

Isms

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state. The predominantly urban society of the twentieth century imposes new methods if liberalism is to remain faithful to its old goals.

So contemporary American liberalism believes in the affirmative state, not as an end in itself but as the indispensable means in the industrial era of promoting the countervailing pluralisms of society. It believes that the national government has the ultimate responsibility to maintain economic growth, but thinks that this responsibility is best exercised through indirect means—i.e., fiscal and monetary policy—rather than by physical controls or attempts on the part of government to supersede entrepreneurial decision. It believes in the welfare state—that is, in the obligation resting on government to provide levels of education, medical care, housing, and income below which no person should be allowed to fall. It believes in a mixed economy—that is, in an economy characterized by a diversification of ownership and control. It hopes for a new sense of vitality and responsibility in the private and voluntary sectors of society. And it wants a foreign policy which will express to the world, not the seedy fumbblings of sanctimonious corporation lawyers and tired businessmen, but the bold and creative drive of the American spirit.

But its essential preoccupation remains the individual; and liberalism sees as the greatest need in America—and as the condition precedent to much else—the revival of individual spontaneity. It demands the elimination of barriers based on race, religion, or national origin. It seeks the widest amount of uninhibited discussion consistent with the safety of the nation (and believes that America is much stronger than those think who fear it will fall before the first subversive whisper). And I think it will come increasingly to see that the greatest threat to American liberty today comes not from outer coercion but from inner weakness. Senator McCarthy misled us about the problem of American freedom by presenting it in terms of the drama of intimidation and fear. The greater danger is far subtler: it is less from the people who do not want others to be free than from the people who do not want to be free themselves, who feel themselves rendered guilty by deviation and threatened by dissent, whose whole aspiration is to merge their identity with the group.

What liberalism must resist is the

tendency to turn America into one great and genuinely benevolent company town—the bland leading the bland. It must oppose the drift into the homogenized society. It must fight spiritual unemployment, as it once fought economic unemployment. It must concern itself with the quality of popular culture and the character of the lives to be lived in our abundant society. As it does these things, it will turn to new programs and new techniques; but, as it does these things ably and honestly, it will keep the faith with its oldest goals.

CONSERVATISM

Mr. Buckley is the young man who stirred up the animals with "God and Man at Yale," a polemic on the need for firmer doctrine on morals and politics in American colleges. More recently he has become the editor of The National Review, a magazine that especially encourages the voices of the "new conservatism."



By WILLIAM BUCKLEY, JR.

ALL THIS talk about reverence for one's ancestors is all very well, Richard Weaver recently admonished, but which ones? The question was rhetorical. Mr. Weaver knows perfectly well which ones, for he is a conservative. And conservatism is the tacit acknowledgment that the truly important in human experience is behind us; that the truly crucial battles have been fought, and that it is given to man to know what are the great truths that emerged from them. Whatever is yet to come, in science or philosophy, cannot outweigh the importance, to man, of what has gone before.

There is nothing so marvelous as the nihilist or relativist (or the believer in the kind of academic freedom that postulates an equality of ideas) who complains of the anti-intellectualism of American conservatives. Such is our respect for the human mind that we pay it the supreme honor; we credit it with having arrived at certain great conclusions. We believe that centuries of intellection have served an objective purpose. Certain problems have been disposed of. Certain questions, I am saying, are closed: and with reference to that fact the conservative orders his life and, to the extent he is called upon by the circumstances to do so, the life of the community.

Elsewhere Mr. Weaver has remarked the fact that, for a number

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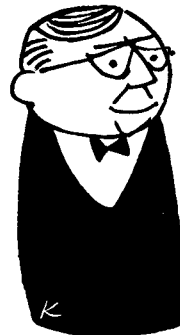
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of interesting reasons, conservatism has become a godword. That is why so many persons of divers political and philosophical faiths are scurrying about reaching for the label. The raw majority have, unfortunately, the inalienable right to take over a word (look what they have done to "liberal"!), and perhaps they will ultimately take over "conservatism." But if so, their victory will be empty, for conservatism will have ceased to evoke those things that now render the word attractive. The majority do not have the power to alter or in any way abuse the truths that conservatism now designates. The meaning of words can be transmuted; but the truths that are the faith of the conservative cannot. They are immune to such attrition. They are incorruptible and imperishable, and reason will always yield them up.

COLONIALISM

At the end of a long career in the Indian Civil Service that culminated in the post of Tutor and Governor to the Hyderabad Princes, Mr. Mason composed a history of the British Raj (*"The Men Who Ruled India"*) and came home to London to write novels and serve as Director of Studies in Race Relations at the Royal Institute of International Affairs.



By PHILIP MASON

I HAVE looked up the words "colony" and "colonization" in four large books whose total weight is well over twenty pounds. And I may say at once that I never use the word "colony" to mean: "The entire aggregation of zooids of a compound animal," though it seems that some people do. I do however use it in quite a few different ways without, as a rule, considering the exact implications. As for "colonialism," it is a rude if not a dirty word to many Americans, and incidentally to Moscow, much less so to most Englishmen. My dictionaries, published in 1885 to 1893, quote American writers as usually speaking of the "trammels of colonialism," while they record the complacent and now strangely old-fashioned remark of A. V. Dicey: "English colonialism works well enough."

Bees and the ancient Greeks have had quite a different idea of a colony from Romans, Spaniards, Frenchmen, Portuguese, and (I suspect) zooids. Bees send out a colony (and, if the beemaster is not careful, three or four colonies) every summer, and at once each colony starts on a life of its own.

The Greeks did the same when land was short or whenever a change in government gave a hint that it would be wise. The Greek colony had as a rule no connection with the parent except in religion; the bees, so far as one knows, not even that. Their colony was not a dependency. The Roman colony on the other hand was at first a garrison in conquered territory; its first function was to keep the peace, its indirect task to spread respect for Roman law and Roman habits; the idea was a Gaul or Britain in which the natives were completely Romanized. That has been the spirit of French and Portuguese colonialism, to a lesser extent of Belgian and Spanish. Portuguese East Africa is a part of Portugal and an African who has passed the prescribed tests of civilization becomes a Portuguese citizen in every sense. He must live with one wife and be well spoken of by his parish priest, he must eat from a table, write Portuguese, own property, or have a job. In theory, the mission of Portugal beyond the seas will be complete when every African in every territory is *asimilado*, a black Portuguese. The French and Belgians too aimed at assimilation, though lately both begin to waver in their certainty.

The English and Scots, despising theory, have varied their ideal of a colony, inclining now towards the Roman and now towards the Greek. Before the American Revolution a colony was England across the seas. From 1774 until say 1947, there was a double picture; in the empty countries there were colonies of English-speaking people who would develop their own institutions until nothing held them to the mother country but common sentiment—the Greek ideal; there were other possessions in which lived "half-tamed savage peoples" (as Kipling wrote) who had still to learn respect for law and how to govern themselves. But even here the ideal is not Roman or Portuguese. When "the improvement of the natives reaches such a pitch" (I quote from the Governor of Bombay in the 1820s) that "it is impossible for a foreign nation to retain the Government"—why, then we shall go. That—more suitably expressed—became more and more the official doctrine and we Britons can point with pride to Ghana and Jamaica, though we keep the eyes averted from Cyprus or Guiana.

My definition of colonialism? Well, the kind of colony I am thinking of is not a colony of bees, nor the American colony in Paris. I am not thinking of the Indian colonization of Indonesia or East Africa. I am not thinking of strategic points for defense, of which I understand there are some in the

Pacific as well as in the Mediterranean. I regard as typical the kind of dependency which has already become independent, like India and Ghana, or which will soon, like Malaya, Nigeria, and the West Indies. And so I would define British colonialism as: "The process of assuming power in a foreign country and irritating the inhabitants until they insist on your going away." I would add that in British experience the traditional means of irritation have been teaching them to vote, building them railways, and preventing them from killing each other. But the most up-to-date dictionaries need several riders to this definition. Today one can commit colonialism without assuming political power, while to the list of irritants must be added lending money, expecting an agreement to be honored, or using an international waterway. It is colonialism in the latest dictionary to extract oil from the deserts of the Middle East or supply arms to Pakistan. It is not colonialism to shoot Hungarians or supply arms to Egypt, and nothing is colonialism that is done in Central Asia to Uzbeks or Turcomans.

COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM

Mr. Strachey, a Member of the House of Commons (Labour) for many years and member of many governments, including Churchill's wartime coalition, is perhaps the most powerful theorist in Britain's Labour Party. He is the author of many studies on economic and political questions, of which the most famous is *"The Coming Struggle for Power."*



By JOHN STRACHEY

ACCORDING to definition by use, I should say that the word "Communism" has come to stand for the type of dictatorial or totalitarian régime characteristically based upon the rule of a single political party, such as exists in Russia and China and in the states of Eastern Europe. It is true, of course, that there are variations in these régimes. The Chinese régime is evidently by no means the exact replica of the Russian régime, either in its economy or its policy. The Yugoslav régime is not unlike the original model in its political aspect, but its economy is very considerably less centralized.

A much more striking variation appears to be developing in Poland. I was in Warsaw throughout the "October Days" last autumn and saw