

hanging nests inhabited and said to have been built by *Cercopithecus preussi*, or of the giant and dwarf races of shrews here attributed to the abundance or scarcity of food available in different places, or of the cats (*Felis catus*) run wild in farmland and secondary forest which all had pale blue eyes, whereas in the village cats the iris varied between green and yellow.

Men of science, like Government Departments, are often pilloried for their misuse of the English language. Here there is a tendency to 'excessiveness'—"most forest animals tend to be excessively confined in their

distribution"; two related species of *Cercopithecus* are "totally different"; "true constancy is exceptional". But the merit of this field monograph and of the author's drawings, coloured and uncoloured, of many species deserves the highest praise. If a word of advice may be given it is that a scientific paper, instead of indicating subtle colours in vague terms which convey different impressions to different people, would better describe them by reference to accepted colour standards such as those in Ridgway's well-known book on the subject.

¹ *Trans. Zool. Soc. Lond.*, 24, Pt. 7, 623-725 (1940).

ASPECTS OF THE TOTALITARIAN STATE

A SYMPOSIUM on the totalitarian State from the points of view of history, political science, economics and sociology has recently appeared (*Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.*, 82, No. 1; 1940). Discussing totalitarian politics, F. M. Marx points out that totalitarianism and constitutionally safeguarded individual rights are incompatible. The corporative order is essentially an effort to interlock the entire occupational and social structure with the centrally controlled political hierarchy, and it cannot respect the difference between persuasion and brutal force. Totalitarianism is essentially anti-intellectual, but its character is dynamic and it would never have gained hold if it did not satisfy a human need not otherwise met. Its corporative features may well change the structure of the nation State so as to set a new international standard, and freedom of choice will only be retained by dealing effectively with those domestic conditions which cry out for redress.

Prof. Thomas Woody deals with the principles of totalitarian education, which he characterizes as aristocracy, anti-pluralism, anti-rationalism, collectivism and activism, the last-named differing from the liberal interpretation in permitting and encouraging only controlled activity, limited to the attainment of pre-determined goals. These principles constitute the basic educational framework of societies that look for stability and perpetuity on the basis of strict regimentation of the individual's capacities rather than through free development. They rest on the conviction that liberalism failed to show that men, if they had freedom, would use it for the common good.

Prof. H. Kohn, discussing the totalitarian philosophy of war, points out that in totalitarian philosophy war is the normal and welcome concomitant of all life, the supreme manifestation of vitality and virtue, an unalterable and dominating part of the whole system, whereas in the liberal conception wars exist only as a result of the shortcomings of the political and social order and may be overcome by the rational efforts of man. Ultimately, these two concepts of war rest on different concepts of the nature and destiny of man. Prof. C. R. Whittlesey, in reviewing the relation of totalitarianism to international trade and finance, suggests that the most significant feature of the economic policies of totalitarian States is their disregard of cost as the term is customarily understood, and from this fact arise most of the problems confronting countries competing with totalitarian States.

The totalitarian States, however, differ among themselves, as Mr. M. J. Bonn points out, as to the

place of economics in the affairs of the world. In Italy and Germany, economics are only means which society needs for the pursuit of its main purpose, 'power', in order to dominate other societies and grow at their expense in accordance with the law of Nature which makes weaker and less numerous societies the prey of their stronger rivals. The pursuit of life, liberty and happiness for individuals as objectives of policy is senseless; they can only be reached as by-products of national welfare.

Communism, however, not only accepted but even stressed the rationalist doctrines of liberalism that growth and welfare of societies are regulated by immutable economic laws, the discovery of which enables man to develop a more or less perfect human society. It differs from its predecessors as to the proper nature of these laws, but they can be used to speed up development when they have been properly recognized. On the assumption that communists are in full possession of these laws, their dictatorial acts are not arbitrary. They merely impose the laws of the universe on those unable to discern them. Fascism and nazism are thus opposed to communism, because of its basis on reason and deduction and because it represents an impersonal scientific approach to objective truth by way of the intelligence and not through the emotions.

Discussing the novelty of totalitarianism in the history of Western civilization, Prof. C. J. H. Hayes considers that this novelty lies in the fact that dictatorial totalitarianism is really totalitarian, monopolizing all powers, subordinating all institutions and groupings, leaving no room for the free play of individual wills and recognizing no utility in free inquiry. Secondly, it commands and rests upon mass-support, and is not the affair of an aristocratic class or military caste. Thirdly, it is maintained, and its overthrow rendered unusually difficult, by novel and marvellously effective agencies of popular education and propaganda. It also possesses an allure through the emotional and essentially religious spirit which its leading apostles have infused into it. It has evolved a new pattern of methods and techniques, and in its exaltation of might and force as an end in itself is another novelty. It is essentially a revolt against the whole historic civilization of the West, but as an antidote to undue pessimism Prof. Hayes points to the improbability of a novelty of the last two decades outlasting what has long endured, and secondly to the resourcefulness of man, which has as often brought him liberty and fraternity as his inertia and submission have brought him dictatorship and slavery.