsome and impossible. There are, for

example, the Jains, for whom the killing even of a fly is an absolute sin. There are a great many Brahmins who loathe the idea of being asked to take up arms. It is utterly impossible, at any rate in my opinion, to contemplate arming the whole manhood of India, even if we had the arms available for them. To try to do so would be to sink to the level of the Nazis, which I am sure is the last thing that we would wish to contemplate.

I dare say that your Lordships have often heard, as I have heard, the accusation brought against us in India that our rule there is governed by the three words *Divide et impera*. I wish that the people who make that accusation would come into the open and give definite examples of where we have shown such an attitude. I can say with absolute honesty and sincerity that on going about the districts, as I have done, with one civil officer after another, I have never found anything approaching that attitude. On the contrary, the civil officers have gone out of their way to urge people to pull together, and have done everything that they possibly could to form a united India. And, of course, there is no doubt whatever of our determination to honour our word and to grant real self-government to India when India is in a position to undertake it, as we hope that she may be at the end of this war, and when we may hope that the many minorities there may feel satisfied that their safety is assured under Congress rule.

We have no need to apologise, however, for our guardianship of that great country; rather must we have feelings of real pride and honour in the fact that for the last hundred years we have safe-guarded the interests of the people of India with justice, with real and true sympathy, with care and with honesty. During all that time, in fact, we have been the sole cement which has held together those very divergent people. It would surely be cowardice for us to think of abandoning that position, unless we can feel confident that the poor and humble minorities will be safe-guarded, as we hope may be the case when Indians can participate.

The noble Lord, Lord Faringdon, mentioned Pakistan. Your Lordships probably realise what is meant by that word. The Mahomedans, under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah, a very able and astute politician, have definitely decided that they are not prepared to enter a Government formed of all classes, and they demand that the Mahomedans shall have rule over the five Provinces—the North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Sind, the Punjab and Bengal—which they call Pakistan. In those five Provinces the Mahomedans are in a majority, but in each of those Provinces there are enormous numbers of Hindus, while scattered over the rest of India there are very large numbers of Mahomedans. As an example of what I can see might be the result of the Pakistan policy I will take the Punjab, a Province which I know well, and which was ably governed for many years by my noble friend Lord Hailey. In the Punjab there is a preponderance of Mahomedans, but there are also 6,000,000 Sikhs, the people to whom I referred a short time ago, and with whom we were engaged in our great wars in 1842. The Sikhs are a very hard-fighting, virile, determined, obstreperous people, who are not for one moment going to accept Mahomedan domination, and they have said so.

We can imagine what the state of that country will be if we withdraw—absolute anarchy and chaos, and the

most appalling and bloody fighting ever known, with tremendous casualties on every side, because the country is inhabited by very hard-fighting people. I think that there can be no doubt that that is what would happen in the Punjab. One has only to think of what would happen in the Communal riots. Thank God, we do not know in this country what a Communal riot is. In India a Communal riot starts in some ridiculous way—a Hindu will throw a pig into a Mahomedan mosque, or Mahomedans will go past a Hindu temple playing brazen music—and before you know where you are a riot has started, like fire in dry grass. Murders take place, and then the cry is always raised: "Where are the British troops?" That cry is raised even by those who in other circumstances are demanding the withdrawal of British troops from India.

Let me conclude by saying something with which I hope most of your Lordships will agree. I am convinced that the Christian faith and Christian morals are the one and only cement which binds our civilisation together; if they go, the world will become a den of thieves. If we go to the origin of this terrible war in which we are now engaged, I believe we may feel that it arises largely from the fact that Nazi Germany dethroned Christ, and in His place set up the man Hitler as their god. I am certain that our repugnance towards Nazi ideology and Nazi methods is entirely shared by people of other faiths who form part of our great Empire. Just as I believe that Christian faith and morals dominate the world, so in this smaller sphere of India and also, shall I say, in the sphere of Palestine, I cannot but feel that it is we of the white race, we Britishers, who have been able to hold together the Mahomedans and the Hindus in India, and the Mahomedans and the Jews in Palestine. I should feel sorry for a man who was responsible for breaking that link, unless he is definitely assured that peace will reign and that the rights of minority will be properly recognised if and when the British withdraw.

Mr. Roosevelt's Mr. Phillips in India

The *Times's* correspondent in Delhi reports that, "The disclosure . . . by Mr. Phillips, the personal representative in India of President Roosevelt, that the Viceroy had refused to grant him facilities to meet Mr. Gandhi is naturally given prominence here.

"The fact that the statement was made to the American and Indian Press, to the exclusion of British journalists, seems to have been an oversight and is probably without significance."

The report concludes with the following paragraph:

"In the military field there are undoubtedly instances in India where liaison between the British and the Americans might be closer, and Mr. Phillips has found a readiness on both sides to tackle such problems as they arise. The most apparent and thorny difference is the great disparity in the pay of the British and American troops. Mr. Phillips points out that it has always been a fundamental American conception that a man who is called on to give his life for his country should receive adequate pay and living conditions, and any suggestion by the British Government for a reduction in American rates of pay would be extremely dangerous. 'It is dynamite,' he said, 'and best left alone.'"

WHAT IS ART?*

Take any newspaper of our time, and you will find in it a department of the theatre and of music; in almost any number you will find the description of this or that exhibition or of a separate picture, and in each you will find reviews of newly-published books of artistic contents, of verses, stories and novels.

There is a detailed description, immediately after it has happened, of how such and such an actor or actress played this rôle or that in such and such a drama, comedy or opera, and of what talent he or she displayed, and of what the contents of the new drama, comedy or opera are, and of their failures and good points. With similar details and care the newspaper describes how such and such an artist sang or played on the piano or violin such and such a piece of music, and in what the good and bad points of this piece and of his playing consist. In every large city there is always, if not several, at least one exhibition of new paintings, the good and bad qualities of which are analysed by critics and connoisseurs with the greatest profundity. Nearly every day there appear new novels and verses, separately and in periodicals, and the newspapers regard it as their duty to give detailed accounts to their readers about these productions of art.

For the support of art in Russia, where only one-hundredth part of what is necessary for furnishing instruction to the whole people is expended on public education, the government offers millions as subsidies to academies, conservatories and theatres. In France eight millions are set aside for the arts; the same is true of Germany and of England. In every large city they build enormous structures for museums, academies, conservatories, dramatic schools, for performances and concerts. Hundreds of thousands of workmen—carpenters, masons, painters, joiners, paper-hangers, tailors, wig-makers, jewellers, bronzers, composers—pass their whole lives at hard work for the satisfaction of the demands of art, so that there is hardly any other human activity, except the military, which absorbs so many forces as this.

But it is not only these enormous labours that are wasted on this activity—on it, as on war, human lives are wasted outright: hundreds of thousands of men devote all their lives from their earliest youth, in order to learn how to twirl their feet rapidly (dancers); others (the musicians) to learn how to run rapidly over the keys or over the strings; others again (painters) to learn how to paint with colours everything they see; and others—to know how to twist every phrase in every way imaginable, and to find a rhyme for every word. And such people, who frequently are very good, clever men, capable of any useful work, grow wild in these exclusive, stupefying occupations, and become dulled to all serious phenomena of life, and one-sided and completely self-satisfied specialists, who know only how to twirl their legs, their tongues or their fingers.

Men came to understand that the meaning of food is nutrition of the body, only when they stopped regarding enjoyment as the aim of this activity. The same is true of art.

Art is a human activity which consists in this, that one man consciously, by means of certain external signs,

communicates to others the sensations experienced by him, so that other men are infected by these sensations and pass through them.

To say that a production of art is good, but not comprehensible, is the same as to say of a certain food that it is very good, but that men cannot eat it.

“The critics explain.” What do they explain?

An artist, if he is a real artist, has in his production conveyed to men the feeling which he has lived through; what is there here to explain?

Sit in the dark for four days in succession, in the company of not quite normal men, subjecting your brain to the most powerful influence, by means of the auditory nerves, of sounds most calculated to irritate the brain, and you will certainly arrive at an abnormal state and will go into ecstasies over insipidities. [Of Wagner’s operas.]

One hour will do for men who have no clear conception of what art ought to be, and who have formed an opinion in advance that what they will see is beautiful, and that indifference and dissatisfaction with this production will serve as a proof of their lack of culture and of their backwardness.

Thus has art always and everywhere been esteemed according to its contents, and so it ought to be esteemed, because such a relation of art results from the properties of human nature, and these properties do not change.

Christian, true Christian art could not establish itself for a long time, and has not yet established itself, because the Christian religious consciousness was not one of those small steps by which humanity moves forward, but an enormous upheaval, which, if it has not yet changed, must finally change the whole life-conception of men and the whole inner structure of their lives.

Look attentively at the causes of the ignorance of the popular masses, and you will see that the chief cause is by no means the scarcity of schools and libraries, as we are accustomed to think, but those superstitions, both ecclesiastic and patriotic, with which they are saturated, and which are incessantly produced by all the means of art.

... there can be no such new art of the future, and there will be none. Our exclusive art of the higher classes of the Christian world has come to a blind alley.

I have performed my task in regard to a subject which is near to me—art—and which has interested me for fifteen years, as well as I could. ... I have uninterruptedly thought about this subject and have six or seven times started to write on it. ... Now I have finished it. ... Science and art are as closely related as the lungs and the heart. ...

[The above, which omits citation of virtually the whole of what Tolstoy wrote conveying his special ideas of what is good (and Christian) in Art, is published as a clue to his attitude and in particular his definition of what constitutes Art.—T. J.]

*Extracts from Leo Tolstoy’s *What is Art?* (Wiener’s translation).