

none can know," runs one of Lorenzo de Medici's songs, and its spirit is echoed humbly by a Tuscan proverb—

Who turns aside from paths of yore
Knows what's behind—not what's before.

To-day, many cautious peasants are shaking their heads and quoting that proverb to their sons.

Fascism, nevertheless, is secure in mastery of the State, and possesses an extraordinary leader. Will that leader live till his work is crystallised in institutions? Will those institutions be broken from without or from within? They have, at any rate, been working in Italy for one month, the experiment has been begun, and the Fascists claim that the "liberal tate" has been finally buried.

ADU. 11.9.26

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY LIFE.

ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR JAUNCEY.

The vice-chancellor of the University (Professor W. Mitchell) presided at a meeting of the Graduates' Association at the University last night, when Professor G. E. M. Jauncey, of the Washington University, St. Louis, delivered an address on American universities.

Professor Jauncey said although there were very few scholarships given in American universities, poverty was not a bar, for fully 50 per cent. of the students worked their way, sometimes at menial tasks. Whatever they did, however, and it might range from serving in a shoe store to cleaning windows or washing dishes, or driving a vegetable cart, it in no way affected their social prestige in the university, and a man who served his fellow student at the college cafeteria might still be president of his class. One reason for this was the fact that the American was brought up on stories of self-made millionaires and Presidents who worked their way up, so that even parents who could afford to send their children to the university preferred them to make at least part of their expenses, so as to bring them in contact with the outside world. The American business man preferred a university graduate in his employment, because the graduate had been taught, among other things, the way to read, so that he could acquire some knowledge of an intricate subject quickly. In the United States there was no Minister of Education, but each county or district council elected a board of education, which had control of the primary and high school system of that county, and in the cities there was a municipal board. In the primary schools there were eight grades, and a certificate from the principal of the school had to be obtained before the student could enter a high school. This was generally done at the age of fourteen, and the high school course was completed at eighteen. The certificate granted then included really the marks and report of the four years' work, and this served in lieu of a matriculation examination, the registrar of the university examining all these qualifications very carefully, and grading them according to the school from which they were received. The American A.B. degree was a mixture of a B.A. and B.Sc. degree, for all students had to spend more or less time in the College of Liberal Arts, as it was called. A medical student, for instance, did three years there before he touched medicine, and a dental student was required to put in at least one year, and so on.

There were two terms, or semesters, of 16 weeks each, exclusive of examination time, in an American university year. The subjects to be taken in the first year, as a rule, were English, American history and government, a science, a modern language, and mathematics or a classical language. There were seldom more than 30 students in a class, and often not more than 20, consequently the faculty of an American university was generally bigger than that in an Australian one. At the end of the first month an examination was held, and the student who failed to make 70 per cent. would be reported to the awe-inspiring dean. If he failed to make 70 the second month he would be given his last chance. His worries did not end there, however, for at the end of the semester another examination was held in each subject, and then in average was struck for the work of the whole semester and the examination, the former counting for two-thirds of the marks awarded as a rule. If a man failed to make 7 per cent. on two subjects out of the five he was dismissed or "flunked out" as it was called, and he could not then enter a university of equal standing, though he could enter one of lower grade, for the American believed there should be a university education provided not only for the brilliant scholar, but for the mediocre man. There was no leisurely dawdling through a course, however, taking one subject at a time. There were five subjects to be passed in each year, and the course was for four years. If a man could not succeed in five, he was not permitted to take his degree at all, because it was held that there was a minimum speed requirement, and the man who could not keep up was either not trying, or else he was not worth a university education.

At the Washington University they usually had 900 new students in September, and by the end of the first six months fully 150 would be dismissed. There had been a great deal of talk about American degrees and certainly there were some which should not be accepted. In the United States, however, the universities had really graded each other in A, B,

and C grades, and the ruling was generally right, and accepted as such by the public. Student activities were extremely varied and included sports of all kinds, what were termed campus politics, debating societies, dances, socials, mock courts, and so on, and these were regarded as an important part of the student's life. If, however, he failed to make his average, the Dean would probably enquire into his activities and order him to drop some. The fraternity system was looked askance at by the universities, and those who belonged to a fraternity had to make a better average than the minimum allowed the other students, or leave the association, which was always part of a national chapter. They owned the houses or dormitories occupied by their members, but there was no university official at these places. Princeton, Yale, and Harvard were the three big American Universities, and the "frats" as they were called, had been abolished at Princeton. Apart from these and quite different were the honorary fraternities, which took the place to some extent of the Honors Degree, which was unknown in America. These fraternities issued symbols which were awarded to the man who made 90 per cent. all round in his course throughout the time at a recognised university.

Professor Jauncey was heartily thanked for his address.

ADU. 13.9.26

MUSSOLINI.

INDUSTRY AND THE STATE UNDER THE DICTATOR.

By PROFESSOR W. K. HANCOCK.

"We've had enough of the railway State, the postal State, the insurance State," declared Mussolini, in one of his early, pre-victory speeches. Captains of industry heard him with approval. Pantaleoni, the well-known economist of the laissez-faire school, wrote a book called "Bolezismo Italiano," in which he declared frankly that the real enemies were not Communists of Lenin's following, but moderate Socialists of the stamp of Sidney Webb. He hoped and expected that a Fascist victory would herald the return of unrestricted free competition in industry; State industrial enterprise and State-favored co-operation would be stricken down together. For a time, Mussolini seemed likely to fulfil these expectations. "What is the State?" he exclaimed, within a few months of his advent to power. "It is the policeman." He maintained that the State demanded nothing more than the right to maintain order and to command loyal service; it would be content with the "dominion of spirits." Captains of industry and of finance imagined that the Fascist State would hold the ring, while they pursued their own affairs in their own way.

But Mussolini, when he claimed for the State the dominion of spirits, was no dealing with intangible generalities. Spirit live in bodies; to control the spirits it is necessary to control the bodies. Men live their working lives in groups; to master the men it is necessary to master the group. Fascism hates loose spiritual forces; every force, whether it is spiritual or material, must be within the fist of the State. (The dictator is fond of the word "fist," but since his imagination lacks a conscious medieval tinge, he never prefixes it with the adjective "mailed.")

The problem of securing the dominion of spirits, therefore, resolved itself into the problem of merging all independent spirits in the spirit of the State. This implied, first of all, a truculent war against the old liberal idea of the special value of each individual spirit, and against the institutions—especially the free press and the free Parliament—in which this idea was embodied. It implied, secondly, the regimentation of men in special groups, which would regulate all those human activities that can possibly be regulated, and which would, in their turn, be subjected to the direct control of the State. The groups that would most easily serve this purpose were, of course, economic. Men can be labelled bakers, butchers, or candlestickmakers; under the trade label individual divergent characteristics seem to disappear. Let them express themselves politically, as they express themselves economically, in masses, in agglomerations; then let the State direct and master the agglomerations. The old individualism would then (so reasoned Mussolini) be crushed out, and the soul of men would be merged in the single soul of the nation. The conception was put into concrete form by the report of a commission of 18 persons nicknamed "the Solons." They defined the Fascist aim as "the demotion, in the political system, of the individualistic principle of political democracy, and the establishment of the representation of corporations in the nation."

That principle was definitely applied in a measure passed on April 3 of this year and carried into execution at the end of June. The main provisions of the new order are as follows:—
1. The "recognition," or "discipline" of the words are used interchangeably—of certain "syndical," or "pro-

fessional" associations. This means that in every industry, one organisation of employers and one organisation of employees receives definite recognition, and is given definite powers by the State. All bargaining concerning wages, hours, and conditions of labor in the industry, can take place only between these recognised associations. For example, though nine-tenths of the workers concerned do not belong to the favored organisation, they are bound by its rules and by its contracts. They are also compelled to contribute to its funds. But (and it is this provision which marks the law as sublimely Fascist) they do not possess the right of joining it as they please. The law contemplates the possibility or the probability that only one-tenth of the workers concerned should be members of the organisation to which they contribute. The officials of the association must be satisfied as to the "national" character of its members, which means that none save good Fascists need apply.

2. The employers and employees in any industry represented by these recognised associations, may solve any disputes which arise between them by friendly negotiation. If this fails, they must bring their controversies into the courts. The strike and the lock-out are made illegal. No special arbitration court is established. The Courts of Appeal will add to their number technical "experts" (not connected with the parties engaged in the dispute); they will first attempt to settle the questions in dispute by conciliation, and if this fails, they will pronounce a legal judgment according to the ordinary procedure in civil cases. The courts need not wait till either of the parties approach them; the "minister of corporations" may, at his will, command them to summon the parties concerned and to investigate the question at issue.

3. The "syndicates," whether they are organisations of employers or employees, are closely controlled by the Government. The nomination and election of their presidents and secretaries must be ratified by the Minister. The prefects (whose authority in all matters of provincial government is extremely large) are authorised to supervise and control the actions of the "syndicates." The Government can, at its discretion, remove the executive committees and nominate a commissioner of its own who will perform their functions.

4. The "syndicates" are grouped in federations, and the federations are gathered into confederations, of which there are thirteen, six for the employers and seven for the "workers." It may be of interest if I give the list which was adopted by the Grand Council of the Fascist Party on June 28, and immediately afterwards agreed to by the Cabinet. On the side of employers there are:—The general Fascist confederation of industry, the general Fascist confederation of commerce, the general Fascist confederation of agriculture, the general Fascist confederation of credit, the general Fascist confederation of maritime transport, and the general Fascist confederation of land transport. On the side of the "workers" there are the six corresponding general Fascist confederations for those employed in industry, in commerce, in agriculture, in credit, in maritime transport, and in land transport. There is also the general Fascist confederation of intellectual workers, which includes federations of artists, writers, and similar people. Nobody has yet decided what is to be done with the professors. It was not thought fitting to include them in the Fascist confederation of intellectual workers. Perhaps they are neither fish, flesh nor good red herring. But no doubt a place will be found for them sooner or later. It is significant, too, that no mention has (to my knowledge) been made of the priests. Are they wholly in the State, or are they not? Will Mussolini be able to get control of the spiritual force which they represent? He has long been wooing the Papacy with his blandishments. He dreams, doubtless, of reconciling the eternal dualism in the history of Rome, as so many Italians have dreamt before him. What could resist the nationalist Fascist State, if it gained control of the Church Universal? Mussolini has boasted that he never troubles his head about the philosophers, and that he is not a frequenter of picture galleries. Has he also neglected history? If so, he may believe that he has a chance of subduing the Papacy, as he has subdued so many other things. But if not . . . This summary of the new industrial legislation has been the merest sketch, omitting many features of considerable interest, and focussing attention only upon what is most essential. Even so, there is more than enough for discussion. It has been seen that the State has the fullest power of control over the "syndicates," the single cells of the complicated industrial organism. What is the relation of the State to the Confederations?

This question is of the greatest importance, for it introduces us to a conflict of theories and of personalities within the Fascist Party. The commission of eighteen "Solons," which first took the matter of reorganisation in hand, was largely swayed by the influence of two Fascist professors, Arias, a well-known economist, and Gentile, a renowned, though rather obscure philosopher. Both of these professors had an academic inclination towards harmony and symmetry. The first thought to give a twist to the doctrines of the guild-socialists, the second took his starting-point from a theory which denies to the individual all reality, save in so far as his personality

is expressed and harmonised in institutions which give form to his unformed, chaotic spirit, and are in turn reflected within it. Arias and Gentile agreed, therefore, that the "syndicate" must be merged in the "corporation," a body to be composed both of employers and of employees. Instead of federations and confederations of "syndicates" there would be federations and confederations of "corporations," and at the very summit of this structure there would be a confederation of confederations, acting as the second branch of the legislature. In other words, the Senate was to be transformed into the controlling wheel of Italian industry. Economics would be merged into politics, politics into economics. The corporations would in one aspect be the single cells of the "ethical-economic State"; they would at the same time be the active members of that State, set in motion by the brain centre, "the instrument," as Arias declared, "of which the State makes use for the exercise of its new ethical-economic activities." The phrasing is a little pretentious, but the meaning is clear.

The idea commended itself to Signor Rossoni, the president of the Fascist "syndicates," who had himself conceived the plan of turning them into "corporations." Before Rossoni there arose the vision of a vast organisation directed by himself; he would be more powerful than any Labor leader, more powerful than any industrial captain, more powerful (did he whisper it to himself?) than the very Duce! But what was evident to Rossoni was evident also to Mussolini. He had no desire to see himself outflanked, either by a political-industrial Goliath or, possibly, by a community of communities gathered into the Senate. The idea of the "integral corporation," so dear to Arias, to Gentile, to Rossoni, was scrapped. Only a remnant of it remains in article 3 of the syndical law: "The associations of employers and those of employees may be joined by means of central joint organisations with a common superior hierarchy, provided that the representation of employers and employees remains separate. . . . Even with this proviso, the law is only vaguely permissive. And, in the regulations issued at the end of June, no steps were taken to give effect to the half-promise. Arias, in a recent article in the "Nuova Antologia" (June 16), makes the best of his disappointment, and continues to plead that the law may be "governed by the 'integral corporation,'" and the approaching of the great confederations in the Senate, he insists that, if the latter step were taken, the Fascist state would be able to destroy the last vestiges of liberal individualism which survive in the mutilated Lower House. It is just possible that Mussolini may come to agree with them, for he has safeguarded his own control in another way. By taking for himself the position of "Minister of the Corporations," he has firmly and quietly set Rossoni on one side, and has gathered into his own hands all that tremendous power which the new organisation has given to the Government. He will be able to "discipline" Italian industry as effectively as he "disciplines" the press, Parliament, and the Fascist party.

Mussolini claims that he has solved the problem which baffles and torments all the great States of the world. He asserts that he has opened a new chapter in the history of civilisation. The French Revolution—so runs the Fascist argument—asserted the supreme mastery of the State, but only by taking the extreme measure of denouncing as illegal and mischievous all associations, all corporations, within the State. It sought to break down every obstacle between the State and the individual, to contrast the all-powerful unity of the general will with the helpless diversity of a mere agglomeration of isolated units. But, in fact, this experiment broke down. One single association was inadequate for the needs of man; of necessity great industrial groups formed and grew till in the end they challenged the power of the State itself. That power could not be recovered by ignoring or by dissolving the groups; it could be recovered only by absorbing them, by mastering them, and using them as instruments of the State itself. This end is certainly achieved by the new Fascist organisation. "The recognised syndicate is a new entity of public law"—it is as such an organ of the State as is the Parliament or the Prefect. "It is the instrument of which the State makes use for the exercise of its new ethical-economic activities." At every stage in its activity, its autonomy is limited by the direct control of the State, acting through the ministry of corporations. There can be no more strikes, no more lock-outs, no more ruinous selfish policies pursued by one industry at the expense of others. The captains of industry and the leaders of labor have been bound together in a political straight-jacket. The world is called to admire this achievement; sometimes, it is invited to imitate it.

To England, devastated for months by a ruinous deadlock in the coal industry, this embodiment of Fascist theory is indeed a challenge—not, indeed, to imitate what has been achieved by Mussolini, but to take up the work of expressing her own very different spirit in an equally typical industrial system. It should need no demonstration that the Italian solution of the industrial problem is utterly at variance with that spirit which has made England England, and has made her great. Mussolini's solution has been won by the ruthless use of force; it is based on a gigantic monopoly guaranteed by force. If and when the Fascist army divides and cracks the famous "syndicalist" State